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STAR PICTURES

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA

III.

PLANET-WORSHIP.

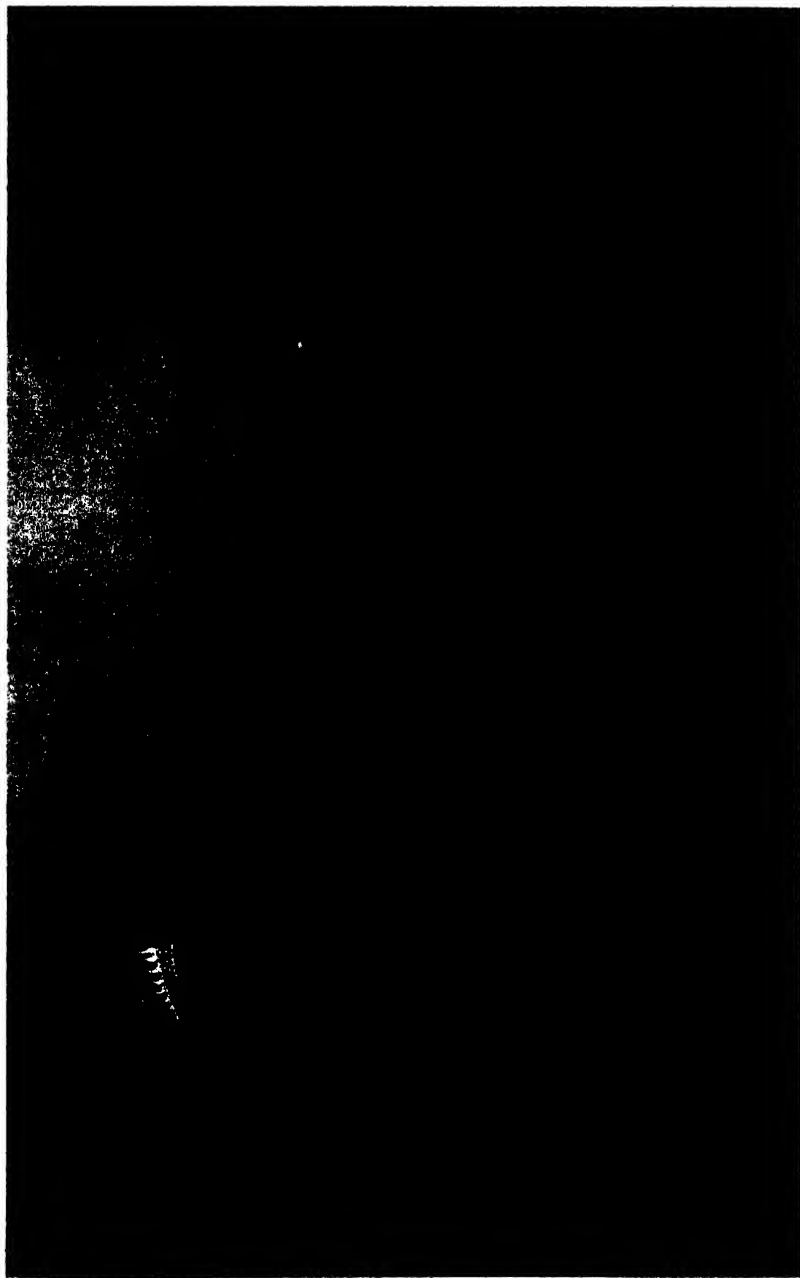
THE spirituality which was characteristic of Aryan and Sanskritic conceptions in general, gained ground in India and began to colour the interpretation of all phenomena. It came to seem self-evident that the stars were the seats of meditating souls, steadfast in virtue. Even the shooting stars were explained as falling from heaven because their religious merit was exhausted! We can hardly doubt that the dedication of the days of the week to the sun and moon and five chief planets—the 'old planets seven,' as they are called—was a worship of propitiation. The planets had from the beginning been regarded as rebel beings, in some way opposed to the fixed order of the stars. They were wanderers. Great powers they could not fail to be, but errant they also were. It was most necessary, therefore, to propitiate the spirits that they embodied. From this stratum of thought, then, are born the names of the week-days, which from the east of Bengal to the west of France or the north of Scandinavia, are sacred to the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. In this organisation of the idea of the planets, we meet with a new date, one long subsequent to the beginning of the age of star-worship. We have here the seven-day week, and a perfected theory of the place of sun and moon in the whole scheme of things. The very fact that no twinkling stars are included in the category, shows that there was an

accepted differentiation, a clear definition of the fixed stars as such behind this formulation. It may be that the mystic importance of the number seven was originally born of the contemplation of the constellation of the Great Bear. Or it is just possible that this particular enumeration of the planets was one at which the development of knowledge halted long, and that here the impressiveness of the number was born. At any rate, the seven-day week and the twelve-month year seem to have been known in old Assyria, as long ago as 4,000 or 5,000 B.C.... Saturn was the deity of the original first day of the planetary week. This only confirms the idea that the dedication was, to begin with, one of propitiation. There are still homes in Bengal where the mother worships Saturn every Saturday, for the protection of her family. It is held that his power is highly spiritual, but a disastrous influence in things of worldly prosperity, and something of the same association hangs, to this day, about the name and idea of the sun himself. And yet such observances, indicating, as they must once have done, a new accession of thought and mythology, are now long superseded by developments of a very much higher order, and linger on, here and there, amongst anxious women, in something of a shamefaced and reserved fashion. The fortune-teller, stopping at the door one day, and reading palms, tells that some particular maiden is to be unlucky, and ought to avert evil, by worshipping the planets. But a hard-headed old grandmother, strong in puritanism and in intellect, will

STAR PICTURES



YOUNG THUGA GOING TO HEAVEN FOLLOWED BY A DOG. FROM A WATER-COLOR BY
BY THE COURTESY OF THE ARTIST HARRY CHANDLER, REX C. CHANDLER



YUDHISTHIRA GOING TO HEAVEN FOLLOWED BY A DOG. FROM A WATER-COLOUR.
By the courtesy of the artist Babu Upendrakisor Ray Chaudhuri.

contemplate the idea of a dog in heaven! Yudhishthira is begged therefore to send away the dog. Strange to say, he refuses. To him the dog appears as one who has been devoted, loyal in time of loss and disaster, loving and faithful in the hour of entire solitude. He cannot imagine happiness, even in heaven, if it were to be haunted by the thought of one so true who had been cast off.

The god pleads and argues, but each word only makes the sovereign more determined. His idea of manliness is involved. "To cast off one who has loved us is infinitely sinful." But also his personal pride and honour as the king, are roused. He has never yet abandoned the terrified, or the devoted, or such as have sought sanctuary with him, nor one who has begged mercy, nor any who was too weak to protect himself. He will certainly not infringe his own honour, merely out of a desire for personal happiness.

Then the most sacred considerations are brought to bear on the situation. It must be remembered that the Hindu eats on the floor, and the dread of a dog entering the room is therefore easy to understand. There is evidently an equal dislike of the same thing in Heaven. "Thou knowest," urges Indra, "that by the presence of a dog, Heaven itself would be defiled." His mere glance deprives the sacraments of their consecration. Why then should one who has renounced his very family, so strenuously object to giving up a dog?

Yudhishthira answers bitterly that he had to abandon those who did not live to accompany him further; and admitting that his resolution has probably been growing, in the course of the debate, finally declares that he cannot now conceive of a crime that would be more heinous than to leave the dog.

The test is finished. Yudhishthira has refused heaven for the sake of a dog; and the dog stands transformed into a shining god, Dharma himself, the God of Righteousness. The mortal is acclaimed by radiant multitudes, and seated in the chariot of glory, he enters heaven in his mortal form.

Even now, however, the poet has not made clear all that is to be required of a perfect man. Elevated alone to a position of great glory, Yudhishthira, entering Heaven,

beholds his enemies, the heroes with whom he has contended, seated on thrones, and blazing with light. At this, the soul of the Emperor is mightily offended. Are the mere joys of the senses to be accepted by him, he argues, in effect, as any equivalent for the delight of good company? Where his comrades are, will be heaven for him: a place inhabited by the personages he sees before him, deserves a very different name.

Yudhishthira, therefore is conducted to a region of another quality. Here, amidst horrors of darkness and anguish, his energy is exhausted, and he orders his guide angrily to lead him away. At this moment, sighing voices are heard in all directions, begging him to stay. With him, comes a moment of relief for all the souls imprisoned in this living pain, of sight and sound and touch.

Involuntarily the Emperor paused. And then, as he stood and listened, he realised, with dismay, that the voices to which he was listening were familiar. Here, in Hell, were his kinsmen and comrades. There, in Heaven, he had seen the great amongst his foes. Anger blazed up within him. Turning to the messenger, who had not yet left him, "Go!" he thundered, in his wrath, "Return to the high gods, whence thou camest, and make it known to them that never shall I look upon their face again. What! Evil men with them, and these my kinsfolk fallen into Hell! This is a crime! Never shall I return to them that wrought it. Here with my friends, in Hell, where my presence aids them, shall I abide for ever. Go!"

Swiftly the messenger departed, and Yudhishthira remained alone, with his head sunk on his breast, brooding in Hell on the fate of all he loved.

Only a moment passed, and suddenly the scene was changed. The sky above them became bright. Sweet airs began to blow. All that had been foul and repulsive disappeared. And Yudhishthira, looking up, found himself surrounded by the gods. "Well done!" they cried, "Thy trials are ended. Oh lord of men, thou hast fought and won. All kings must see hell as well as heaven. Happy are they who see it first. For thee, and these thy kin, nothing remains save happiness and glory. Then plunge thou here into the Heavenly Ganges,

and put away in it thy mortal enmity and grief. Here, in the Milky Way, put on the body of immortality, and then ascend thy throne. Be seated amongst the gods, great thou as Indra, alone amongst mortals raised to Heaven in this thine earthly form!"

That process of spiritualising which we have caught at its moment of inception in the story of Daksha and Siva, is here seen at its flowering-point. Thoroughly emancipated from the early worship of cosmic impressiveness and power, the Hero of the Sky appears no longer as a great Prajapati, or Lord of Creation, nor even as the Wild Huntsman slaying the winter sun, but entirely as a man, one of ourselves, only nobler. The Hindu imagination has now reached a point where it can conceive of nothing in the universe transcending in greatness man's conquest of himself. Yudhisthira shone amongst men, in royal clemency, and manly faithfulness and truth, even as now he shines amongst the stars. Whatever came to him, he first renounced, and finally accepted, on his own terms only. This was the demand that Buddhism, with its exaltation of character and detachment, had taught the Indian people to make of manly men. Greatest of all was the renunciation of the monk, but next to this, and a different expression of the same greatness, was the acceptance of life and the world, as their master, not as their slave.

It cannot be denied that this story of Yudhisthira, with its subtlety of incident and of character-drawing, is thoroughly modern in tone and grasp. The particular

conception of loyalty which it embodies, is one that is deeply characteristic of the Indian people. To them, loyalty is a social, rather than a military or political virtue, and it is carried to great lengths. We must remember that this tale of Yudhisthira will be in part the offspring, and in part the parent, of that quality which it embodies and extols. Because this standard was characteristic of the nation it found expression in the epic. Because the epic has preached it in every village, in song and sermon and drama, these fifteen centuries past, it has moulded Indian character and institutions with increased momentum, and gone far to realise and democratise the form of nobility it praises. Would the Greek myths if left to develop freely, have passed eventually through the same process of ethicising and spiritualising as the Indian? Is India, in fact, to be regarded as the sole member of the circle of classical civilisations which has been given its normal and perfect growth? Or must we consider that the early emergence of the idea of beauty and conscious efforts after poetic effect supersedes in the Hellenic genius, all that becomes, in the Indian, high moral interpretation? A certain aroma of poetry there cannot fail to be, in productions that have engaged the noblest powers of man, but this in the Indian seems always to be unconscious, the result of beauty of thought and nobility of significance, while in the Greek we are keenly aware, of the desire of a supreme craftsman for beauty, as an end in itself.

THE JEWS*

THERE are several points of resemblance between Judaism and Hinduism. Both consider certain rules about eating and drinking an essential part of religion.

"A Jew must not eat at the same table with a gentile nor any food prepared by the latter, must not eat or drink from dishes, with spoons, forks, knives, &c., which have been used by a gentile; must not drink

* The Jews : A Study of Race and Environment, by Maurice Fishberg.

wine, the container of which has been touched by a Christian, Mohamedan or heathen.†"

Substitute Hindu for Jew, and Mlechchha for gentile, and the statement is still true. The Hindu regards the Mlechchha, and the Jew the goi (Gentile) with dislike and contempt, and in both cases this dislike is based on a claim to superior holiness. "I the Lord am holy and have severed you from other

† P. 536.

people, that ye should be mine." By holiness is meant, not morality in the ordinary sense of the word, but the strict observance of ceremonial law. To steal or to lie is consistent with holiness but to eat forbidden food is not. While Christianity and Islam, in theory and to some extent in practice, admit the equality of mankind, the Jew and the Hindu claim to be by birth superior to other men. Neither religion sends out missionaries or seeks to make converts. Again, in both religions, festivals based on very primitive modes of thought, such as the Passover and Holi, have been retained down to our own times. Lastly, both religions, have sacred writings, to which they attribute an antiquity far beyond what critical scholarship can concede. A dispassionate, scientific study of the Jews should then be of some interest to Hindus. Such a study we have in Dr. Fishberg's book. Although thoroughly scientific in method, it is not too technical for the general reader. Above all, worthy of praise, is the matter-of-fact, unemotional tone Dr. Fishberg has maintained in writing on a subject which has aroused so many passions. From beginning to end there is an absence of all rhetoric. The book is a model of anthropological research and as such deserves attention even apart from the interest of the special question.

The Jews have always been supposed to be of the same race, as well as of the same religion. Unfortunately "race" is a term as ill-defined in anthropology as "species" in general biology. But at any rate, race must imply the possession of certain peculiar physical characteristics transmitted hereditarily. First of all, then, we must try to ascertain what is the physical type of the Jew. This is easy for the caricaturist in the comic papers, but the imagination of the caricaturist does not correspond with actual fact. Take the feature he fixes upon as distinctive, the nose. In caricature this is drawn hooked like the beak of a parrot. As a matter of fact, such a nose is uncommon among Jews. Among 2,836 adult male Jews Dr. Fishberg found only 14 per cent. had hooked noses and among 1,284 Jewesses an even smaller proportion, only 13 per cent. Besides this form of nose is not peculiar to Jews. It is found among Russians, Poles, Bavarians,

Greeks, Italians, Spaniards, and North American Indians.

"Considering on the one hand that only one Jew in six has an aquiline or hook nose, and on the other, that so many races in various parts of the world have just as many and often more persons with this kind of nose, there is hardly any justification for speaking of a "Jewish" or "Semitic nose."*

This is all true for the form of the head. "There is no single type of head which is found among the Jews in all countries in which they live." Dr. Fishberg gives three polygons of frequency for the cephalic indices of the Jews in Tunis, in the Caucasus and in Lithuania respectively. As far as we can tell from simple inspection these may conform to Gauss' law, but it would require fuller details and elaborate calculations to ascertain whether they do or not. It is clear, however, that the Jews in Tunis are dolichocephalic and the Jews in the Caucasus brachicephalic. The important point is that the form of head found among the Jews corresponds to that of the people by whom they are surrounded. In Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Jews and non-Jews are long-headed, while in Russia and Poland they are broad-headed. Even slight variations shew the same correspondence.

"The Russian Poles have an average cephalic index of 82.13 and those of Galicia, 84.4. The Jews of these two parts of ancient Poland also shew the same differences; their average cephalic index is in Russian Poland 81.91 and in Austrian Poland (Galicia) 83.33. On the whole the slight differences which are to be observed between the Jews and non-Jews in these countries may be ascribed to the usual and practically unavoidable errors of observation and calculation."†

There is then no more a Jewish than a Roman Catholic or Protestant head-form.

Some writers, both among friends and enemies, have attributed a superiority in brain to the Jews. Very few observations of the weight of Jewish brains have been reported. These few shew a ratio of brain weight to stature rather less for Jews than for other people, but the number of observations is too small for any conclusion to be drawn. The assertion of superiority is based on no evidence.

In stature the Jews of Eastern Europe are generally shorter than the surrounding population. But they live in extreme poverty and are for the most part dwellers in towns. Now in all countries the height of the urban

* P. 83.

population falls below the general standard, and again height has been shewn to depend in part on nourishment and exercise. The rich Jews of the West End of London are as tall as the average Englishman. When the Jews of Eastern Europe leave their homes for America and live under better economic conditions their height increases.

"The author has found that the average stature of 1,404 immigrants in New York City was 164.2 centimetres, while their children, the first generation of descendants of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, measured 167.9 cm. in height, an increase of 3.7 cm. in height in one generation."

When Jews in different countries are compared it is found that, as for cephalic index,

"The stature of the Jews varies with the stature of the non-Jewish population among which they live."

In popular estimation, races are generally distinguished by the colour of the skin, hair and eyes. The Jews differ widely from one another in this respect. On the Malabar coast there are the so-called "black Jews" with a skin as dark as that of their Hindu neighbours. The Jews of Europe are counted among the "white races," but they may be either blonde or brunette in complexion. While the majority is always brunette the percentage of blondes varies in different countries. In England over forty per cent. have blue eyes and over twenty-five per cent. fair hair, but in Italy the corresponding rates are thirty and five per cent. Some anthropologists have thought that both types existed among the Jews before the dispersion. This supposition Dr. Fishberg rejects on the ground that blonde Jews are only found where a part of the surrounding population is blonde.

We see then that it is not possible to define the Jewish race either by the nose, or the shape of the head, or the stature or the complexion. But some writers have asserted that there is a peculiar Jewish physiognomy which can easily be distinguished even if it cannot be described. But as a matter of fact Jews who habitually live in the society of Christians cannot always be distinguished from them. In Western Europe they often mix freely with the people around them without any one knowing or caring about their religion. Zangwill in his novel "The Children of the Ghetto" tells an anecdote of a Christian artist who first

discovered that a family he had known for four years was Jewish when he asked permission to marry one of the daughters. But the clearest proof that there is no specially Jewish physiognomy is supplied by the photographs Dr. Fishberg gives. From these we see that the Chinese Jews have the slanting eyes and flattened nose of the Mongolian, that the Jews in Germany may have the typically Teutonic fair hair and skin, and that Jews in India are exactly like Hindus.

Still Dr. Fishberg admits that in Eastern Europe and certain oriental countries the Jews can generally be distinguished round the surrounding population, but he disputes the inference that they are distinguished because of certain racial characters. In many cases the explanation is very simple. The Jew often has a peculiar dress or a peculiar method of dressing the hair. When these are abandoned it is not always easy to recognize him. Dr. Fishberg found he could point out nearly every Jew in the smaller towns in Poland, Russia, but often failed with Jewish immigrants from these countries in New York City. But there are cases to which this explanation does not apply.

"In these careful study reveals that it is not the body which marks the Jew; it is his soul. In other words the type is not anthropological or physical, it is social or psychic Centuries of confinement in the Ghetto, social ostracism, ceaseless suffering under the ban of abuse and persecution have been instrumental in producing a characteristic psychic type."

Long ago some unknown Jew wrote of his nation:

"He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

This was true of the Jews in all countries till recent times and is even now true in Eastern Europe. Habitual suffering leaves an impress on the features which a happier life cannot at once remove. The Jews who have emigrated to free countries may perhaps never lose this impress themselves, but their descendants will.

"The peculiar Jewish expression disappears in Jews who have been out of the Ghetto for a few generations."

The characteristic Ghetto face is then not racial, since it is not transmitted by heredity. It is worthwhile to insist on this point since the failure to distinguish between

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a genuine racial peculiarity and an expression acquired by the individual has often been the source of error in anthropology. The Parisian is a type quite distinct from the provincial, yet very few Parisian families have lived in Paris for more than three generations. In England there are marked differences of face between men occupying different social positions. It is not difficult to distinguish between an officer and a private soldier even when both wear the same kind of clothes as in a hockey match. Since at the time of conquest the total possible number of ancestors of any Englishman now living, far exceeds the number of people then inhabiting England, it follows that unless there were a strict isolation of classes every Englishman has ancestors among all classes of the community. But there never has been any such isolation and the same surnames occur in all classes from the highest to the lowest. Every English family, not excluding the royal family, must then have had, five hundred years ago, among its numerous ancestors, men occupying the humblest positions in life. The marked difference of appearance between the higher and lower classes cannot therefore be in any way due to race. A petty labourer or shopkeeper acquires wealth and rises in social position. He himself will bear the marks of his origin all his life, and perhaps his son will shew some traces of it, but his grandson will not differ at all in manners or appearance from other men of the class to which his family has come to belong. In India too occupation and society leave their marks on the face. Through overlooking this fact some writers have been led to a theory, which I believe to be false, that caste depends on race. A learned Brahman pandit no doubt differs very much from a chamar doing menial work, but there is no difference between a Brahman coolie and a chamar coolie. At least the present writer has failed to discover any, after a search of several years.*

We have seen that the Jews have no distinctive racial characters. The question now arises: "Are they of pure race, modified more or less by environmental influences, or are they a religious sect

composed of racial elements acquired by proselytism and intermarriage during their migrations in various parts of the world? The answer will depend to some extent on the view we take of the power of climate and environment to modify physical structure. Unfortunately this is a point about which there are wide differences of opinion. Professor Ridgway maintains in his article "Celt" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" the view he had previously advocated at the meeting of the British Association in 1908.

"Not only do animals change their physical characteristics in new environment, but modern peoples when settled in new surroundings for even one or two centuries, e.g., the American of New England and the Boer of South Africa, prove that man is no less readily affected by his surroundings."

According to Dr. Fishberg this statement is entirely mistaken.

"In the course of three hundred years' sojourn in America no new race has appeared. The descendants of the original English, Spanish and French settlers are of the same physical type as the parent stock, the inhabitants of England, Spain and France of to-day."

The only scientific observations are those of Professor Boas referred to in a former number of this Review.† He took measurements of some 30,000 immigrants and their descendants in New York and found changes in stature and head-form and even in complexion. But as Dr. Fishberg remarks, until similar investigations have been carried out in other parts of the world, no definite conclusions can be drawn. The problem of the influence of climate on race is as yet unsolved, and as Professor Ridgway points out, will not be solved unless it is treated as part of the general biological problem of the influence of climate on animal species.

The differences between Jews in different countries are, however, so great that it is difficult to believe they could have been produced by climate alone in the comparatively short time since the dispersion. Before accepting such a view we should want the strongest evidence that there has been no mixture with other races. But there is instead a great deal of evidence to the contrary. From the earliest times of which there is any record the Jews inter-

* Cf. Nesfield *Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 75, para. 135.

† "Anthropometry and Race" *Modern Review*, April, 1911.

married with the other races inhabiting Palestine. After the return from the Babylonian captivity Ezra found mixed marriages common, and tried to prevent them but with only partial success. Much later Church Councils found it necessary to prohibit marriages between Jews and Christians. Such marriages were according to Graetz frequent in Gaul and Spain in the sixth century. Seven hundred years afterwards in 1229

"Archbishop Robert von Gran complained to the Pope that many Jews in Hungary are married to Christian women, and that the latter are often converted to Judaism; that Christian parents are selling their children to Jews, and some, out of greed for money, permit themselves to be circumcised and that within a few years many thousands of Christians were lost to the Church."

We see from this that proselytism as well as intermarriage has modified the racial character of the Jews. At the beginning of our era there were many converts from paganism to Judaism. When Europe became Christian the converts diminished in number but so long as slavery lasted, the slaves of Jews often accepted the religion of their masters. Even in modern times there have been many converts to Judaism in Russia.

There is then no Jewish race. All the evidence tends to shew that the Jews in different countries are of the same race as the other inhabitants of those countries.

"There is no more justification for speaking of ethnic unity among the modern Jews or of a 'Jewish' race than there is justification to speak of ethnic unity of the Christians, of Mohammedans, or of a Unitarian, Presbyterian or Methodist race." "The Jew in Russia has less kinship in blood with his co-religionist in the interior of Morocco than with the Slavs among whom he lives; the thirty per cent. of Jewish blondes are nearer in blood relationship to the North European Teutons, or the East European blondes than to their co-religionists in Yemen, Arabia."

The point is of great importance, and our condensed summary gives only a very imperfect idea of Dr. Fishberg's arguments. Another of the race theories prevalent even so late as thirty years ago has been swept away. The writer remembers that when he was a student it was still generally believed that all the speakers of Indo-European languages were descended from a primitive Indo-European or "Aryan" race. These "Aryans" according to Max Muller, possessed a high

standard of morals, a pure family life and a religion somewhat resembling Lutheran Protestantism. In course of time the "Aryans" became sub-divided into various distinct races, Latins, Celts, Teutons; of which races the Teutonic is the noblest. A German professor once told the present writer that only the Teutonic race was capable of reaching the highest degree of civilisation. Historical facts were simply and quickly explained by the differing qualities of different races. Why do the Jews believe in one God? M. Renan tells us the reason; because the Semitic races are monotheistic. The great charm of these explanations was their extreme facility. Why do the English play cricket? The answer is obvious; because the English are a cricket-playing race. The English, it is true, have not always played cricket, nor were the Jews always monotheists, but the literary man in search of generalisations does not allow himself to be embarrassed by such mere details. These race theories were the work of philologists who entirely ignored biology. Even before the time of which I am speaking, anthropologists, especially Broca and Huxley, had pointed out the mistake of supposing that race corresponded with language, but errors persist in the popular mind long after they have been refuted. Even now it is common enough to see in journals such phrases as the "Latin races," "the Teutonic races." The reader can best convince himself of their absurdity by a glance at an anthropological map of Europe,* where he will see that the distribution of race does not correspond to the distribution of language.

Dr. Fishberg's discussion of the Jewish "race", apart from its own interest is valuable for the light it throws on two general questions; acclimatisation and the possibility of mixed races. In his article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" Wallace takes the Jews as a good example of acclimatisation because "they keep themselves almost wholly free from intermixture with the people round them." As we have seen this is not the case. No doubt as Wallace says—

"If the human race constitute a single species,
* Such as is given in Deniker's "Races of Man," p. 327.

then the mere fact that man now inhabits every region, and is in each case constitutionally adapted to the climate proves that acclimatisation has occurred."

But we are dealing not with the long period of time during which the human race has existed, but with the short period covered by history. There does not seem to be any satisfactory evidence that within such a short period men may become adapted to a climate widely differing from their own. It must be remembered that climate is not a matter of latitude only. White men may live even in tropical countries on high table-lands. But as a rule the man from the north cannot adapt himself to the climate of the south. The conquests which occupy so much space in history have probably effected no permanent change in the population of the conquered countries. It seems less difficult for the southerner to adapt himself to the north. Men of the plains can live perfectly well in Kulu and Kashmir, but the hill-man can not live in the plains. "Hamlog is mülk næn nærjænge", a hill-man once said to me. So too, while Englishmen suffer from the heat of India, Indians do not, I believe, feel the cold of England more than Englishmen the selves. It seems then likely that the movement of population has been in the reverse direction to the general course of invasions; the one from south to north, the other from north to south; the one silent and peaceful but permanent in its effects; the other noisy and violent but producing only temporary results.

In a former article in this Review we quoted Broca's opinion as to the possibility of mixed races. Recently fresh evidence has been obtained by Professor Boas. His

"investigations have shown that crossing of whites with North American Indians and Negroes has not produced any new type nor middle types, but generally the half-breed showed a reversion to one of the parent types."⁶

This is confirmed by the example of the Jews. Thus the Chinese Jews, although some of their ancestors may have been Jewish, are, as the photographs shew, exactly like other Chinese. We may conjecture that the return to one of the parent types takes place somewhat in the following way. Putting on one side the question how far Mendel's results apply to human beings, it is a fact that

all the children of a family do not inherit the parental qualities in the same proportions. Any one can see this for himself in Eurasian families. Now while the features which distinguish races do not in themselves confer any advantage, they are probably associated with other qualities that do, for example, greater power of resistance to malaria or tuberculosis. Thus a child resembling one of his parents will have a greater chance of survival than a child resembling the other. There will then be a continuous process of selection tending to eliminate one of the types.

We come now to the demography or vital statistics of the Jews. Dr. Fishberg makes the very important general remark:

"It must be stated at the outset that from the enormous mass of vital statistics collected during the past century nothing definite has been established as to the influence of race on the birth and death rates." "Standards of comfort, intellectual, social and economic condition are the sole determining factors."

Thus the great difference in the birth-rates of Italy and Southern France cannot be accounted for either by climate or by race, for they are nearly the same in both countries. Adam Smith observed that poverty is generally at the present time, fertility. In Europe, at least, the East, the inhabitants of the poorer cities decrease as we go West. So too the rate with prosperity of recent years has brought this a steady decline in the birth-rate. It is true both for Jews and Christians, but the decline has been most marked among the Jews. Thus we find that the annual birth-rate in Bavaria among Christians dropped from 46 per thousand in 1876 to 36 in 1906, while among Jews it dropped from 34 to 19. In Prussia the birth-rate among Christians in 1908 was 33, while among Jews it was only 17. As is well known this decline is due not to physiological reasons but to deliberate choice:

"Those who have been for some time in the United States are only too frequently inquiring as to the best means of 'prudentially' limiting the size of the family. In Eastern Europe the same Jewesses have never known of the possibility of doing any such thing."

The fall in the birth-rate is greater in towns than in agricultural districts, and in the richest quarters of towns it is greater than in the poorer. Now the Jews live in cities, and in Western Europe are for the most

part fairly prosperous. This accounts for their fertility being lower than that of Christians without the need of assuming any race difference.

"If Jews in Germany were compared with Christians in that country who are merchants, manufacturers, professional people, bankers, etc., there would hardly be any difference between the two groups in regard to fertility."

In Russia the birth-rate among the Jews is still high, but even there prudential limitation of the size of the family is no longer unknown. Pamphlets explaining how this result may be obtained have appeared in Yiddish and had a wide circulation.

Dr. Fishberg discusses the alleged infertility of mixed marriages between Jews and Christians. The discussion is very interesting as it shows the fallacious conclusions to which statistics may lead when not carefully used. At first it seems as if in mixed marriages there were fewer children born per marriage. But the figures are obtained by the fallacious method of dividing the number of births in a year by the number of marriages in that year. As the number of mixed marriages is steadily increasing this gives too low a result. Again either husband or wife frequently changes religion and then the marriage is no longer entered as mixed. When these sources of error are removed it does not appear that mixed marriages are less fertile than pure marriages. There is no reason why they should be, since, as we have seen, it is a mistake to suppose that the Jews are of a different race from their Christian neighbours.

If the birth-rate is low among Jews so also is the death-rate. The difference in the mortality of Jews and Christians is most marked during infancy and childhood. Here, too, there is no need to look to "race" for an explanation—

"The lower mortality of Jewish infants is not due to any special inherent vitality, but finds its explanation in certain social causes. Jewesses in Eastern Europe and the United States almost invariably nurse their infants at the breast and it is rare to find among them an infant brought up by artificial feeding, unless the mother is physically incapable of suckling, which is comparatively rare among them. The mortality of breast-fed is much lower than that of hand-fed. A large proportion of lives is thus saved. Jewish mothers only rarely go to work after marriage, and can therefore bestow all possible care on their infants, which cannot be said to be invariably true of the

poorer classes of the population in Eastern Europe and America."

The difference in the adult mortality of Jews and Christians is slight, and such difference as there is may be explained by the rarity of alcoholism among the Jews. It is very seldom indeed that an orthodox Jew is a drunkard.

But the low mortality does not compensate for the low birth-rate, and the natural increase, or excess of births over deaths is steadily sinking. This is shown clearly for Prussia by the following table:—

		NATURAL INCREASE.	
		Jews.	Christians.
1885	...	10'33	12'29
1890	...	7'64	12'58
1895	...	6'66	15'12
1900	...	4'52	14'57
1905	...	3'34	12'93
1908	...	3'33	14'97

Thus the natural increase of the Jews in Prussia is now only about one-fourth that of the Christians, although in 1885 they were nearly equal. Some writers have said that the Hindus are a dying race, but it will be seen the Jews have much more reason for fear. Indeed there are towns such as Breslau where the number of deaths actually exceeds the number of births.

Judaism like Hinduism seldom gains and often loses adherents. There is a constant drain through conversion to other religions. It seems that in Europe some 224,000 Jews were baptized during the nineteenth century. But this does not nearly represent the whole loss to Judaism, since these figures apply chiefly to Eastern Europe. In France, England, the United States, where the State does not interfere with religion very few baptisms take place. There is no reason why a Jew who has given up his religion should be baptized, for many Englishmen of Christian parentage do not have their children baptized. In Western Europe a Jew quietly drops his religion just as many Christians do. Now in Austria, for example, a man must belong to one of three recognized religions, Judaism, Roman Catholicism or Protestantism.† He may, it is true, call himself a free thinker, *confessionslos*, but

* P. 262.

† In Bosnia and Herzegovina Mohammedanism is also recognized.

there are disadvantages in this as regards military service, so that most people nominally belong to one of the three religions. It is almost always a purely nominal adhesion, at least among the educated classes. The present writer when he was living in Austria had many friends among the professors. They were all officially either Protestants, or Jews, or Roman Catholics, but none of them believed in any religion or attended any religious worship. Since baptism is a mere conventional form, many Jews in Austria and Germany are willing to let their children be baptized. In England baptism implies more real belief in Christianity and so baptisms are not common. But none the less Judaism is abandoned.

"The Jews have fairly advanced on the path of discarding most of their separative dogmas and practices. There are to-day very few Jews, natives of Western countries, who refuse to partake at a Christian table, or who will not eat from dishes previously used by non-Jews. The Sabbath is a dead letter to the majority of Western Jews; they rest when the general population rests, and work when everybody is working."

Another source of loss to Judaism is the marriage of Jews with Christians. Such marriages are steadily increasing in number. The statistics for Prussia shew that since 1875, when these marriages were first legalized, the ratio of the number of mixed marriages to the total number of marriages has more than doubled. In all countries for which the statistics of mixed marriages can be obtained there has been an increase. Now the children of these marriages are generally brought up as Christians and even when not brought up as Christians often become Christians in later life. Hence there is a loss to Judaism through marriage which is estimated to be greater than the loss through conversion.

According to the strict law a Jew ought not to marry a gentile.

"Thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son."

But as already noted, the observance of the law is often neglected, especially among educated and prosperous Jews.

"The spirit engendered by the Talmud, that spirit of exclusiveness which held them together for centuries, is vanishing wherever the Jew is admitted freely into the modern schools and universities. Abandoning most of the ritual and ceremonial tenets of their

religion, there is very little left for which to struggle and uphold."

Max Nordau says:—

"The poor, the young and the uneducated remain true to Judaism, but no sooner has a Jewish family attained wealth and culture, entered into higher careers, and been seized with ambition, than it is at once, in the next generation lost to Judaism."

He adds—

"If Judaism is only a religion, then religious indifference will soon put an end to Judaism."

Another Jew, Lazarus writes:—

"The Jewish religion itself is in its death agony. It is the oldest of all existing religions, and it would seem right that it should be the first to disappear."

In Eastern Europe where the Jews are poor and persecuted they remain faithful to their religion; in Western Europe they abandon it.

"Orthodoxy and poverty, assimilation and prosperity, are almost synonymous terms with the Jews."

The perfect tolerance of Western Europe makes more converts than the cruel persecutions of Russia. It is the old story of the north-wind and the sun. In France and England, Judaism would disappear were it not for the continuous stream of immigrants from Russia and Roumania.

Religious indifference in Western Europe is as common among Christians as among Jews. We read that in France—

"The reactionaries and the clerical party are gloomy. Reports of depleted seminaries and of decrease in recruits for the priesthood seem to bear out their pessimist attitude. It does not appear that more than 10 per cent. of the population practise their religion."

In Austria, Southern Germany and Italy, so far as I can judge from personal observation, the neglect of religious observance is even more marked. Those who attend Church seem from their dress to belong entirely to the poorer and uneducated classes. Mr. McCabe who has made a special study of the question writes:—

"The majority of the Roman Catholics of the world to-day consist of American Indians, half-castes, negroes and mulattoes; and Indian, Indo-Chinese and African natives. These make up much more than half of the whole. Further, the great bulk of the remainder are the peasants and poor workers of Germany, Austria, France, Belgium and Ireland."

This sounds like race-prejudice, but we think all that Mr. McCabe means is that Roman Catholicism is most prevalent

among the illiterate. But in Protestant countries, too, there is the same complaint of the difficulty of finding recruits for the clergy. Men of ability are unwilling to enter holy orders. A writer in one of the magazines says:—

"It needs little observation to perceive that at Cambridge, in spite of the vigour shewn by the Church and other religious bodies, indifference to religious belief and practice very widely prevails."^{*}

In the East the decay of religion is not so far advanced as in the West but it is perceptible. Take as an illustration the following anecdote related by Mr. Bevan:—

"When I was staying some years ago with an English archaeologist in the desert, only one out of his large gang of workmen performed his prayers and the rest mocked him. This struck me, since I had up till then supposed that for a man to be mocked by those who profess the same religion for performing the duties of the religion was a phenomenon peculiarly Christian."

This general religious indifference affects the Jews particularly, since in all countries they are in a minority, and men without any strong convictions are naturally inclined to follow the majority. "The Western Jews", says Dr. Fishberg, "have practically discarded all their former particularisms in exchange for the culture, civilization, habits, customs, and manners of the people among whom they live." Naturally the prospect of the disappearance of Judaism is viewed by some Jews with dismay. "The ancient faith that has united us so long", says the hero of Mr. Zangwill's novel, "must not be lost just as it is on the very eve of surviving the faiths that sprang from it, even as it has survived Egypt, Assyria, Rome, Greece and the Moors." As Judaism can only be preserved by isolation, of recent years a movement has been started with the aim of procuring for the Jews a country of their own. For centuries the Jews have looked for a Messiah who would lead them back to the Holy Land. The Zionist, as he is called, of modern times has lost faith in the Messiah, and more prudently hopes to secure Palestine by a commercial transaction. Their views are eloquently expressed by one of the characters in Mr. Zangwill's "Children of the Ghetto."

"We, who twenty centuries ago were a mighty nation, with a law and a constitution and a religion

which have been the key notes of the civilisation of the world, we who sat in judgment by the gates of great cities clothed in purple and fine linen, are the sport of peoples who were then roaming wild in woods and marshes clothed in the skin of the wolf and the bear. Now in the East there gleams again a star of hope, why shall we not follow it?..... Palestine is our own if we wish; the whole house of Israel has but to speak with a mighty unanimous voice. Poets will sing for us, journalists write for us, diplomatists haggle for us, millionaires pay the price for us."

In 1897 an International Zionist Congress met at Basle and formulated the Zionist programme. The aim of Zionism was declared to be "the establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine." Of the four means considered serviceable for the attainment of this purpose, the first is the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists and handicraftsmen. So far about one hundred thousand Jewish colonists have been settled. This is claimed as a remarkable success, since in 1827 the Jewish population was only about five hundred. But as the total number of Jews throughout the world is estimated at twelve millions it is clear that the prospect of the Jewish state is still far distant. We are told by a Zionist:

It is mainly the Russian and Polish refugees who have turned certain parts of the country in and around Palestine into a veritable 'Garden of Eden' and such places in Tiberias, Galilee, Safed and Hebron into prosperous Jewish colonies.[†]

This sounds well but we learn from Dr. Fishberg that the colonists are not men who work with their own hands. They are petty landlords living on money supplied by Rothschild and the Zionist societies. This money passes at last into the hands of Arab labourers who do all the real work. The boasted prosperity of the colonies is illusory since it depends on subsidies received from outside. Even if they were more successful there is not room in Palestine. In Belgium, a country of the same size, there are six million inhabitants and Belgium is the most populous country in Europe. Even then if Palestine could become as thickly populated as Belgium, which is very improbable, there would only be room for half the Jews in the world. Then too the Christian and Moslem inhabitants of Palestine, at present by far the greater number, would have to be persuaded to leave their country.

* National Review, November, 1909. "Cambridge Revisited" by a non-resident graduate.

† Isaac Goodman in 'Fortnightly Review,' August, 1911.

At present the attitude of the reformed Turkish Government is not favourable to the hopes of the Zionists. Some fervent Jews have endeavoured to obtain a home for their co-religionists in other parts of the world. In 1902, Mr. Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary made an offer to Dr. Herzl, the leader of the Zionists, of territory in East Africa. This offer Dr. Herzl was willing to accept, but it was rejected by the greater part of his followers. However the Zionists consented to send a commission to examine the land. The report of the commission was that the territory was unsuitable for colonisation. Such a result might have been foreseen. It is not likely that any country will give away to Russian and Polish Jews land suitable to its own people. Repeated attempts of Mr. Zangwill's society, the Jewish Territorial Organisation, to secure land for settlement have met with failure. At present, the prospects of a Jewish state are not hopeful. The Jewish nationalists are divided among themselves; one party, the Zionists, seeks to recover Palestine; while the other party, the Jewish Territorial Organisation, aims at "acquiring a territory in any place in the world for Jews." It seems indeed that the movement is dying out. Although the subscription to the Zionist societies is very low, only a shilling yearly, the number of members is small and decreasing.

The truth is the idea of a religious state belongs to a stage of thought which has passed away. Athens was the city of Athene, and a citizen of Athens worshipped the gods of Athens. But a Frenchman or German or Englishman may be of any religion. Conversely a Roman Catholic or Protestant may belong to any nationality. Patriotism and religion have been completely dissociated, and the idea of a national religion is as absurd as the idea of a national astronomy or national mathematics. A Jew in Mr. Zangwill's novel says:—

"We are proud and happy in that the dread unknown God of the infinite universe has chosen our race as the medium by which to reveal His will to the world. We are sanctified to His service God made choice of one race to be messengers and apostles, martyrs as need to His truth."

One may notice in passing that modesty is evidently not one of the virtues which God has bestowed on his chosen people. But putting this aside, it is evident that the

Jews will be better able to reveal God's will to the world and to be messengers and apostles of His truth if they live among other people than if they isolate themselves. In Western Europe and America they can preach and teach what they consider God's truth to anyone they please without hindrance. They can follow their own peculiar practices so long as these are not inconsistent with ordinary humanity. In Switzerland and Saxony the Jews are not allowed to slaughter animals with the horrible cruelty their Talmud prescribes, but otherwise they are not interfered with in the least.*

The Jews have then no reason to complain of intolerance except in Russia, Poland and Roumania. It is true the exception is an important one, since these countries contain the greatest number of Jews. But even in Russia intolerance is diminishing and Jews are now allowed to vote and to be elected as members of the Duma. It is said, however, that although the political disabilities of the Jew have been in a great measure removed they still suffer from social disabilities. This question is discussed with admirable fairness by Dr. Fishberg. He admits that the exclusion of Jews from the best society is often due to their ostentation and bad manners. Indeed one has only to read Zangwill's "Children of the Ghetto," a picture of Jews by a Jew, to understand why they are so generally disliked. This dislike is not confined to any one country. If a man quarrels with all his neighbours it is impossible to believe that he is on every occasion in the right. So, too, when we find the Jews hated in ancient times by the pagan Greeks of Alexandria, and in modern times by the Musalmans of Bagdad, the orthodox Christians of Russia, the Catholics of Austria and the Protestants of Wales, we cannot believe that they are always the innocent victims of unjust persecution. Throughout all ages the Jew has shut himself off from his fellow men and regarded them with contempt. Unlike the Roman Stoic, Musonius who looked on every man as 'a citizen of the City of God' the Jew has cared only for the members of his own community. If the Jews have been despised

* The Jewish method of slaughter is too shocking to describe in these pages. The reader is referred to an article in the *Humane Review* for April, 1920.

it is because they themselves first despised others. When they give up their arrogant claims of superiority and their hatred of the human race, the hostility to them will pass away.

Naturally this is a work of time. As Dr. Hirschberg say:—

"The prejudice of ages cannot be obliterated in one or two generations of freedom and political equality."

When we consider how few years have elapsed since the emancipation of the Jews, the surprising fact is that so much of the old prejudice has disappeared, not that

some of it still remains. It was only in 1858 that a Jew was allowed to become a member of Parliament. Yet at the present time Jews of English birth for the most part live like their Christian neighbours and if it were not for the influx of foreign Jews Judaism in England would disappear. With increasing prosperity and culture the Jews give up their unpleasant customs and behave like ordinary human beings. The process of assimilation is rapid and continuous, and it seems that at no distant time the Jews will be absorbed in the general population of the countries in which they live.

HOMERSHAM COX.

THE A B C OF RURAL SCHOOLS IN AMERICA*

"Teach the children! It is painting in fresco".

Emerson.

"What made our Revolution (American) a foregone conclusion was the Act of General Court, passed in May, 1647, which established the system of common schools". Lowell.

THE little school house at Libertyville, Iowa, is typical of the many schools scattered everywhere through the rural districts of America. Over the maple grove the traveller can see the stars and stripes floating proudly from the white steeple or can hear the iron bell as it clangs from the cupola. The building itself, which stands in the midst of a shaded lawn, is picturesque. The white walls of the house with green trimmings make a splendid setting against the back ground of the autumn trees, whose leaves are just turning yellow, purple and red. Such a school, as Benjamin Franklin said, is truly "the modest temple of wisdom."

But watch the children! Their faces are fresh and bright, their hands are clean, and their hair combed smooth. As they rush into the building, they leave their hats and cloaks in the anteroom, and enter the class with leather satchels stuffed with books. How nice and spruce they look! Do these

sweet little children ever remind you a bit of Raphael's cherubs?

Let us step into the class room. It is commodious, well lighted, well heated, beautifully furnished and equipped. The furniture is simple but attractive. It consists of individual desks and settees for the children; a chair and a table on the platform for the teacher. In the centre of the room a fire burns cheerfully in a polished coal stove; and on the left and right, the glass windows are shaded by green blinds and snow-white curtains. One thing that specially attracts our attention for convenience and usefulness is the paper black board running all around the walls. And just above the black board, the walls are tastefully adorned with suggestive life-mottos, pictures of national historical significance, and portraits of Washington, Lincoln and other American heroes. Everything is in propriety and good taste. The very air of the place seems to put new zest into life—makes one eager to study, ambitious to achieve. There is no noise, no murmur, no whispered conversation. You can almost hear a pin drop. All is calm, quiet, and "ready for live business," as the Americans tersely express it. Can a child's mind help unconsciously imbibing the ennobling influence of such a stimulating environment?

* The pictures illustrating this article have been specially secured for the Modern Review through the courtesy of Mr. O. L. Moffitt. Mr. Moffitt is the President of the Camera Art Club of the State University of Iowa.

PROGRAMME OF THE DAY.

The school commences in the morning with appropriate opening exercises. There is, however, no set programme. The teacher on these occasions either makes a bright talk or tells a short story with a moral. At other times he reads a selection from an author or sings with the whole school some national hymns. The most popular national anthem which the children are taught to sing, of course, is "America." With what swing and rhythm it goes! There is nothing like it. It will warm the cockles of your heart to hear the music. Listen!

My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring.
My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.

The school day consists of seven periods, one of which is given to mid-day lunch. The school hours are from 9 to 4. The lunch is taken from 12 to 1. Since nearly all the students bring their "snacks" along with them in tiny dinner-pails, they eat their lunch at school. Besides this one period of necessary relaxation at noon, there are two short recesses lasting for fifteen minutes each; one recess comes at half-past ten, and the other at half-past two. These brief intermissions are utilized in open-air sports, and they are expected to be participated in by all. As a rule, the boys and girls play separately and as they choose. Evidently the object of the recess is to prevent school work from degenerating into a lifeless grind. It brings the children out-of-doors into sunlight and fresh air, and keeps them from getting brain fog. Nothing else can give the little ones so much of the needed mental relaxation as a lively, rousing game in the open-air. The teacher, of course, is always with the children on the play ground; but he is there not so much to guide and direct the games as to enthuse the children by his presence as an intensely interested spectator. The teacher in this country does not think that he has done

his full duty by his pupils when he has only explained their lessons and listened to their recitations. Instead, he endeavours by all means to enter into their daily lives. He mingles with them, thinks with them and feels with them; and the children come to accept him naturally enough as one of their personal friends. He is "just it," say the youngsters informally.

WHAT THEY TEACH.

The subjects taught in the rural schools are reading, spelling, grammar, composition, arithmetic, United States History, Geography, Physiology, Music and Drawing. To these, many schools have added recently courses in manual training, agriculture and domestic science. Domestic science is designed to increase the home efficiency of the young girls who will some day become the home-makers of the nation. It teaches the latest and most scientific methods of cooking, sewing, knitting, and the art of home decoration. The work in agriculture concerns itself with instruction in the composition of soil, the maintenance of the soil's fertility, the selection of proper seed, the rotation of crops and the care of raising and feeding stock. The manual training course gives the boys practice in handling tools, and making simple chairs, tables, fences, and gates. The work throughout is practical.

The purpose of the educational leaders in introducing these new branches is to bring the school close to the homes of the rural population, is to make the school a real "Laboratory of Life." A study of these practical subjects inspires the boys and girls with a love for country life. Instead of drifting into the over-crowded cities, they are encouraged to stay on the farms and prepare themselves for the practical duties of "the man on the land." The American educators have felt that in these days of scientific farming the farmer's boys, in order to live useful and successful lives at home, must needs have something more than instruction in the traditional "three R's." They should not only know "readin', ritin', and 'rithmetic"; but they should also get some training in those very subjects which bear on their life work. Here is an object-lesson for India.

HOW LONG THEY TEACH.

The work in these schools extends through eight years. If one is desirous of going further, he can enter the High School and graduate in four years; and if he is still more ambitious, he can go to a University and get his Bachelor's Degree at the end of another four years. Thus, a boy who goes to a rural school at six years of age will be ready to begin his life's vocation as a well-equipped university graduate when he is only twenty two. However, as a matter of actual record, a vast majority of the children become wage-earners after their common school education, and only a small fraction ever reaches the University campus.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION COMPULSORY.

The rural schools are absolutely free. All children between the ages of six and fourteen are required by law to attend school for at least twenty-four consecutive weeks of every year. In cases of real privation, the school board furnishes suitable clothing, books, and other necessary school supplies. But send each parent must his children to school. When the law is violated, the offending parent is reported by the truant officer, is hauled before the Justice of the Peace, and is rendered liable to a fine of from ten to one hundred and fifty rupees, or to imprisonment for not over six months.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION.

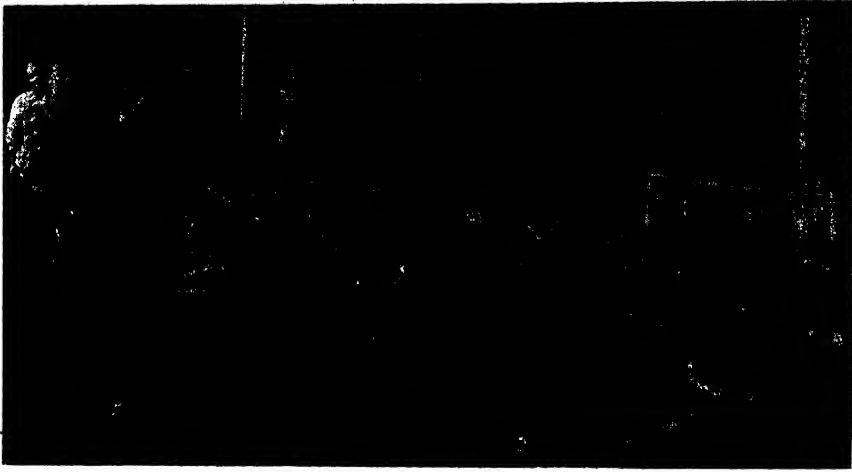
The school is administered by a board of directors, whose number varies from three to five. The directors are elected by popular suffrage for three years, one retiring every year. As they have the immediate control of the school, they are individually and collectively held responsible for the successful working of the school machinery. They frame rules of school government, hire teachers, keep the school building in repair and furnish necessary school material. The board receives no remuneration for its services. Next to the board, the school is under the supervision of the County Superintendent of Schools. This official does not interfere with the details of school administration, which is left entirely to the discretion of the local board. The superintendent has only the general oversight of the schools. He visits the schools occasionally, attends

to examinations, and sees that the state laws of education are enforced. The County Superintendent is again under the authority of the State Superintendent, who is at the head of common schools in every state. The State Superintendent and the County Superintendent are both appointed for two years by the direct votes of the people. They both receive compensation.

FINANCING THE SCHOOL.

The average expense of running a country school for a year of eight months is about a thousand rupees. The average cost per pupil is a little over six rupees a month. Now the school budget is met by revenues from two different sources. First, there is the permanent school fund provided by the State. In Iowa the State pays five rupees for each pupil of school age. Secondly, there is the district school tax levied on all taxable property. This tax is proportionate to the needs of the school district. It falls on all who have property, irrespective of the number of children. Thus, a propertyed man or woman, who has no children, has to pay the school tax just the same as the one who has dozens of children. It is significant that the man who has no property and is therefore exempt from taxation, has a perfect right to educate his children at public expense. The underlying principle is that all, rich or poor, need education. And while the children of the rich can live on the interest of their parents' money and do not require an education to make a living, the children of the poor cannot do that. In fact, the poor are in need of more and better education than the rich.

In the country there is a public school in nearly every four square miles; this area is called a school district. The school is so centrally located that the farthest child in the district is only two miles distant from his school. There are very few country school districts where there are no public schools. I have known of schools of only three pupils and the people of the district taxed a singularly large amount to support those schools. Waste? Extravagance? No. Who can measure the intrinsic value of education and its contributing services to the commonwealth in mere dollars and cents?



A Class in Applied Cooking.

SCHOOL LIBRARY.

The schools in the country district have often fine juvenile libraries. The methods of providing a library for the school are many. Sometimes children and their teacher become so interested in having a library that they work together to raise funds by selling tickets for socials and various entertainments. More often the state lends a helping hand. The State of North Carolina has a law on its statute-books, which provides that whenever the patrons of a country school raise thirty rupees for books, the State will duplicate it by a similar amount. In Wisconsin, the law authorizes the levy for a school library, of five annas per capita for each person of school age in every district.

TEACHERS' EXAMINATION.

It is comparatively easy to provide money and equipment for schools in a country where almost everybody seems to have money to spare. However, if the Americans are lavish in spending money for education, they are none the less careful in selecting the best of men and women to teach their children. No one in this country, not even a college professor, has a legal right to be a common school teacher unless he can pass a special examination of the State Board of Examination. To the successful candidate the Board gives a license or teacher's certificate granting him the privilege to teach.

Briefly speaking, there are four classes of certificates. The third grade certificate is granted to those who average at the examination 65 per cent. with no subject below 60 per cent. The holder of this certificate is entitled to teach only one year before his certificate must be renewed. The second grade certificate is for those who get an average of 75 per cent. with no subject below 70. The first class certificate is hard to get and therefore sharply contested by all. It is given to those lucky few who can secure an average of 85 per cent. with no subject below 80. The holder of the first class certificate can teach schools for three years without any examination. The final goal of every ambitious teacher, however, is to obtain a Life certificate; when one has this certificate he can teach school all his life without any further examination. To get the Life certificate, a teacher must have a record of five years of *continuous successful teaching*, the quality of success to be judged by the school or county superintendent under whom he may be engaged.

In a country where the auctioneer, the undertaker and even the barber are required to pass examinations and receive Government license before they are allowed to practise at their callings, there is no conceivable reason why the teacher should not be required to do the same. Obviously the teacher has a greater responsibility than either barber or 'funeral director'. The

teachers' examination serves as a stimulus for thorough preparation. It weeds out the incompetent and inefficient. It advances the standard of teaching as a whole.

The teachers' examination is not all "nuts and nectar." At every examination a surprisingly large number of candidates fail to get through. This, of course, is partly due to general incompetency; but principally to insufficient preparation. At a certain county examination early last summer, I found the applicants for teachers' license return, among others, the following curious answers. "Congress at large" is when Congress is in session. "Humidity" is the human race; also the average length of human life. Benjamin Franklin was the first inventor of lightning. "The Suez Canal" is between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. "Slavery was introduced in America by William Lloyd Garrison." "Comparison of Fore" is Forer, Forest. "Hygiene" is the principle article of food without which the body would die; every kind of food contains hygiene. "Absorption" is breathing pure air into our lungs and blowing it back through the nostrils. "Saliva is a kind of a soup made in the salivary gland." "Anatomy is pure air and correct use of ventilation."

These answers contain a moral lesson which needs to be rubbed in on us. They cannot but make one think that had there been no system of examination to expose these embryonic teachers, they would, in all probability, have got into some school and done more harm than good. They also serve to emphasize that a teacher, whether in America or India, needs to be well trained before entering upon the responsible duties of his vocation.

MAN *versus* WOMAN TEACHERS.

Almost all the teachers in the rural schools are women. Occasionally one hears a spasmodic cry against the "feminization" of elementary education; but that is only a false alarm of the professional muck-rakers. There are at least two reasons why the teaching force of the elementary schools is made up almost entirely of women. First, there is not money enough to attract men. The salary of a country school teacher is from one hundred to two hundred rupees a month—a poor salary in America for worthy

man. And as an average American can seldom rise above the "bread and butter" attitude towards his profession, he does not fancy the rural schools much. Secondly, men do not fully understand the little children and do not care to teach very long, not even long enough to make a successful failure. A man makes teaching a quick stepping stone to some business. Whatever may be the reasons for the scarcity of men in rural schools, it goes without dispute that women are after all more capable to teach the little folks than men. For unselfish devotion to duty the women come as near the ideal type of teacher as can be; they are like the "candle which lights others in consuming itself." They have more stick-to-itiveness; they are more conscientious. Then, too, they are unusually gifted with patience and human sympathy—qualities which go a long way to stimulate a child to do his very utmost.

NOTABLE CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION.

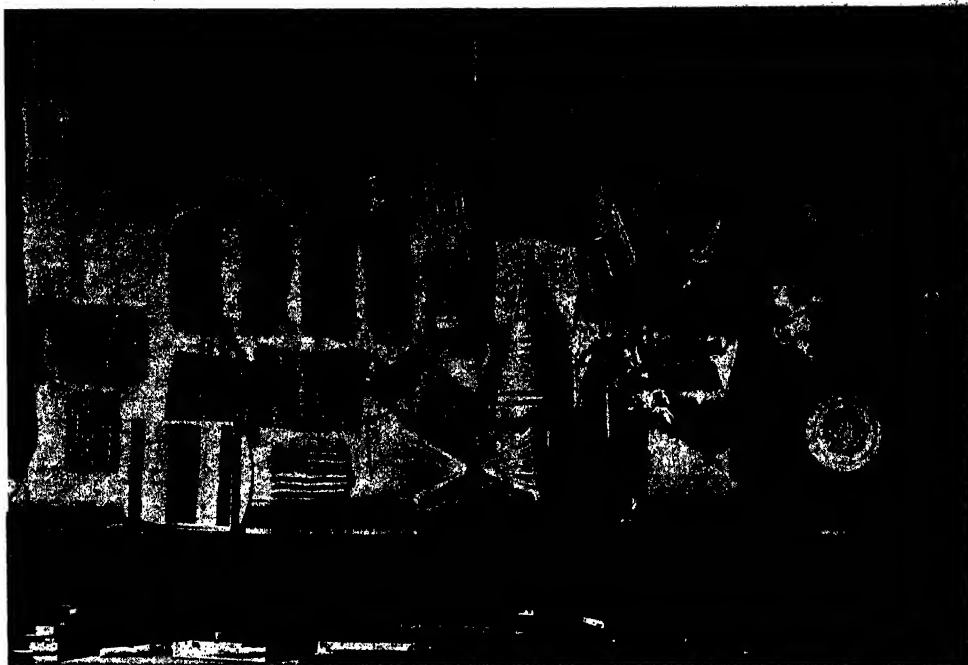
It is not possible within the limits of a brief article to touch upon all phases of rural education. Mention may be made, however, of a few of the leading features that are peculiarly characteristic of the American system of education. Almost the first thing that strikes an observer is the democratic spirit which permeates the whole school life. It is, indeed, something more than a mere vague, elusive spirit. You can almost feel it, touch it—it is so vital, so real. This wholesome American democracy finds a living expression in the absolute equality which exists among students. It is a very common thing to see the boy whose father owns a thousand acres of land and has a big red automobile, treated by school-mates and teacher just like the ragged urchin by his side, whose father is the "hired hand" of the rich man.

"Who are some of the richest students in your school?" I queried a teacher.

"I don't know," was her short reply.

"Why, you don't say!"

"Yes; I treat every child just the same. I never care to find out who his father is, or his mother. All I want to know is what he can do. He has got a chance to prove it to me." This is no put-up talk of an Utopian; it is ideal democracy in action.



These rugs, doilies, pictures and wallets are the work of little folks in the elementary grade.

In elementary schools throughout the United States boys and girls recite together in class. This system of co-education is favored by the progressive leaders of educational thought not only because it is economical, but because it has actually raised the quality of scholarship in the schools where it has been fairly tried. A lady school principal of unusual stamp, who has taught school for twenty years, once explained to the writer that the chief advantage of co-education is that the presence of boys makes the girls work harder. The girls do not like to fail in the presence of the boys. Of course, it also works the other way; it makes the boys study hard to keep pace with the girls.

Another special glory of the American school system is to be found in the fact that the public schools do not countenance the teaching of church creeds and dogmas. Some years ago an English missionary zealot—a Bishop Weldon, it seems to be—succeeded in creating a stir in India and getting a good deal of notoriety for himself by his absurd proposal to teach the Bible in

Government schools. It is hard to imagine how this missionary would have felt had he known that the American people, who are more than holding their own in every field of human endeavour, have achieved that tremendous success without having religion rammed down their throats in schools. Indeed, the go-ahead Americans have totally eliminated the Bible from school rooms as a book of religion. There is precious little doubt that the attempt to teach religion in public schools would foil the very ends of education. It is every way fortunate for the interest of the world's progress and civilization that the American nation as a whole still clings to the good old teachings of Socrates, "That knowledge is virtue and virtue is knowledge."

To all who have travelled in rural districts, it is a well-known fact that the American mothers are great factors in the education of their children. The mothers apparently seem to care for their children more than the fathers. If you ask an average farmer in what class his boy is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the horny-handed one

will stroke his chin and exclaim, "I don't know that. You had better ask my wife. She can tell you a heap better than I can." Once I met a farmer's wife, nearly fifty years old. On discussing the education of her children, the woman with silvering hair casually remarked, "I never had the chance of a college education. I wish I could go to a college now! My soul craves for knowledge! I am right up to the neck in my farm-work; but I always devote some time to study each day. I also require my children to do the same—even during the holidays." Her eyes sparkled and I knew she was sincere and earnest. Then with a broad, illuminating smile, the gray woman in blue apron rose from the black leather chair and took me over to the kitchen.

"I don't allow myself to waste time," she continued with an accent of enthusiasm. "See that little sofa yonder by the north window?"

"Yes."

"That's my favorite study."

"Oh, Indeed!"

"Yes. You see, while waiting for the potatoes to boil and the meat to stew over the kitchen stove, I rest on the sofa and improve the spare moments by reading history. This short life——"

A MATTER OF VITAL CONCERN TO INDIA.

But why are we interested in the American school? Of all things which come home to us with greatest force in India there is none more highly important than providing ways and means for practical education. This is a practical age. Indian education, copied after the standardized English model, has descended to us from another day. It should be now so organised as to square with the modern spirit, with the condition of modern life. It should fill the needs, the requirements of the time and the country. In Indian village schools—such as they are—attempts should be made to open up, at least, elementary vocational education. Right now is the time to provide for the training of our coming mechanics, farmers, and skilled workmen, if as a nation we are to go up and not sink down. The boys of to-day will be the future citizens of New India. Think of it. Why not train them to be workers and producers? Too often

the students of the Indian schools imagine that education has no other ulterior end than to live by their wits on easy street. Surely there is something radically wrong with the schools which make such a distorted conception of education possible. The remedy should be sought by giving instruction in vocational training, by teaching occupations which ensure self-support.

I think I hear a chorus of disapproval already. Let it be distinctly understood that this is not meant in opposition to higher education *per se*; we simply insist that our zeal for book-education has carried us to an extreme, and that it is high time to cry an emphatic halt. We must learn to respect manual labor combined with head work. We cannot live for ever on fine spun theories of literature and philosophy. Some must learn the industries, the manual arts: some must know how to use their hands as well as their heads.

We are triumphantly told that there can be no sound education, no real mental cultivation, without classical or literary courses. The arguments on the side of those who hold this ancient theory do not seem to have enough weight. A man can as well be educated through a course in medicine or law as through a course in agriculture. Indeed, there is no difference of quality in the intellectual discipline that comes from a study of law or a study of agriculture. The alert American educators have long since realized the truth of this fact. A short time ago the Superintendent of Boston City Schools permitted a student in the High School to substitute for Algebra a higher course in violin music. That may seem like educational heresy to old-time Indian teachers; but there is no doubt that the Superintendent of Boston Schools was fully justified in believing that as far as the development of intellect is concerned, a student would be as fully benefited by a course in difficult music as by a course in Algebra, Sanskrit or Persian.

To conclude, the Americans have learned how to make education cultural as well as serviceable. The Indians should also "go and do likewise." It may not be advisable to imitate the American educational system blindly; but we should keep our minds open and accept the best wherever it may be found.

SUDHINDRA BOSE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Extracts from the Circular of Information issued by the University of California.

History.—Soon after the migration of the 'gold-hunter's of California from the Eastern States in 1849, (who are also called "The Forty-niners"), Rev. Henry Durant, a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Yale College landed in San Francisco in 1853, with the purpose of founding a university. In the same year he opened the "Contra Costa Academy" in Oakland, which name was shortly afterwards changed to "College School" and was ultimately incorporated under the name of "College of California" in 1855. Rev. Samuel H. Wiley (who is still living in Berkeley at the age of 92) was appointed vice-president, no president being selected. In 1856 a tract of one hundred and sixty acres, five miles north of Oakland, was selected as the permanent home of the college. In 1860 this plot was formally dedicated to the purposes of education, and in 1866 the name of Berkeley was given to the town site.

From 1849 to 1868 the matter of establishing the University of California in one form or another was constantly agitated. In 1853 Congress gave to the State forty-six thousand and eighty acres of land for a "seminary of learning." In 1862 according to the Morrill Act, California was granted one hundred and fifty thousand acres of public land for the purpose of founding at least one college in the State. In 1866 an act was passed by the California Legislature to establish an agricultural, mining and mechanical arts College. Through the efforts of Professor Durant, Governor Low and three other prominent men, the College of California generously offered its property in Oakland and its grounds in Berkeley on condition that the State should "forthwith organise and put into operation upon the site at Berkeley a University of California which shall include a College of Mines, a College of Civil Engineering, a College of Mechanics, a College of Agriculture, an academical college, all of the same grade and with courses of instruction at least equal to those of eastern colleges and universities." The Legislature accordingly passed an act organising the University of California, which was signed by Governor H. H. Haight on March 23, 1868.

In 1869 the College of California discontinued its work of instruction and gave place to the new university which opened its doors on September 23. During the construction of buildings at Berkeley the University occupied the College halls in Oakland. On July 16, 1873, the commencement exercises (known as 'convocation' in the Indian universities) were held at Berkeley and the university took formal possession of its new home.

The first appointees to the faculty included Professors Martin Kellogg, John Leconte, and Joseph Leconte. The first President was Prof. Durant. The present President is Benjamin Ide Wheeler, PH. D., LL. D., one of the greatest educationists of this country, who was elected the Roosevelt Lecturer at the University of Berlin in 1909.

The faculty now consists of about 530 Professors, Emeritus Professors, Honorary Professors, Associate Professors, Instructors, etc., and 72 administrative officers, among whom are many eminent scientists and educationists of the world. The number of students in attendance during the year is about 5,500, of whom 4,000 are men and 1,500 are women. About 600 men and women graduate each year from the various colleges of the university; and the number of Freshmen entering the university this fall was about 1,400 which is ever increasing. The graduate school consists of some 500 men and women candidates for the degrees of PH. D., M. D., M. A., M. L., M. S., A. B., B. L., B. S., and J. D. (Juris Doctor).

Such an institution, the glory of the west coast of the United States, has grown from a little school which consisted of less than a dozen students and one instructor who had hardly anything to eat in those early days. This has been achieved through the help of the public, the State, and the United States during a short period of fifty-one years, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the College of California having been celebrated in May, 1910.

In 1869 the legislature directed that no admission or tuition fees be charged for the residents of California and in 1870 that the University should be opened to women on terms of equality with men. In 1887 the state legislature rendered the income of the University more secure and permanent by providing for the annual levy of an 'ad valorem' tax of one cent on each one hundred dollars of the taxable property of the state. In 1897 this tax was increased to two cents, and in 1909 to three cents on each one hundred dollars.

Among other features of public good rendered by the university is the holding of the Farmers' Institutes throughout the state since 1891. Later in 1897, a new department was erected, called the Department of University Extension in Agriculture. Through these institutes, through bulletins, and through professional visits to farm, garden, orchard and vineyard the university constantly stands ready to render aid and instruction in relieving agricultural emergencies and in solving agricultural problems.

The demonstration train, sent out through the generous offer of the Southern Pacific Railroad Co., goes out in service for some seventy days, covering 3,436 miles of road and making 250 stops. A total of 80,000 people visit the train and see the extensive

exhibits installed in its many coaches, illustrating modern applications of science and good sense in agriculture, the ways and means of how to fight the diseases of the plants and animals, malaria, tuberculosis, etc.

The summer session of six weeks, beginning about the third week of June, is designed for teachers and other persons who are unable to attend the regular sessions. The courses of instruction are majaly of University grade, and credit toward the university degrees is given to the attendants who comply with the requirements and pass the examinations. A marked feature of the summer sessions is the presence as lecturers of leading men from Eastern (U.S.) and European Universities.

The total endowment of the University of California at June, 30, 1910, was \$4,311,995'34, the income earned by this endowment for the year 1908-1909, \$211,238'99.

The San Francisco Institute of Art, the College of Medicine, the College of Dentistry, and the California College of Pharmacy, are supported by fees from students. The Hastings College of the Law has a separate fund.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

The U. C. is aided by the State and the United States and by private gifts; and comprises the following Colleges which are open to all qualified persons without any distinction of sex color or creed.

I. IN BERKELEY (four years courses).

The Colleges of
General Culture
leading to the
Degree of

A. B. in the College of Letters,
B. L. in the College of Social
Sciences,
B. S. in the College of Natural
Sciences;

The Colleges of
Applied Science
leading to the
Degree of

B. S. in the College of Commerce,
in the College of Agriculture—
(1) in the general course, or (2)
in the technical courses,
in the College of Mechanics—
(1) in Mechanical Engineering,
or (2) in Electrical Engineer-
ing,
in the College of Mining, in the
College of Civil Engineering—
(1) in Rail-road Engineering, or
(2) in Sanitary Engineering,
or (3) in Irrigation Engi-
neering;
in the College of Chemistry.

Students in architecture, although pursuing an established curriculum in part comparable with a college of applied science, are classified as students in letters, social sciences, or natural sciences.

In the Colleges of Mechanics, Mining, Civil Engineering, and Chemistry there are also courses of five years, leading also to the degree of Bachelor of Science, but providing a broader cultural and professional training.

In the five-year course in mining, provision is made for specialisation either in (1) mining engineering, or (2) metallurgy or (3) Geology.

II. AT MOUNT HAMILTON, CAL.

Lick Astronomical Department (Lick Observatory). For information regarding this department of the University, address the Recorder of the Faculties, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

III. IN SAN FRANCISCO.

1. San Francisco Institute of Art.
2. Hastings College of the Law.
3. College of Medicine, third and fourth years, first and second years being in Berkeley.
4. College of Dentistry.
5. California College of Pharmacy.

IV. IN LOS ANGELES, CAL.

College of Medicine (Los Angeles Department), third and fourth years.

DEPARTMENTS OF INSTRUCTION IN THE COLLEGES AT BERKELEY.

Philosophy, Education, Jurisprudence, History, Political Science, Economics, Anthropology, Music, Semitic Languages, Oriental Languages (Chinese, Japanese), Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, English, Germanic Philology, German, Romanic Languages (French, Spanish), Slavic Languages, Mathematics, General Science, Physics, Astronomy, Geography, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Hygiene, Palaeontology, Geology, Mineralogy, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Irrigation, Mining and Metallurgy, Drawing, Agriculture, Architecture, Horticulture and Entomology, Military Science and Tactics, Physical Culture, Anatomy, Pathology.

LIBRARY, MUSEUMS, AND LABORATORIES.

Library.—The General Library, recently moved to the new colossal Charles F. Doe Library Building, contains over 300,000 volumes. It is constantly augmented by donations and exchange, and by large purchases of books with the income from the several funds of the Library.

The extensive Bancroft collection of manuscripts and books relating to Pacific coast history is located in California Hall, well arranged for use by historical students.

In the Doe Library there are about a dozen seminary rooms provided for advanced research work.

The various departments of instruction have separate collections of books, useful for ready reference and class-room work. The Library and Reading Room of the Department of Agriculture, situated in Agricultural Hall, receives the publications of the Experiment Stations of the United States and other countries, as well as pamphlets on agricultural subjects published by various Governments and Commissions. About one hundred and forty dailies, weeklies, and monthlies are regularly received.

The General Periodical Room is in the Doe Library, where the important dailies, weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies of the various languages of the world are received.

The Library is open from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M. daily, on Saturday, 9-12 A. M. to 7-10 P. M. and Sunday, 9 A. M. to 4 P. M.

Art Collections.—The Gallery of Fine Arts, containing three pieces of sculpture and seventy-five paintings, illustrative of the various periods and schools of art, is located in the Bacon Art Building. There are also numerous portraits, etchings, bronzes and a fine collection of reproductions from the Lower Gallery, *Blanc's Peintres*, *Galerie des Peintres*, *Mantz*, *Krell*, etc. The fourteen hundred photographs of ancient and modern masterpieces of sculpture, presented by John S. Hittel, may be freely used in connection with the study of the plastic art. Besides these there is a vast collection of classical archaeology comprising original pieces of Greek, Etruscan, and early Italian material. There are also reproductions of antique art, a cabinet of about three thousand ancient and modern coins and medals, sets of wall maps of ancient countries, many engravings, photographs, a unique series of facsimile copies after the portrait panels of Greek and Egyptian mummies, and a group of Bysantine eikones from Italy and Russia illustrating the long survival in Christian art of Greek methods of painting.

Museums.—**Anthropology.** The archaeological and ethnological collections from Egypt, Greece, Italy, Peru, and California are in the Anthropological Building, established and supported as a research and museum

department by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. Owing to the increase of the collections, the principal portion has been removed to one of the university's buildings at the affiliated colleges in San Francisco. In these collections the arts and industries of all the ancient tribes of north and south America are represented, also of the inhabitants of British New Guinea, and of the Moham-medan, Christian and other peoples of the Philippine Islands. The Egyptian collections are among the most extensive in the museum, and are the result of systematic excavations by the Hearst Egyptian expedition for a number of years, and represent various periods, from the predynastic to the Coptic.

From Europe the museum contains a series of original and facsimile specimens illustrating palæolithic and neolithic man. The museum possesses also 1,500 phonograph cylinders recording religious and secular songs, instrumental music, prayers, charms, etc., mainly in the language of the California Indians.

Mathematical models.—The Department of Mathematics has a collection of about three hundred models of Mathematical curves and surfaces in plaster, thread, wire, wood, and celluloid, including the Brill collection and the Schröder models of descriptive Geometry.

Botany.—The botanical collections contain the following:

I. A *Phaenogamic Herbarium* of over two hundred thousand sheets of mounted specimens and fully as much unmounted material representing plants from all parts of the world.

II. A *Cryptogamic Herbarium*, containing twenty-one thousand sheets, particularly illustrating the California species.

III. A *Botanical Museum*, containing a valuable collection of native woods, fibres, barks, cones, acorns, and fruits, besides a large number of drugs and an economic collection.

Zoology.—The department of Zoology has an excellent collection of both invertebrates and vertebrates, of marine invertebrates of the groups of protozoa, coelenterata, bryozoa, echinodermata, annelida, mollusca, crustacea, and tunicata. In entomology the Agricultural Department possesses a collection of over two thousand

well determined species of beetles and a large collection of lepidoptera. The collections are fairly complete for the purpose of general instruction in comparative anatomy.

The California museum of vertebrate Zoology, established and maintained by Miss Annie M. Alexander, gives the university the most complete collection of the West American land vertebrate fauna ever brought together for purpose of research.

Paleontology.—The collections of the Geological Survey, now the property of the university, contain either the types or representative specimens of almost all the California fossils.

Geology and Mineralogy.—There is an extensive suite of minerals and ores illustrating the chief phenomena of crystals and of economic deposits. There are, besides, many crystallographic models, relief maps geologically colored, petrological specimens and many specimens illustrative of the more interesting features of Structural Geology.

Agriculture.—A collection of more than two thousand specimens of the soils of the state fully illustrates the character of the several agricultural regions of California. A general collection of seeds is being formed, for the purpose of study as well as of a seed-control station. There is also a collection of viticultural and enological apparatus, and a library pertaining to these subjects.

Laboratories.—Almost all the following laboratories are well-equipped with original and up-to-date apparatus and instruments both for instruction and research.

The *Psychological Laboratory* occupies the entire second and third floors and part of the basement of the Philosophy Building, and contains a demonstration room for class instruction, which can be darkened when necessary. For research work, there is an optical room, a special dark, a silent room, an acoustical room and three other rooms which can be adapted to any special problems.

The *Physical Laboratory* occupies the entire basement floors of South Hall and East Hall, with rooms set apart for photometry, for spectroscopic research, for dynamos and for a workshop. It offers good facilities to students who wish to pursue the study of physics beyond the limits of the prescribed courses, like electrical engineering, astro-

physics, the practical uses of polarized light, and physical chemistry.

The Students' Observatory (Berkeley Astronomical Department).—The equipment consists of an eight-inch reflector, a six-inch refractor with position micrometer, a five-inch refractor, a six-inch photographic telescope and a five-inch photographic with a three-inch guiding telescope, all equatorially mounted with driving clocks; a three-inch Davidson combination transit and zenith telescope, a two-inch altazimuth instrument, a surveyor's transit with solar attachment, spectroscopes, a Repsold measuring engine for measuring astronomical photographs, a Gaertner microscope, an electrochronograph, a Harkness spherometer, a leveltrier, six sextants, three chronometers, a Howard M. T. Clock, all necessary electric connections for recording time and determining longitude by the telegraphic method, and a set of meteorological instruments with which observations are regularly recorded and forwarded to the United States Weather Bureau in Washington, D. C.

The Lick Observatory at Mt. Hamilton.—For particular information about these two departments, address the Recorder of the Faculties, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

The Chemical Laboratories are situated in the Chemistry Building, are large and commodious, well lighted and well ventilated, and offer excellent facilities for the study of Chemistry. They comprise the following:—An Elementary Laboratory for beginners; a Qualitative and a Quantitative Laboratory; an Organic Laboratory for special and advanced studies in organic chemistry; a well-equipped laboratory for Physical Chemistry, a laboratory for Physiological Chemistry, and two large Research Laboratories. Special rooms are devoted to volumetric analysis, gas analysis, spectrum analysis and electrolysis. Ample facilities are provided for chemical analysis and for investigations in foods, drinking waters, mineral waters, poisons, etc.

A Botanical Garden covers about four acres of land, and furnishes abundant material for the classes in botany.

The Botanical Laboratories are well lighted and equipped with the necessary instruments and reagents for work in morphology,

histology, and physiology both of flowering and flowerless plants.

The *Conservatory* has five subdivisions arranged for different temperatures, according to the needs of different classes of exotics. A large collection of plants is kept for illustration in horticultural and botanical instruction.

The *Zoological Laboratories* occupy the greater part of the first floor and part of the second of East Hall, and are equipped for both elementary and advanced work in general morphology, microscopical anatomy, and embryology.

The *Rudolph Spreckels Physiological Laboratory*, erected by Mr. Rudolph Spreckels of San Francisco, provides facilities for about forty students. Provision is also made for work in general physiology and experimental biology.

The *Mineralogical Laboratory* is provided with a large collection of minerals, and is well-equipped with necessary apparatus for research work in crystallography both as regards goniometric work and the determination of physical constants.

The *Petrographical Laboratory* contains a large collection of rocks, and several thin and thick sections. These two laboratories are situated in the South Hall.

The *Mechanical and Electrical Laboratories* are situated in the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Building, and consist of steam engineering, hydraulic engineering and electrical engineering. The machine shops have a floor area of 10,000 square feet and comprise the following:—

1. The main machine room for metal working machines, bench and hand tools.
2. The woodworking, carpentry, and pattern rooms.
3. The blacksmith room.
4. A room for delicate metal work.

The laboratories have a total area of 12,000 sq. ft., of which 6,300 sq. feet consists of a covered court in which are installed the apparatus and equipment of the hydraulic laboratory.

The *Mechanical Engineering Laboratories* contain a number of experimental steam engines, gas engines, and an air compressor, including condensers, hot wells, etc.

In *Electrical engineering*, the dynamo laboratory contains a 100 H. P. Ball engine, a 50 H. P. Straightline engine, a 100 H. P.,

4000 volt, 3 phase, synchronous motor for constant speed, machines ranging in size from 100 K. W. down, direct current, constant potential and constant current types, and single and polyphase alternating current generators, and induction and synchronous motors, many dynamo electrical machines constructed by students, dynamometers of various types, multiple plug switchboards, etc.

The hydraulic laboratory has recently been fully equipped with an artificial head of water for tests upon impulse wheels, two experimental water wheels of 50 H. P. capacity, a standpipe giving various heads up to 60 feet, and other laboratory requirements.

The *Civil Engineering Laboratory* is situated in the Civil Engineering Building, has an excellent assortment of models and specimens of trade products, of photographs and blue prints of existing European and American structures, of photographic lantern slides of engineering apparatus and structures, &c. For purposes of instruction both in the regular session in Berkeley and at the Summer School of surveying near Santa Cruz, the department has a supply of surveying, drawing, computing and other necessary instruments. The testing Laboratory is fitted with apparatus for determining the elasticity and resistance of the materials used in engineering construction and for the inspection of cements and manufactured products.

The *Sanitary and Municipal Laboratories* of the department afford facilities for work on problems relating to the determinations of chemical, bacteriological and physical properties of water, sewage, air, municipal refuse; have apparatus for special studies of rainfall rates and run-off in streams and sewers. Practical problems in hydraulics, water and sewage purification, municipal refuse disposal and ventilation either can be studied in the laboratories or solved elsewhere with the use of the laboratory equipment.

The *Mining and Metallurgical Laboratories* occupy the Hearst Memorial Mining Building which has four working floors. The first floor contains steam heating and ventilating appliances, and there is installed a 15-horsepower electrically driven air compressor and a 100-horsepower compound

duplex air compressor driven by a condensing steam engine. There are two large store rooms containing chemicals, crucibles, muffles, and other supplies used in the assaying laboratory, mining and metallurgical machinery and apparatus. On this floor there are also two locker rooms and lavatories with shower baths, the Mining Laboratory, the forge-rooms, metal and wood working shops and a central switch-board. The working rooms of the building are provided with compressed air, steam, water, gas and electricity. In the mining laboratory instruction is given in the methods of rock-drilling, in the use of diamond and artesian drill boring tools, together with some experimental work with the leading types of hoisting and ventilating machines.

The memorial vestibule, the museum of mining and metallurgy; three large lecture rooms, a number of offices, studies, and reading rooms; the assaying laboratory consisting of six large rooms fitted up to illustrate the use of assay furnaces; a suite of rooms devoted to work on an experimental scale in concentration, chlorination, and amalgamation of gold and silver ores, and to hyposulphate lixiviation and cyanide work; and a large smelting laboratory, are all on the second or main floor.

The Third Floor has six large rooms devoted to advanced work in metallurgy by senior mining students, and a similar suite of six rooms for research work.

The Fourth Floor is used as a large steel stack room containing a reference library of mining and metallurgy; and two suites of five rooms each, lighted from above, serve as draughting, designing, photographic and blue printing rooms.

In the rear end of the building is a tower 50 feet square, extending up through three stories, from second to the fourth, devoted to the dry crushing and sampling of ores, and contains all the necessary up-to-date machinery and appliances. To the left of this tower there is a large room extending also up through three stories, devoted to the wet crushing and amalgamating of gold, silver, copper, and lead ores.

The Laboratories of Agricultural Chemistry, Soil and Cereal Investigation, Viticulture, Zymology, Sugar House Control and the offices of the Departments of Irrigation,

Engineering and Agriculture, and of the Central Experimental Station are located in the Agriculture Building. A *Special Laboratory* is devoted to investigations in the physics and chemistry of soils. In these laboratories the chemical examination of soils, waters, foods, agricultural products, natural and commercial fertilizers, etc. sent by the farmers and others, is conducted; and the results thereof communicated to the parties interested or published in the form of bulletins, if they are of general interest.

The *Fertilizer Control Laboratory*, the *State Pure Food Laboratories*, the *Entomological Laboratories*, the *Laboratories of Bacteriology and Veterinary Science*, and *Plant Pathological Laboratory* occupy separate buildings designated by the names of the different subjects.

The *University Dairy* is located in the hill lands of the University at Berkeley, and consists of a dairy herd, barns, corrals, and a milk house with nice arrangements for sanitary milk handling.

The *University farm* comprises 780 acres of first class valley land under irrigation at Davis, Yule County, and is provided with buildings for instruction in practical agriculture and horticulture, including a commercial creamery, stock pavilion, horticultural building, dairy barn, cereal building, mechanical shops, and a dormitory building and dining hall. The farm is both for experiment and instructional purposes. Instruction is provided in short courses for adults, secondary instruction for youth, and practical instruction for University students.

The *Experiment Station and Sub-Stations* of the college of agriculture make provision for systematic experimentation in the culture of the various farm products, in the introduction and testing of new varieties, in the study of diseases of plants and animals and of the repression of animal and vegetable parasites. There are at present five stations where the entire technical staff of the department takes part. The Central Station, from which all work is directed and all the bulletins are issued, is at Berkeley.

The *Southern California Pathological Laboratory* is well-equipped for research and

experiment in the nature and control of plant diseases.

The Marine Biological Laboratory at San Diego, California affords opportunity for investigation in the culture and curing of fishes.

There are two Forestry Stations, one at Santa Monica, Los Angeles County, the other near Chico, Butte County, used for the experimental growing of trees.

Among other Stations are the viticultural stations at Fresno, Napa, Livermore, Mountain View, Lodi, Sonoma, Geyserville, and Cucamonga, and the California Poultry Experiment Station at Petaluma, Sonoma County.

The buildings of the University at Berkeley.—Among the older wood structures are North Hall, South Hall, East Hall, Agricultural Building, Botany Building, Philosophy Building, Civil Engineering Building, etc. Some of the older brick buildings are Bacon Library and Chemistry Building. The Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Building is a recent brick structure.

The Harmon Gymnasium is a vast wood structure presented to the university by the late A. K. P. Harmon and provides all the men students with opportunities for physical culture. Besides the main hall, where all the students take physical exercises five evenings in the week for an hour under the direct supervision of the Professor of Physical culture, there are athletic quarters, a rowing room, one hundred and sixty five shower baths, and two thousand lockers for use of the students.

The Hearst Hall is a beautiful wood building presented by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst for a women's gymnasium. It contains the very best of modern equipment, with special facilities to overcome deformities and to correct physical defects. In a separate building connected with it are one hundred shower baths with hot and cold water, two hundred dressing rooms, and nine hundred lockers for the use of women students. Connected with the Hearst Hall there is an outdoor gymnasium in an enclosed court, 150 ft. long and 80 ft. wide, with a seating capacity of one thousand, also the gift of Mrs. Hearst. It is used for Basketball and other games suitable for women.

The student's infirmary is within the campus where both men and women students

enjoy the privileges of hospital treatment during the college year. Patients are taken into the infirmary and nursed until they are fully cured. This privilege is obtained by paying only \$2.50 per semester (which is compulsory for every student) and cannot be had in any other institution in this coast that I know of.

As the result of a competition promoted by Mrs. Hearst between one hundred and five prominent architects of Europe and America "for a permanent and comprehensive plan for a system of buildings to be erected on the grounds of the University of California at Berkeley", that of Monsieur Emile Benard of Paris won the prize. The first structure according to this plan was the Greek theatre, the gift of William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper millionaire. This is an open-air auditorium of unique beauty, lying in the hollow of the hills and surrounded with trees; and is used for great university occasions, and for musical and dramatic representations. A musical concert, represented by the local talents and sometimes by famous artists who happen to be in San Francisco, is given every Sunday afternoon during the college and summer sessions free to the public.

The second building completed according to the Hearst plans was the California Hall, a solid granite structure, erected through appropriations made by the State legislature. All the administrative offices are located in the second story of this building, and almost all the classes in history, literature, language, commerce, mathematics, etc., are held in the lecture rooms on the first floor. The third building is the Hearst Memorial Mining Building erected by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst as a memorial to her husband, the late United States Senator George Hearst. The building is of granite and cost over \$600,000; and the present equipment represents an outlay of about \$400,000. The fourth is the magnificent Doe Library, the fifth the Boalt Memorial Hall of Law and the sixth the Agricultural Building under construction, all of solid granite and steel frame. The next one to be begun in a year or so is the Chemistry Building. Gradually all the old buildings will be eliminated by new ones, and the whole campus will be a beauty spot robed in white.

SARANGDHAR DAS.

THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE*

By DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL. D., *Ex-President of Harvard University.*

AS students in this summer's School of Theology you have attended a series of lectures on fluctuations in religious interest, on the frequent occurrence of religious declines followed soon by recoveries or regenerations both within and without the churches, on the frequent attempts to bring prevalent religious doctrines into harmony with new tendencies in the intellectual world, on the constant struggle between conservatism and liberalism in existing churches and between idealism and materialism in society at large, on the effects of popular education and the modern spirit of inquiry on religious doctrines and organizations, on the changed views of thinking people concerning the nature of the world and of man, on the increase of knowledge as affecting religion, and on the new ideas of God. You have also listened to lectures on psychotherapy, a new development of an ancient tendency to mix religion with medicine, and on the theory of evolution, a modern scientific doctrine which within fifty years has profoundly modified the religious conceptions and expectations of many thinking people. You have heard, too, how the new ideas of democracy and social progress have modified and ought to modify not only the actual work done by the churches, but the whole conception of the function of churches. Again, you have heard how many and how profound are the religious implications in contemporary philosophy. Your attention has been called to the most recent views concerning the conservation of energy in the universe, to the wonderful phenomena of radio-activity, and to the most recent definitions of atom, molecule, ion, and electron—human imaginings which have much to do with the modern conceptions

of matter and spirit. The influence on popular religion of modern scholarship applied to the New Testament has also engaged your attention; and, finally, you have heard an exposition of religious conditions and practices in the United States which assumed an intimate connection between the advance of civilization and the contemporaneous aspects of religions, and illustrated from history the service of religion—and particularly of Christianity—to the progress of civilization through its contributions to individual freedom, intellectual culture, and social co-operation.

The general impression you have received from this comprehensive survey must surely be that religion is not a fixed, but a fluent thing. It is, therefore, wholly natural and to be expected that the conceptions of religion prevalent among educated people should change from century to century. Modern studies in comparative religion and in the history of religions demonstrate that such has been the case in times past. Now the nineteenth century immeasurably surpassed all preceding centuries in the increase of knowledge, and in the spread of the spirit of scientific inquiry and of the passion for truth-seeking. Hence the changes in religious beliefs and practices, and in the relation of churches to human society as a whole, were much deeper and more extensive in that century than ever before in the history of the world; and the approach made to the embodiment in the actual practices of mankind of the doctrines of the greatest religious teachers was more significant and more rapid than ever before. The religion of a multitude of humane persons in the twentieth century may, therefore, be called without inexcusable exaggeration a "new religion,"—not that a single one of its doctrines and practices is really new in essence, but only that the

* A lecture delivered at the Harvard Summer School of Theology.

wider acceptance and better actual application of truths familiar in the past at many times and places, but never taken to heart by the multitude or put in force on a large scale, are new. I shall attempt to state without reserve and in simplest terms free from technicalities, first, what the religion of the future seems likely not to be, and secondly, what it may reasonably be expected to be. My point of view is that of an American layman, whose observing and thinking life has covered the extraordinary period since the *Voyage of the Beagle* was published, anaesthesia and the telegraph came into use, Herbert Spencer issued his first series of papers on evolution, Kuenen, Robertson Smith, and Wellhausen developed and vindicated Biblical criticism, J. S. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* appeared, and the United States by going to war with Mexico set in operation the forces which abolished slavery on the American continent—the period within which mechanical power came to be widely distributed through the explosive engine and the applications of electricity, and all the great fundamental industries of civilized mankind were reconstructed.

(1) The religion of the future will not be based on authority, either spiritual or temporal. The decline of the reliance upon absolute authority is one of the most significant phenomena of the modern world. This decline is to be seen everywhere,—in government, in education, in the church, in business, and in the family. The present generation is willing, and indeed often eager, to be led; but it is averse to being driven, and it wants to understand the grounds and sanctions of authoritative decisions. As a rule, the Christian churches, the Roman, Greek, and Protestant, have heretofore relied mainly upon the principle of authority, the Reformation having substituted for an authoritative church an authoritative book; but it is evident that the authority both of the most authoritative churches and of the Bible as a verbally inspired guide is already greatly impaired, and that the tendency towards liberty is progressive, and among educated men irresistible.

(2) It is hardly necessary to say that in the religion of the future there will be no personifications of the primitive forces of

nature, such as light, fire, frost, wind, storm, and earthquake, although primitive religions and the actual religions of barbarous or semi-civilized peoples abound in such personifications. The mountains, groves, volcanoes, and oceans will no longer be inhabited by either kindly or malevolent deities; although man will still look to the hills for rest, still find in the ocean a symbol of infinity, and refreshment and delight in the forests and the streams. The love of nature mounts and spreads, while faith in fairies, imps, nymphs, demons, and angels declines and fades away.

(3) There will be in the religion of the future no worship, express or implied, of dead ancestors, teachers, or rulers; no more tribal, racial, or tutelary gods; no identification of any human being, however majestic in character, with the Eternal Deity. In these respects the religion of the future will not be essentially new, for nineteen centuries ago Jesus said, "Neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. . . . God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and truth." It should be recognised, however, first, that Christianity was soon deeply affected by the surrounding paganism, and that some of these pagan intrusions have survived to this day; and secondly, that the Hebrew religion, the influence of which on the Christian has been, and is, very potent, was in the highest degree a racial religion, and its Holy of Holies was local. In war times, that is, in times when the brutal or savage instincts remaining in humanity become temporarily dominant, and good-will is limited to people of the same nation, the survival of a tribal or national quality in institutional Christianity comes out very plainly. The aid of the Lord of Hosts is still invoked by both parties to international warfare, and each side praises and thanks Him for its successes. Indeed, the same spirit has often been exhibited in civil wars caused by religious differences.

"Now glory to the Lord of Hosts, from whom all glories are!
And glory to our sovereign liege, King Henry of
Navarre!"

It is not many years since an Archbishop of Canterbury caused thanks to be given in all Anglican churches that the Lord of

Hosts had been in the English camp over against the Egyptians. Heretofore the great religions of the world have held out hopes of direct interventions of the deity, or some special deity, in favour of his faithful worshippers. It was the greatest of Jewish prophets who told King Hezekiah that the King of Assyria, who had approached Jerusalem with a great army, should not come into the city nor shoot an arrow there, and reported the Lord as saying, "I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake, and for my servant David's sake." "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." The new religion cannot promise that sort of aid to either nations or individuals in peril.

(4) In the religious life of the future the primary object will not be the personal welfare or safety of the individual in this world or any other. That safety, that welfare or salvation, may be incidentally secured, but it will not be the prime object in view. The religious person will not think of his own welfare or security, but of service to others, and of contributions to the common good. The new religion will not teach that character is likely to be suddenly changed, either in this world or in any other, —although in any world a sudden opportunity for improvement may present itself, and the date of that opportunity may be a precious remembrance. The new religion will not rely on either a sudden conversion in this world or a sudden paradise in the next, from out a sensual, selfish, or dishonest life. It will teach that repentance wipes out nothing in the past, and is only the first step towards reformation, and a sign of a better future.

(5) The religion of the future will not be propitiatory, sacrificial, or expiatory. In primitive society fear of the supernal powers, as represented in the awful forces of nature, was the root of religion. These dreadful powers must be propitiated or placated, and they must be propitiated by sacrifices in the most literal sense; and the supposed offences of man must be expiated by sufferings, which were apt to be vicarious. Even the Hebrews offered human sacri-

fices for generations; and always a great part of their religious rites consisted in sacrifices of animals. The Christian church made a great step forward when it substituted the burning of incense for the burning of bullocks and doves; but to this day there survives not only in the doctrines but in the practices of the Christian church the principle of expiatory sacrifice. It will be an immense advance if twentieth-century Christianity can be purified from all these survivals of barbarous, or semi-barbarous, religious conceptions, because they imply such an unworthy idea of God.

(6) The religion of the future will not perpetuate the Hebrew anthropomorphic representations of God, conceptions which were carried in large measure into institutional Christianity. It will not think of God as an enlarged and glorified man, who walks "in the garden in the cool of the day," or as a judge deciding between human litigants, or as a king, Pharaoh, or emperor, ruling arbitrarily his subjects, or as the patriarch who, in the early history of the race, ruled his family absolutely. These human functions will cease to represent adequately the attributes of God. The nineteenth century has made all these conceptions of deity look archaic and crude.

(7) The religion of the future will not be gloomy, ascetic, or maledictory. It will not deal chiefly with sorrow and death, but with joy and life. It will not care so much to account for the evil and the ugly in the world as to interpret the good and the beautiful. It will believe in no malignant powers—neither in Satan nor in witches, neither in the evil eye nor in the malign suggestion. When its disciple encounters a wrong or evil in the world, his impulse will be to search out its origin, source, or cause, that he may attack it at its starting-point. He may not speculate on the origin of evil in general, but will surely try to discover the best way to eradicate the particular evil or wrong he has recognized.

Having thus considered what the religion of the future will not be, let us now consider what its positive elements will be.

The new thought of God will be its most characteristic element. This ideal will comprehend the Jewish Jehovah, the

Christian Universal Father, the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy, and the biological conception of a Vital Force. The Infinite Spirit pervades the universe, just as the spirit of a man pervades his body, and acts, consciously or unconsciously, in every atom of it. The twentieth century will accept literally and implicitly St. Paul's statement, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being," and God is that vital atmosphere, or incessant inspiration. The new religion is therefore thoroughly monotheistic, its God being the one infinite force; but this one God is not withdrawn or removed, but indwelling, and especially dwelling in every living creature. God is so absolutely immanent in all things, animate and inanimate, that no mediation is needed between him and the least particle of his creation. In his moral attributes, he is for every man the multiplication to infinity of all the noblest, tenderest, and most potent qualities which that man has ever seen or imagined in a human being. In this sense every man makes his own picture of God. Every age, barbarous or civilized, happy or unhappy, improving or degenerating, frames its own conception of God within the limits of its own experiences and imaginings. In this sense, too, a humane religion has to wait for a humane generation. The central thought of the new religion will therefore be a humane and worthy idea of God, thoroughly consistent with the nineteenth-century revelations concerning man and nature, and with all the tenderest and loveliest teachings which have come down to us from the past.

The scientific doctrine of one omnipresent, eternal Energy, informing and inspiring the whole creation at every instant of time and throughout the infinite spaces, is fundamentally and completely inconsistent with the dualistic conception which sets spirit over against matter, good over against evil, man's wickedness against God's righteousness, and Satan against Christ. The doctrine of God's immanence is also inconsistent with the conception that he once set the universe a-going and then withdrew, leaving the universe to be operated under physical laws, which were his vicegerents or substitutes. If God is thoroughly immanent in the entire creation, there can be

no "secondary causes," in either the material or the spiritual universe. The new religion rejects absolutely the conception that man is an alien in the world, or that God is alienated from the world. It rejects also the entire conception of man as a fallen being, hopelessly wicked, and tending downward by nature; and it makes this emphatic rejection of long-accepted beliefs because it finds them all inconsistent with a humane, civilized, or worthy idea of God.

If, now, man discovers God through self-consciousness, or, in other words, if it is the human soul through which God is revealed, the race has come to the knowledge of God through knowledge of itself; and the best knowledge of God comes through knowledge of the best of the race. Men have always attributed to man a spirit distinct from his body, though immanent in it. No one of us is willing to identify himself with his body; but on the contrary every one now believes, and all men have believed, that there is in a man an animating, ruling, characteristic essence, or spirit, which is himself. This spirit, dull or bright, petty or grand, pure or foul, looks out of the eyes, sounds in the voice, and appears in the bearing and manners of each individual. It is something just as real as the body, and more characteristic. To every influential person it gives far the greater part of his power. It is what we call the personality. This spirit, or soul, is the most effective part of every human being, and is recognized as such, and always has been. It can use a fine body more effectively than it can a poor body, but it can do wonders through an inadequate body. In the crisis of a losing battle, it is a human soul that rallies the flying troops. It looks out of flashing eyes, and speaks in ringing tones, but its appeal is to other souls, and not to other bodies. In the midst of terrible natural catastrophes,—earthquakes, storms, conflagrations, volcanic eruptions,—when men's best works are being destroyed and thousands of lives are ceasing suddenly and horribly, it is not a few especially good human bodies which steady the survivors, maintain order, and organize the forces of rescue and relief. It is a few superior souls. The leading men and women in any society, savage or civilized, are the strongest personalities,—the personality being primarily spiritual, and

religion will magnify and laud God's love and compassion, and will not venture to state what the justice of God may, or may not, require of himself, or of any of his finite creatures. This will be one of the great differences between the future religion and the past. Institutional Christianity as a rule condemned the mass of mankind to eternal torment; partly because the leaders of the churches thought they understood completely the justice of God, and partly because the exclusive possession of means of deliverance gave the churches some restraining influence over even the boldest sinners, and much over the timid. The new religion will make no such pretensions, and will teach no such horrible and perverse doctrines.

Do you ask what consolation for human ills the new religion will offer? I answer, the consolation which often comes to the sufferer from being more serviceable to others than he was before the loss or the suffering for which consolation is needed; the consolation of being one's self wiser and tenderer than before, and therefore more able to be serviceable to human kind in the best ways; the consolation through the memory, which preserves the sweet fragrance of characters and lives no longer in presence, recalls the joys and achievements of those lives while still within mortal view, and treasures up and multiplies the good influences they exerted. Moreover, such a religion has no tendency to diminish the force in this world, or any other, of the best human imaginings concerning the nature of the infinite Spirit immanent in the universe. It urges its disciples to believe that as the best and happiest man is he who best loves and serves, so the soul of the universe finds its perfect bliss and efficiency in supreme and universal love and service. It sees evidence in the moral history of the human race that a loving God rules the universe. Trust in His supreme rule is genuine consolation and support under many human trials and sufferings. Nevertheless, although brave and patient endurance of evils is always admirable, and generally happier than timid or impatient conduct under suffering or wrong, it must be admitted that endurance or constancy is not consolation, and that there are many physical and mental

disabilities and injuries for which there is no consolation in a literal sense. Human skill may mitigate or palliate some of them, human sympathy and kindness may make them more bearable, but neither religion nor philosophy offers any complete consolation for them, or ever has.

In thus describing the consolations for human woes and evils which such a religion can offer, its chief motives have been depicted. It will teach a universal good-will, under the influence of which men will do their duty, and at the same time, promote their own happiness. The devotees of a religion of service will always be asking what they can contribute to the common good; but their greatest service must always be to increase the stock of good-will among men. One of the worst of chronic human evils is working for daily bread without any interest in the work, and with ill-will towards the institution or person that provides the work. The work of the world must be done; and the great question is, shall it be done happily or unhappily? Much of it is today done unhappily. The new religion will contribute powerfully towards the reduction of this mass of unnecessary misery, and will do so chiefly by promoting good-will among men.

A paganized Hebrew-Christianity has unquestionably made much of personal sacrifice as a religious duty. The new religion will greatly qualify the supposed duty of sacrifice, and will regard all sacrifice as unnecessary and injurious, except those which love dictates and justifies. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend." Self-sacrifice is not a good or a merit in itself; it must be intelligent and loving to be meritorious, and the object in view must be worth its price. Giving up attractive pleasures or labours in favor of some higher satisfaction, or some engrossing work, is not self-sacrifice. It is a renunciation of inferior or irrelevant objects in favor of one superior object; it is only the intelligent inhibition of whatever distracts from the main pursuit, or the worthiest task. Here, again, the new religion will teach that happiness goes with dutifulness even in this world.

All the religions have been, to a greater

or less extent, uplifting and inspiring, in the sense that they raised men's thought to some power above them, to some being or beings, which have more power and more duration than the worshippers had. When kings or emperors were deified, they were idealized, and so lifted men's thoughts out of the daily round of their ordinary lives. As the objects of worship became nobler, purer, and kinder with the progress of civilization, the prevailing religion became more stimulating to magnanimity and righteousness. Will the future religion be as helpful to the spirit of man? Will it touch his imagination as the anthropomorphism of Judaism, polytheism, Islam, and paganized Christianity have done? Can it be as moving to the human soul as the deified powers of nature, the various gods and goddesses that inhabited sky, ocean, mountains, groves, and streams, or the numerous deities revered in the various Christian communions,—God the Father, the Son of God, the Mother of God, the Holy Ghost, and the host of tutelary saints? All these objects of worship have greatly moved the human soul, and have inspired men to thoughts and deeds of beauty, love, and duty. Will the new religion do as much? It is reasonable to expect that it will. The sentiments of awe and reverence, and the love of beauty and goodness, will remain, and will increase in strength and influence. All the natural human affections will remain in full force. The new religion will foster powerfully a virtue which is comparatively new in the world—the love of truth and the passion for seeking it, and the truth will progressively make men free; so that the coming generations will be freer, and therefore more productive and stronger than the preceding. The new religionists will not worship their ancestors; but they will have a stronger sense of the descent of the present from the past than men have ever had before, and each generation will feel more strongly than ever before its indebtedness to the preceding.

The two sentiments which most inspire men to good deeds are love and hope. Religion should give freer and more rational play to these two sentiments than the world has heretofore witnessed; and the love and hope will be thoroughly grounded in and on efficient, serviceable, visible, actual, and

concrete deeds and conduct. When a man works out a successful treatment for cerebro-spinal meningitis—a disease before which medicine was absolutely helpless a dozen years ago—by applying to the discovery of a remedy ideas and processes invented or developed by other men studying other diseases, he does a great work of love, prevents for the future the breaking of innumerable ties of love, and establishes good grounds for hope of many like benefits for human generations to come. The men who do such things in the present world are ministers of the religion of the future. The future religion will prove, has proved, as effective as any of the older ones in inspiring men to love and serve their fellow-beings,—and that is the true object and end of all philosophies and all religions; for that is the way to make men better and happier, alike the servants and the served.

The future religion will have the attribute of universality and of adaptability to the rapidly increasing stores of knowledge and power over nature acquired by the human race. As the religion of a child is inevitably very different from that of an adult, and must grow up with the child, so the religion of a race whose capacities are rapidly enlarging must be capable of corresponding development. The religion of any single individual ought to grow up with him all the way from infancy to age; and the same is true of the religion of a race. It is bad for any people to stand still in their governmental conceptions and practices, or in the organization of their industries, or in any of their arts or trades even the oldest; but it is much worse for a people to stand still in their religious conceptions and practices. Now, the new religion affords an indefinite scope, or range, for progress and development. It rejects all the limitations of family, tribal, or national religion. It is not bound to any dogma, creed, book, or institution. It has the whole world for the field of the loving labors of its disciples; and its fundamental precept of serviceableness admits an infinite variety and range in both time and space. It is very simple, and therefore possesses an important element of durability. It is the complicated things that get out of order. Its symbols will not relate to sacrifice or dogma; but it will doubtless have symbols,

instance of hypnotism by auto-suggestion in the case of many European men and women.

The opinions expressed in this article are based on personal observation of social life in several countries and among all classes, corrected and supplemented by the testimony of representative thinkers and the still more eloquent evidence of facts. One fact is worth a thousand fibs. And seeing is believing. As a doubting Thomas, I have not been able to believe without seeing, even though I was in danger of losing my share of the evangelical benediction.

For the purpose of discussion, I shall divide the women of Europe and America into two sharply marked classes: the working class, and the upper classes. This latter category includes the "middle classes," which control the politics of Europe, and the few fortunate or unfortunate adventurers who are called "the upper ten," because they have drawn some prizes in the lottery of business or birth. I shall try to describe the condition of the women of each class, and leave my readers to judge if a social system, which tolerates such injustice and misery, and which condemns its delicate women to a life of such servitude and degradation, can be said to be permeated with the spirit of chivalry or even ordinary respect for woman. By their fruits, ye shall judge them. And the Western man is to be judged by his actions, individual and collective, and not by his professions. Hypocrites and tyrants have always been adepts in the use of the vocabulary of benevolence and virtue. Let us not be deceived by words.

I shall begin with the upper classes first, as they are supposed to provide ideal conditions for women, and boast of education, freedom, and self-respect for them in the hearing of the whole world. It is this rotten class, that is the object of the simple Oriental scholar's envy and admiration, when he considers the question of the position of woman. He sees the ladies go to college, play the piano, read the newest books, deliver lectures and write novels; and he is enraptured at the sight. He immediately accepts the formula of the "higher position" of woman in the West, which has been patented for export to Asia by missionaries and other apostles of "civilisation." He

does not see the hypocrisy, the misery, the contempt, the awful cruelty that are concealed beneath this fair show of beauty and accomplishments. He does not know that all this refinement is an additional insult to woman, and is the product of circumstances involving the acutest suffering to all women, and the denial of common human rights to them by this society of gallant men. He cannot realise that this middle class and upper society is like unto a whitened sepulchre. He does not see its hidden machinery of lies, cruelties, insults and agonies, which is crushing the women every moment under its monstrous wheels. He cannot hear the wail of the maiden between the tunes of the piano, or see the tears of the wife on her smiling face, rubbed and scrubbed and polished for social decorum. Appearances are deceptive, as they say; but nowhere are they so misleading and mendacious, so infernally false and faithless, as in this same educated and cultured European society in which woman is said to occupy an incomparably "higher" position than in Morocco or Kordofan.

In this society, the life of a woman between the age of 15 and her death is one continual crucifixion. *I speak in general terms, and am not concerned with individual exceptions.* And why is this so? Because of the extreme difficulty of economic support for women. Woman must eat and drink and wear clothes; and she must therefore find some man to keep her. For under our present social system, that is the only way for a woman to escape starvation. Man is the master of food, and its sole dispenser. Now this great civilised society is exquisitely ruthless in its arrangements for this necessary provision for woman. That is the starting-point of every living creature's life—the search for means to live, for food, fuel, clothing and medicine. Even the most angelic ladies cannot live on air or ether. So with this all-important question of marriage, the tragedy of woman's life begins. It is a sadder tragedy in the West than in the East, for in the East, the duty of finding a bread-winner devolves on the girl's parents. The young maiden has not to go in search of a home. Society does her the service of anticipating her greatest need. But here, by a strange refinement of cruelty, a girl in her teens is

left to herself to find some one in the wide world to "love" her—as the high-sounding phrase goes. What it really means is that the poor lonely girl is to hunt for herself in the dark jungle of tea-parties, dances, "church-parades," friendly dinners and summer-resorts for meat and drink for her life. What cruelty in the name of "freedom of choice" in marriage! What ghostly sacrifices are offered under the pretext of "love"! Carlyle once said in the bitterness of his heart: "Freedom is a 'divine' thing. Freedom to die of starvation is not so divine." That is exactly how the average European girl feels, or ought to feel, when she is complimented on the possession of "freedom" in her love affairs.

And here comes the utility of music, and college education, and dancing, and instruction in "deportment." It will surprise my readers to learn that there are professors of "deportment" in all towns in Europe. Now what does this "deportment" mean? Is it possible that young ladies, who are brought up in cultured middle-class homes, do not know how to behave themselves in society? Is it probable that they have not been taught by their mothers that it is improper to bite one's nails, or blow one's nose, or interrupt another person in conversation, or have dirty-hands at the dinner-table? What is the business of these professors of "deportment"? As a matter of fact, this art of deportment does not refer to such social amenities as we understand, and as we all learn at our mother's knees. It is the art of appearing very attractive and bewitching in society. It is the art of baiting the hook with the biggest fly. It is an education in coquetry and artificial behaviour. I shall never forget how puzzled I felt, when I saw a young lady assume a peculiar expression of amiability and look at her interlocutors with an altogether indescribable leer in her eyes, (which was probably intended to be graceful, but had just the opposite effect), whenever she said "Good Morning" or "Good-bye," to any person. I was thinking how and why this lady can suddenly begin to smile and look so funny, when she greets others, even perfect strangers. And then it flashed on my mind that all this facial contortion was part of the "deportment," which had been learned at such cost at the professor's. The

lady was trying to look charming and fascinating! That was all. But as she was rather ugly, her efforts made her more ridiculous than beautiful.

Similarly the piano-thrumming is an institution, not because all European girls have a musical ear, or because all European gentlemen like this intolerable drawing-room screeching, but because it is an "accomplishment," i.e., it is a weapon in the marriage-hunt, or a bid in the marriage-market. Marriage is secured by woman in Europe in two ways:—by a hunt, or by purchase. The latter is often the more merciful method. Now it is clear that a hunter must have good weapons. And this music and dancing are really the girl's trade. She learns them, not because the Europeans love a refined domestic life, but because these things constitute her business. She persecutes the piano, as her brother joins the technical institute or the college of arts and sciences. In both cases, the object is not human improvement or development, but that bugbear of mortal man and woman in our civilisation, that tyrant of our boyhood and youth, our middle-age and our declining years, that lord of our affections, opinions, principles, beliefs and actions, that master of our speech and our silence, our love and our hate,—Bread and Butter. Marriage is for woman what a profession is for a man. An unmarried woman is in the ranks of "the unemployed." And every girl is taught and schooled and drilled for this necessary object. To show that my interpretation of the value of this superficial veneer of "refinement" in European society is not a libel invented by my cynical fancy, I shall quote a few lines from Bernard Shaw's famous play, "Man and Superman." Mr. Shaw is one of the foremost writers and thinkers of England at present, and enjoys an international reputation. He introduces a man and his friend's wife talking in hell after death,—

"Don Juan—Come, Ana! do not look shocked: you know better than any of us that marriage is a mantrap baited with simulated accomplishments and delusive idealizations. When your sainted mother, by dint of scoldings and punishments, forced you to learn how to play half-a-dozen pieces on the spinet—which she hated as much as you did—had she any other purpose than to delude your suitors into the belief that your husband would have in his home an angel who would fill it with melody, or at least play him to sleep after dinner? You married my friend Ottavio; well, did

you ever open the spinet from the hour when the Church united him to you?

Ann.—You are a fool, Juan. A young married woman has something else to do than sit at the spinet without any support for her back: so she gets out of the habit of playing.

Don Juan.—Not if she loves music. No: believe me, she only throws away the bait when the bird is in the net.

Never shall I forget the feelings that came over me when I heard a girl say that she was tired of sitting on a stool for five hours every day, but mamma wanted her to do it. What a story of slavery is implied in these pathetic words! The poor child was not developing her genius for music, for she had none of it. She was a slave-victim of man's sexual market, wasting her life in a dark room, her weary fingers wandering listlessly over the keys, her ears ringing with the confused noise that she was making; while the flowers and the sunshine called her to play in the garden, and wonderful books recording the marvels of science beckoned to her with mute appeal, and her whole nature craved for growth, for freedom, for play and frolic, for life and its unfoldment. If this is not slavery, what is it? O the hecatombs of victims prepared for the marriage-market, where men come and examine the fair girls put up for sale, as the Moors examine the slaves they buy. The only difference is that the Moor only wants a round supple form, or tough sinews for domestic labour, but the European exacts more—a knowledge of reading and writing, and of a thousand artificial blandishments and utterly useless trivialities, which have to be acquired by the girls before they can hope to find a husband. And thus all their talent is wasted, all their natural sweetness disappears, and cunning and affectation become second nature to them. All girls are passed through the same mill, are stamped with the same trade-mark of conventionality and respectability, are provided with the same outfit of abominable music, awkward dancing, unsuitable education, artificial manners, absurd notions of propriety, and degrading forms of vanity and ostentation, so that the gentleman customer, whoever he may be, may be sure of the genuine article in his transaction. Any marks of individuality, any traits of eccentricity, would ruin the woman's chances for ever, for no wise man will "buy

a pig in a poke," as the familiar saying puts it. Thus does Europe waste its womanhood, Europe which is so anxious to preserve her coal supply and her foreign commerce!

But the worst is not yet told. We are in the first act of the tragedy, which consists in the crushing out of all that is most valuable in every girl's personality and forcing her through a stupid discipline calculated to increase her chances in the marriage-bunt or the marriage-market. Then comes the actual period of suspense and misery. Her youth is spent in frivolity and social dissipation, when she should be improving her mind, forming her views on great questions of religion and politics, and rounding off her personality to a beautiful, self-evolved whole. But how can she do so, when the problem of bread faces her first? So she must fatigue herself by attending tea parties and private concerts, and going to live in boarding-houses in the holiday season. The Moors and the Soudanese have at least provided a public slave-market, where all can meet. But this society is not so considerate for its women. The market is not in one spacious building like the Stock Exchange, or the Employment Agency. It consists of an endless series of "social functions," dances and parties, where young men and women meet. So the poor girls have to go to all these tedious gatherings. It is sad to see these poor girls dressing for these parties, and tiring themselves out evening after evening, or at longer intervals when in their heart of hearts they simply hate the whole show, and curse their fate. It is not implied that every girl reasons in this way. But that is the true inwardness of the affair. The slaves on the plantations did not think of the iniquities of the system under which they lived every moment of their lives; many of them did not and could not think at all. They only did the day's work, bore the pain and the toil, and danced away the night in mirth and glee. For the victims of servitude hug their chains, or at least their sensibility is dulled and blunted. Similarly these unlucky girls do not argue in their minds as I have been doing. But that does not change the truth one jot. When a girl begins to play the piano, because her mamma tells her, she does not ask, "And why should I play the piano? Why should

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I not go out and look at the flowers and drink in the sunshine with the rose and the linnet?" If she were wise enough to ask such questions, mamma would curtly reply: "Because you have to capture a husband when you are twenty, my child. Nature and knowledge and true development are all fine things, but they will not give you food and clothing and a roof to sleep under. You are not being prepared for true, abounding, natural, well-developed life, but for the marriage-market. You cannot be true to yourself, my girl, for then you may starve. So we have to follow the directions issued by the controllers of the market. We can't help it, so go and learn that Highlanders' march, dear, and don't be silly. Do."

Then after cruelty in childhood comes contempt in youth, on the part of man in his relations to woman. This marriage-hunt is a weary struggle indeed, suitor after suitor passes by, indifferent or disdainful. The girls try all their arts of fascination. For a young man can wait for a wife, but a young woman cannot wait for a husband, both for economic and psychological reasons. Women want bread but they want love too. And above all, they want children to fill the void in their hearts. But this system does not care for these primary rights of woman. She has to shift for herself, and find bread, love and a child by degrading herself to the position of a flatterer, buffoon and a fiddler. *Love and motherhood are among the essential incontestable rights of woman.* A child is even more precious to her than a vote. But this hopeless search embitters so many lives, blasts so many womanly virtues. How often I have seen unmarried women of twenty-five and thirty looking wistfully at the couples that enter in at the church-door or pass them on the promenade. I could almost feel that a sigh escaped their lips. And I have seen this ignoble marriage-hunt in operation. I have noticed all its shamelessness, its brutality, its gross injustice. Young women must try to insinuate themselves into the good graces of young men by desperate means. And if they are ugly, they become veritable butterflies. Poor things, are they to blame? The call of motherhood, even more than the need of maintenance, sounds loud and clear within them. But they

cannot have these blessings until they find favour in the sight of some man: Can tyranny go further? No man can describe the anguish of those women who cannot find purchasers in the market or who fail to bag some game in this hunt. They are stranded, and no one pities them. Their lot is one of terrible hardship in these upper classes. They become mere human wrecks, the refuse of the market, which the managers throw into the garbage box.

Am I drawing on my imagination? Alas no! Here is a confession from a woman herself as to the yearning for marriage implanted in the hearts of all women:—

"There is not one woman in a million who would not be married if..... she could have a chance. How do I know? Just as I know that the stars are now shining in the sky, though it is high noon. I never saw a star at noonday, but it is the nature of stars to shine in the sky, and of the sky to hold its stars." (Gail Hamilton.)

Bernard Shaw lifts the mask a little to show what is passing in this apparently cultured and civilised society which bestows an "exalted" position on woman. He says:—

"Look at fashionable society as you know it. What does it pretend to be? An exquisite dance of nymphs. What is it? A horrible procession of wretched girls, each in the claws of a cynical, cunning, avenging, disillusioned, ignorantly experienced, foul-minded old woman whom she calls mother, and whose duty it is to corrupt her mind and sell her to the highest bidder. Why do these unhappy slaves marry anybody, however old and vile, sooner than not marry at all? Because marriage is their only means of escape from these decrepit fiends who hide their selfish ambitions, their jealous hatreds of the young rivals who have supplanted them, under the mask of maternal duty and family affection. Such things are abominable."

And I attest, from personal knowledge, that every word of this statement is true.

Rudyard Kipling for once blurts out the truth even in the midst of his eternal chat about "the white man's burden" and the "Lord of hosts" of these modern Israelites of England. The young man has received a letter from his lady-love, telling him that she cannot marry him unless he gives up the habit of smoking. This ultimatum sets him thinking. He says to himself:—"A woman is a woman, but a cigar is a smoke." And finally he decides to stick to his cigar, for, says he,—

"Open the old cigar-box—let me consider anew.—
Old friends, and who is Maggie that I should
abandon you?"

*A million surplus Maggies are willing to bear
the yoke;
And a woman is a woman, but a good cigar is a
smoke."*
—(Kipling's "The Betrothed").

Mr. August Bebel, the leader of the German Socialist party, and one of the greatest orators of the world, says:—

"Woman is at the present day chiefly an object of enjoyment for man: her pecuniary circumstances oblige her to look to marriage for support; she thus becomes dependent on man... Her position is rendered still more unfavourable by the fact that the number of women is as a rule larger than that of men... This disproportion, which is further augmented by those men who for one reason or other remain unmarried, heightens the competitive struggle among women, and forces them to pay the greatest attention to the attractions of their personal appearance, if they are to have any chance of successful emulation with their fellow-women in the favour of men..... A man is free from a number of restrictions which a woman is bound to observe. He alone, thanks to his position as ruler, has the right of exercising choice in love, a right which is limited only by social considerations. The nature of marriage as a means of subsistence, the numeric excess of women, and custom conjoin in forbidding a woman to express her desires; it is her lot to wait till she is sought, and to accept her fate whatever it may be. As a rule, she seizes the first opportunity that presents itself for securing a maintainer, who rescues her from the social proscription and contempt which is the portion of the unfortunate old maid."

Is not the condition of the Oriental woman, who finds a husband, a home, and assured maintenance provided for her as soon as she reaches maturity, a hundred times better than that of these pitiable scramblers in the matrimonial market, where, to add to their troubles, the supply far exceeds the demand? Marriage here being a personal affair, and not a social duty, many men do not marry. Others want to be very wealthy before marrying. An anonymous writer, who describes himself as a "Christian philanthropist" thus enumerates the causes that lead to the disproportion in the numbers of marriageable men and women:—

"But few young men are born to large fortunes, which these times of extravagance require for the fashionable maintenance of a family; and those who are rich are not always the most prompt to marry. They prefer to spend their early manhood in dissipation, and are unwilling to bow to the yoke of wedlock till they begin to feel the infirmities of age; while the poor man must devote several years of his majority to toil before he becomes able to assume matrimonial expenses. After men have arrived at adult manhood, and have acquired the means of supporting a family, many of them refuse marriage.

Some have outlived their youthful desires, and have acquired decided habits of celibacy; some are too gay and too profligate: others too busy and too selfish: others so broken down by early dissipation and diseased by the contagious poison of low vice that they are totally unfit to marry; while there are many others whose occupations (such as soldiers and sailors) most commonly prevent marriage."—*The History and Philosophy of Marriage.*

The picture is complete. Every girl to find out her own husband: an overstocked market: wearisome search: debasing self-humiliation: worry and anxiety: delay in motherhood: and finally failure for many women even after these trials and ordeals. Thus does gallant Europe treat her "educated" ladies on the threshold of life!

But the end is not yet. A double inquiry here presents itself. What becomes of those who cannot marry and how do the married ones fare in their domestic life?

As regards the first question, the unmarried women are always on the look-out for a new chance. Better late than never. In the meantime, they work as best they can to eke out a living as clerks, teachers, typists, dressmakers, music-teachers and in other similar capacities. This sad phenomenon is one of the gravest indictments that I bring against the chivalrous men of the West. So many post-office clerks are women, that one begins to think of the post-office as a particularly feminine institution. There these frail middle-class girls stand for hours together at counters, while they ought to have been mistresses of a home and mothers of healthy children. They take lodgers, and cook and sew for strangers. A lady once said to me:—"I work like a horse, and earn my livelihood." And her life was really one continual drudgery of cooking, sweeping the rooms, making the beds and even cleaning the boots for strangers who boarded with her. This lady came of a respectable middle-class family. She had been educated at a high school, and had refined manners. But she had no husband. And the Europeans, who honour woman so much, leave their sisters and nieces and even their daughters to slave for black strangers rather than support them on account of the claims of family love. Often as I have seen these over-driven waifs and strays of this cruel society, have I asked myself with indignation:—"Have these women no brothers, uncles, or even brothers-in-law,

with whom they could live? Must all the womanhood be crushed out of them in this sordid commercial world, where men meet only to rob or to be robbed?"

And the roses on their cheeks were fading. Their hearts were empty as dark catacombs. Their eyes had never lit up at an infant's smile, or watched the home-coming of the beloved husband from the door-steps in the evening. The joys of maternal sacrifice were not theirs. They were mere machines, grinding their daily bread out of their bones. Their work was the work of the galley-slave. For a woman, deprived of her right of motherhood, is only a slave of society, not a citizen. Their sad wistful looks, that seemed to search for something that was lost, their desire of conversation with young men, their lack of the grace and charm that motherhood alone can confer on woman, all proclaimed more loudly than words their plaint against society, which can be thus rendered:—"O men, who come to buy stamps from us, or learn music from us, or send your children to our classes, we are the wrecks of your marriage-market. We are those wretched creatures for whom your chivalrous society makes no economic provision because no man has wanted us. And our relatives drive us away from them, for we are burdensome to them, even though we are all alone. So we work like hired hacks, and save you so much money for your other pleasures and necessities, for are we not cheaper than men in the post-offices and the educational department, as music-teachers and librarians? So learn what our fate should teach you. Hasten to find husbands for your own daughters as soon as possible. Do not leave them to the tender mercies of chance. May they never be reduced to our plight! But go and do it before it is too late."

A few women, who are left behind in the race, find a home through that efficacious lubricant of the wheels of the world—money. Marriages by purchase are common in Europe. So the missionaries need not expend all their indignation in Bengal. A large part of it is wanted for consumption at home. Here are the words of Monsieur Ch. Letourneau, an eminent sociologist, who was General Secretary to the Anthropological Society of Paris

and Professor in the School of Anthropology:—

"The fear of marriage and the family is the particular feature of French matrimony. At Paris, where the struggle for existence is more severe, and where the care for money is more predominant, late marriages abound.... Whether these facts proceed from the growing difficulties of existence, or from a fear, always augmenting also, of trouble and care, or from these two causes combined and mutually strengthening each other, the consequence is the same: marriages are becoming more and more simple commercial transactions, from whence arises the worst and most shameful of selections—selections by money.... It is surely to the love of the dowry rather than to 'the beautiful eyes of the casket,' that we must attribute a whole list of true marriages by purchase, much more common in our own country than elsewhere. Sometimes it is old men who conjugally purchase young girls, and sometimes old women who buy young husbands. As regards these marriages by purchase, France is unworthily distinguished beyond other nations."

Thus are women bartered in a country, where male gallantry is supposed to have reached its perfection! All this bowing and scraping in presence of ladies is only mechanical gymnastics. It is not a homage of the heart at all. To an onlooker, it appears like a cruel joke. A gentleman once said:—"I don't think a woman can reason at all." And this same gentleman was a perfect model of chivalry in social manners, and paid the utmost deference to ladies in the details of social etiquette. I was reminded of the priests who bow before their idols and offer flowers and incense, while they know that they worship only wooden figures, which they really despise in their hearts. And both the gentlemen and the priests are entirely unconscious of the humour of the situation. So true it is that, as Bacon says, spectators sometimes see more of the game than players.

The increasing competition of educated women in the marriage-market has led to their admission to the liberal professions of law and medicine. This change is hailed by many public men of Europe as a step in advance, that establishes woman's equality with man. As a matter of fact, it is not a sign of progress at all: it is a confession of social failure. No woman naturally wishes to practise law or medicine. Even men adopt a trade or a profession in order to make money, and not from any idea of social service or intellectual development. The happily-married woman does not desire to work for her living. Women

have entered the liberal professions of law, medicine and journalism because of the pressure of economic necessity, and not from any assest appreciation of woman's intellectual worth by the legislators of Europe. There are already so many briefless male hardhaters everywhere, and the medical profession is also overcrowded with men who have nothing to do! But the number of women who fail to get married is so large that all wise parents educate their daughters for some useful profession, for no one knows what the future has in store for them. Thus women too are thrown into that selfish senseless struggle for money, from which the marriage-system at least shields them. They have been turned out of the marriage-market, and so enter the commercial or professional arena. Out of the frying pan into the fire. If the economic system were founded on just and humane principles, woman would only benefit society and ennoble herself by doing any work for which she was fit. But in the present individualistic regime of production and distribution, every man's hand is against his neighbour, and one can hardly feed oneself without taking the bread out of some one's mouth. One man's loss is another man's gain. Trickery and chicane are the life of business. Competition for wealth is an education in all the un-social qualities of greed, cunning and envy, and woman must thus lose many valuable traits of character, which her very dependence on man has fostered, as she has been kept out of the hideous shambles, called the "business world." She has therefore preserved her native simplicity, gentleness, sweetness, naïveté and idealism. If she has been treated like a child, she has also enjoyed that blissful ignorance of the dark and crooked ways of the world, which is a privilege of childhood. But this advancing civilisation must drag her in the mire of modern commercialism, she must also learn to lie and cheat, to haggle and calculate, to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. This is what this boasted emancipation of woman in the professions really means. In an unnatural and perverse economic system, even good turns to evil, as even bread injures a sick man, and water is fatal to one stricken with cholera. This "emancipation" is really an

insult added to an injury—the burden of fighting for bread being laid on weak woman after the denial of the rights of motherhood. So much for the honour in which the gentlemen of Europe hold their ladies.

The whole tragedy at once leaps to the surface in those "breach-of-promise" cases, which come before the courts from time to time. These cases are like volcanoes, which show how much igneous activity is going on in the bowels of the earth. So when a helpless, bewildered and wronged woman's despair breaks through the thick crust of silence and conventionality that society has laid on all such affairs, there is a "breach-of-promise" case. Pecuniary compensation is awarded by the judges. Thus even society, in its repentant moods, confesses that marriage is business, and not all romance. Truth will out, though a judicial decision be the form that she prefers to assume in this hypocritical age.

Turning to the question of married life we find that women of the upper and middle classes are rendered miserable on account of the conjugal infidelity of their husbands. Of course, it is impossible to obtain facts and figures on such a subject, but the concurrent testimony of European writers, who are born and bred up in that society, leaves no doubt as to the very lax standard of morality recognised by Western gentlemen. *The importance attached to purity among men is a sure criterion of the position of woman in a country.* Mr. August Debel, the German publicist, says:—

"By far the greater number of married men could not support a second wife. As a rule, they have already two and more wives. One is legitimate, and the others illegitimate."

Mr. C. Letourneau, a French author says:—

"The white race has no divine investiture. Like all the others, it has sprung from animality; like all the others, it has been polygamous and we have only to open our eyes to perceive that, in the present day, in countries reputed to be the most civilised, and even in the classes reputed to be the most distinguished, the majority of individuals have polygamic instincts which they find it difficult to resist." (The italics are mine).

I need not dwell further on this unsavoury subject. The testimony of other competent witnesses establishes the culpability of the gallant men of Europe. This is a con-

clusive proof of the low position of woman in Europe.

The life of the middle and upper classes is artificial in the extreme. Women attach too much importance to the conservation of their beauty and youth. They also fear a very large family. Constant excitement also renders them unfit for motherhood. *The result is the wide prevalence of nervous disorders among women, and an increasing degree of artificial sterility.* Marriage is regarded more as a means of gratification than as an institution for multiplying and replenishing the earth. The custom of late marriage induces incurable nervous derangements among women in the prime of life. Another cause of the falling birth-rate of Europe and of the native Saxon stock in America is thus hinted at by Mr. Max Montese in an article on France :—

"It is the relaxation during several generations of the laws of conventional morality, and the diversion of natural instincts into by-paths of erotic ecstasy, which not only prevents the birth of children, but fashions men, and in a lesser degree, women incapable of becoming parents."

Surely there must be something rotten in the social system which is thus running to suicide. Over-population is not desirable, but the degeneracy of women as physical types is a very serious evil. There is something wrong somewhere, either in the ethical or the economic condition of such a society, for natural instincts can never be warped and perverted except under the influence of radically vicious surroundings. Man can defeat nature, but he must become terribly wicked and foolish or miserably unfortunate before he can succeed. Thus an individual commits suicide, when he is insane, or frightfully wretched. A similar rule applies to social phenomena of the kind that we have been considering.

As regards the education of the women of the middle and upper classes, it is meagre and superficial. Even those who go to the university learn little that makes them serious and thoughtful. *Conversation* is a very satisfactory test of the intellectual development of a nation. Now the women of Europe, like women all over the world, talk unmitigated twaddle. Their society is intolerable boredom. Gossip is their forte. If they read anything at home, they read *novels*. Circulating libraries patronised by ladies sometimes consist only of works of

fiction. This fact gives us a measure of their mental stature. They are like children in their tastes. Another proof of their extremely low intellectual condition is the prevalence of strange forms of *superstition* in all Western countries. And the ladies of the cultured classes are the strongest champions of superstition. Thus every charlatan finds a happy hunting-ground among them. America is the land of science, but it is also the land of superstition. A palmist and a clairvoyant have become as necessary in almost every town of ordinary dimensions as the barber and the baker. The sale of love-philtres is a thriving trade, and several persons have been indicted for it in New York. In France, the women are the greatest obstacles in the way of progress. No wonder that the French cannot think very highly of their women. In Utah, the women were the most ardent advocates of polygamy. In every State of America, they are the first victims of "spiritual healers," "divine prophets," and other miracle-mongers of this restless age. It is the women of the socialist party with whom a person can carry on a decent conversation, but they are very few. As a rule, the women of the educated classes are hopelessly superstitious and incapable of serious thought or intelligent conversation. In this respect, they are neither better nor worse than women in other lands. But there are no traces of the immense superiority over the Turkish women, that some people ascribe to the educated ladies of the West. They are all alike as yet. They all have the

"Wild hearts and feeble wings,
That every sophister can lime."

They all chatter trifles. They are all credulous and shallow-brained. There is no great difference between the East and the West, or even between Africa and Europe in this respect. Men in Europe have gone forward, but the women have been left behind. It is the same old old story.

I shall now take up the working-classes, and the question of the position of woman can be best decided by studying their physical, mental and moral condition, for, after all, the well-dressed, well-fed, educated classes form an infinitesimal minority of the population. They are only the froth and foam on the surface of the real society.

The nation does not live in the palace or the cottage, but in the slums. If you wish to find the real West, go to the slums. The working classes constitute the nation. And the position of woman among them is one of such terrible hardship and misery that no one who has seen them, can hear the sickening cant of missionaries and others about the "higher position" of woman in Europe without uttering that appropriate injunction first employed for protection against shameless and extravagant mendacity in Grimm's fairy tales:—"Open the window that these lies may escape."

The life of the women of the working-classes is worse than that of helots. Girls of tender age are overworked in factories like beasts of burden. Mothers have to work in the factories, and the children are left in nurseries, or allowed to play about the streets. The generous insurance laws of Germany allow these women six weeks of rest after childbirth a provision which is considered a triumph of humane legislation, but which really carries with it a horrible reminiscence of negro-slavery days. At Charlottenburg in Germany, nurseries are now attached to factories, so that the women may suckle their children in the intervals of toil! The excessive infant-mortality of Germany is largely due to the fact that the infants are not suckled; so 400,000 out of 2,000,000 children that are born every year, die within the first twelve-months of their life! This is civilised Europe, where women cannot suckle their children, and where yet all men are horrified at Herod's atrocities! The working-woman has to work at night at home till one or two in the morning, washing clothes, and sewing and mending garments, for she returns from the factory in the evening. The young women employed at the big stores, where the middle-classes come to buy silk and satin, perfumes and ribbons, are paid less than the American equivalent of 1½ annas for a day of 12 or 14 hours. They have to remain standing all the time, and thus irreparable injury is done to their constitution. And the smirking gentlemen of Europe, who honour woman so much, never think of the martyrdom of these sisters, who are like flowers "wasting their sweetness on the desert air." There are 6,000,000 women in the United States alone,

earning less than the equivalent of 2 annas a day for exhausting labour which even a moderately humane people will never impose on its mules and donkeys. There are families of foreign workmen in New York, whose womenfolk earn the equivalent of 1 anna a day by working far into the night on artificial flowers, millinery, etc. They live in dingy rooms not fit for pigs, filthy breeding-places of tuberculosis and incest. The greatest English poet of the last quarter of the nineteenth century has branded his age with infamy for all time to come by mentioning the "crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor" in the passionate jeremiad of "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After." Women and men sleep like beasts in these hovels, and poverty often obliges them to take strangers as lodgers even in that one room! This is civilised Europe that brings together such hosts and such paying guests! The women are pale, and haggard, with sunken eyes and hollow cheeks. Premature death is their only friend. The horrors of negro-slavery are only read of in books, but the worse horrors of wage-slavery are there for all to see to-day, in every town of the West, under all flags and skies. No Turkish woman or Soudanese slave leads such a life of unremitting toil and brutish squalor. *This is almost the nadir of human degradation* and it is found in the West, which is said to honour woman.

As regards intellectual life among these classes, it would be a cruel mockery to mention the subject at all. Can a beast of burden think or read? Can human machines for grinding out dividends for the rich possess a mind? The life of women among these classes is one unbroken round of toil and care; they know not rest or comfort; theirs it is to work and die, work and die, unpitied and unknown, and join the great army of the martyrs of labour, which has been increasing in numbers ever since the dawn of history, from the unwilling builders of the Pyramids, the Coliseum and the Taj down to the latest girl who has been crucified on the cross of civilisation. The sufferings of all these dumb millions would break any heart not made of stone, were it not for the consolation that the longer the preparation has been, the greater the deliverance will be. The time is com-

ing when the helot, the serf, the ryot, the moujik, the fellah, the negro, the proletarian and the working-girl will stand transfigured in the sight of humanity, like Jesus in the garden, as the saviours and martyrs of Labour, the unconscious prophets of the golden age to come. Then the plaints and groans of these our tender sisters will resound in the ears of our grandchildren, not as wails of woe, but as poems of triumph, for who will dare think of grief in that happy time? Then all sorrow will become sacred, because it has been the price of the victory. Then these heroic women will stand foremost on the pedestals of our statues. Tyranny may last so long as it torments men, for they can endure it: but it sounds its own death-knell when it touches women and children, for then it kindles the spark of heroism even in the flinty bosoms of the selfish and the indifferent. That stage has been reached in the West. It is darkest before dawn, and poverty has now reached that point, which marks the beginning of its end for all time.

As a consequence of this terrible condition of things, many men desert their wives, and the "Boston Transcript" ascribes the growing frequency of this evil to economic circumstances. The recent investigations of the Royal Commission on Divorce in England revealed the fact that many young women did not wish to have children at all! What a scathing condemnation of "civilisation" is implied in this unnatural phenomenon! This is civilised Europe which kills out the maternal instinct by luxury among the rich, and want among the poor! This stage marks the last gasp of the woman's despair, for a woman who renounces the right of motherhood is like a man who commits suicide. A man lives for the sake of living, but a woman lives for her children. But everything is topsy-turvy in this society, where woman has been reduced to a condition of wretchedness, compared with which the harem and the kraal are heaven itself.

I draw the veil over the darker aspects of

the question. The "social evil," a euphemism employed by refined persons in talking of the degradation of thousands of women through poverty and the exigencies of the present marriage-system, is the product of these institutions, on which Europe plumes herself. Congresses meet to discuss the "white slave traffic," which is an organised trade now as it was in the days of Haroun-al-rashid or the Mahdi. Modern Europe is not a whit better in this respect than Morocco or old Turkestan. The "maiden tribute" is exacted by the rich and the profligate from the working classes today as it was in antiquity. Thus Europe honours its women! Those who wish to know more about the human side of this tragedy may read the reports of special commissions and Bernard Shaw's play "Mrs. Warren's Profession." These armies of "abandoned" women are the nemesis of society in the West. Their existence is due not to human depravity, but to economic conditions and the marriage-customs of the people.

I also pass, over in silence some other ghastly evils that afflict women here as a consequence of all these conditions. There are many things about which silence is more eloquent than speech. And one essay can not cover the whole ground.

In conclusion, I may be allowed to hope that woman, both in the East and the West, will emerge from this slough of despond by the united efforts of young men and women of all nations. Neither the East, ancient or modern, nor the West, nor again a union of the two, but something higher than both, will save us. Some noble souls dream of the interchange of ideas and ideals between the East and the West, but that will not give us much. Barbarism added to barbarism remains barbarism still. Above the East and the West, far from the present misery of both, shines the light of truth, freedom and social co-operation, that beckons us. And the message of the happy Future of Humanity to the perplexed and miserable Present is: "Follow the gleam. Follow the gleam."

HAR DAYAL.

THE CABULIWALLAH

A SHORT STORY BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE: TRANSLATED BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA.

MY five years' old daughter Mini cannot live without chattering. I really believe that in all her life she has not wasted a minute in silence. Her mother is often vexed at this, and would stop her prattle, but I cannot feel so. To see Mini quiet is so unnatural that I cannot bear it long. And so my own conversation with her is always animated.

One morning, for instance, when I was in the midst of the seventeenth chapter of my new novel, my little Mini stole into the room, and putting her hand into mine, said, "Father! Ramdayal the door-keeper calls a *crow* a *krow*! He doesn't know anything, does he?"

Before I could explain to her the differences of language in this world, she was embarked on the full tide of another subject. "What do you think, Father? Bhola says there is an elephant in the clouds, blowing water out of his trunk, and that is why it rains!"

And then, darting off anew, while I sat still making ready some reply to this last remark, "Father! what relation is Mother to you?"

"My dear little sister in the law!" I murmured involuntarily to myself, but with a grave face contrived to answer, "Go and play with Bhola, Mini! I am busy!"

The window of my room overlooked the road. The child had seated herself at my feet near my table, and was playing softly, drumming on her knees. I was hard at work on my seventeenth chapter,—where Protap Singh the hero had just caught Kanchanlata the heroine in his arms, and both were about to escape by the third storey window of the Castle,—when all of a sudden Mini left her play, and ran to the window, crying "A Cabuliwallah! a Cabuliwallah!" Sure enough in the street below was a Cabuliwallah passing slowly

along. He wore the loose soiled clothing of his people, with a tall turban; there was a bag on his back, and he carried boxes of grapes in his hand.

I cannot tell what were my daughter's feelings, at the sight of this man, but she began to call him loudly. "Ah!" I thought, "he will come in, and my seventeenth chapter will never be finished!" At which exact moment the Cabuliwallah turned and looked up at the child. When she saw this, however, overcome by terror, she turned to flee to her Mother's protection and completely disappeared. She had a blind belief that inside the bag that the big man carried there were perhaps two or three other children like herself. The pedlar meanwhile entered my doorway, and greeted me with a smiling face.

My first impulse, precarious as was the position of my hero and my heroine, was to stop and buy something, since the man had been called. So I made some small purchases, and a conversation began about Abdurrahman, the Russians, the English, and the Frontier Policy.

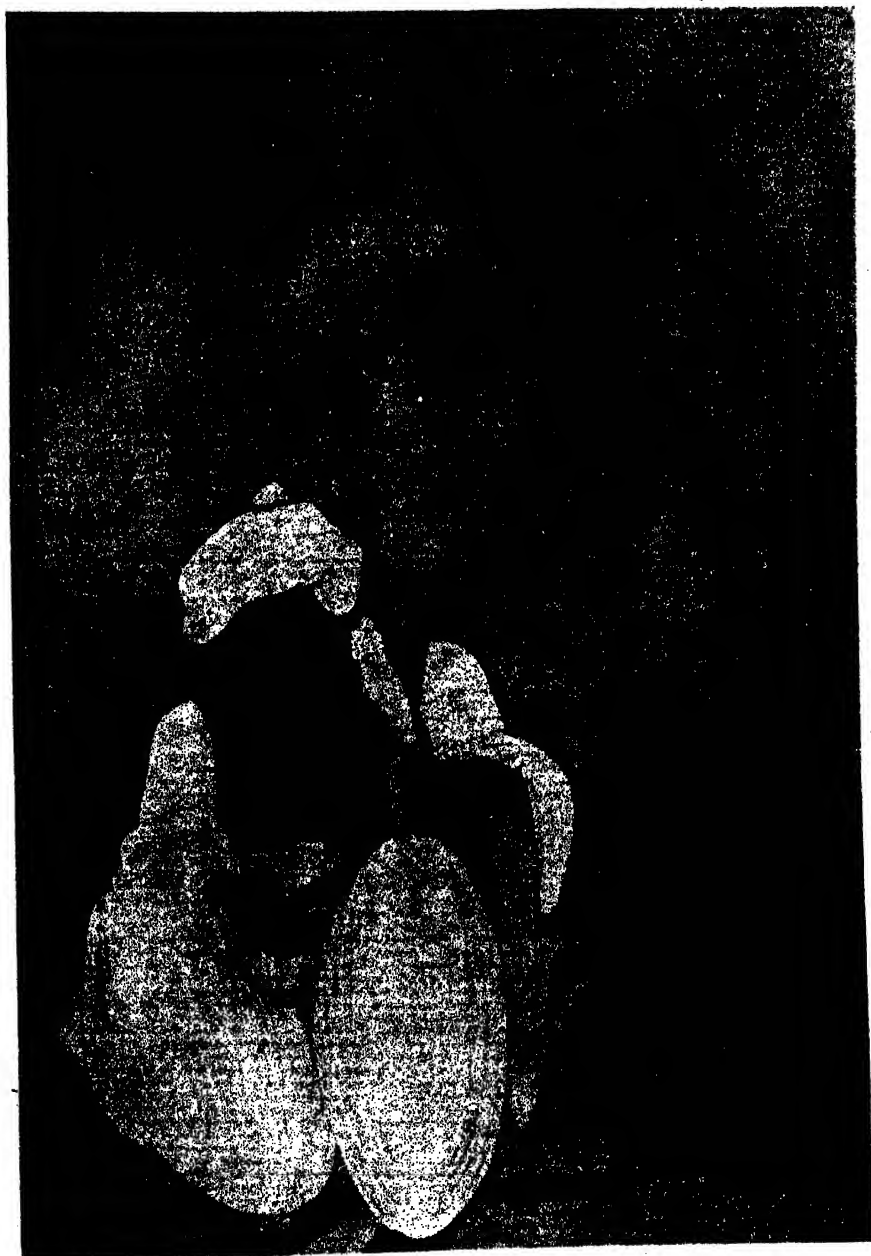
As he was about to leave, however, he asked,—“And where is the little girl, Sir?”

And I, thinking that Mini must get rid of her false fear, had her brought out.

But she stood by my chair, and looked at the Cabuliwallah and his bag. He offered nuts and raisins, but she would not be tempted, and only clung the closer to me, with all her doubts increased.

This was their first meeting.

One morning, however, not many days later, as I was leaving the house, I was startled to find Mini, seated on a bench near the door, laughing and talking, with the great Cabuliwallah at her feet. In all her life, it appeared, my small daughter had not found, save her father, so patient a listener. And already the corner of her



THE CABULIWALLAH.
By Babu Nanda Lal Bose.
By the courtesy of Babu Rabindranath Tagore.

little sari was stuffed with almonds and raisins, the gift of her visitor. "Why did you give her those?" I said, and taking out an eight-anna bit, I handed it to him. The man accepted the money without demur, and slipped it into his pocket.

Alas, on my return, an hour later, I found that unfortunate coin had made twice its own worth of trouble! For the Cabuliwallah had given it to Mini, and her Mother catching sight of the bright round object, had pounced on the child with, "Where did you get that eight-anna bit?"

"The Cabuliwallah gave it me", said Mini cheerfully.

"The Cabuliwallah gave it you!" cried her Mother much shocked, "Oh Mini! how could you take it from him?"

I, entering at the moment, saved her from the impending disaster, and proceeded to make my own enquiries.

It was not the first or second time, I found, that the two had met. The Cabuliwallah had overcome the child's first terror by a judicious bribery of nuts and almonds, and the two were now great friends.

They had a succession of quaint jokes which afforded them much amusement. Seated in front of him, looking down on his gigantic frame in all her tiny dignity, Mini's face would ripple over with laughter, and she would begin, "O Cabuliwallah, Cabuliwallah, what have you got in your bag?"

And he would reply, in the nasal accents of the mountaineer, "An Elephant!" Not much cause for merriment, perhaps, but how they both enjoyed the witticism! And for me, this child's talk with a grown-up man had always in it something strangely fascinating.

Then the Cabuliwallah, not to be behind-hand, would begin in his turn, "Well, little one, and when are you going to the father-in-law's house?"

Now most small Bengali maidens have heard long ago about the father-in-law's house, only we being a little new-fangled, had kept these things from our child, and Mini at this question must have been a trifle bewildered. But she would not show it, and with ready tact replied, "Are you going there?"

Amongst men of the Cabuliwallah's class, however, it is well-known that the words

father-in-law's house have a double meaning. It is a euphemism for *jail*, the place where we are so well cared for, at no expense to ourselves. In this sense would the sturdy pedlar take my daughter's question. "Ah!" he would say, shaking his fist at an invisible policeman, "I will thrash my father-in-law!" Hearing this, and picturing the poor discomfited relative, Mini would go off into peals of laughter, in which her formidable friend would join.

These were autumn mornings,—the very time of year when kings of old would go forth to conquest,—and I never stirring from my little corner in Calcutta, would let my mind wander over the whole world. At the very name of another country my heart would go out to it, and at the sight of a foreigner in the streets I would fall to weaving a network of dreams,—the mountains, the glens, and the forests of his distant home, with his cottage in its setting, and the free and independent life of distant wilds. Perhaps all the more because I lead such a vegetable existence that a call to travel would fall upon me like a thunder-bolt, do the scenes of travel conjure themselves up before me, and pass and re-pass in my imagination. In the presence of this Cabuliwallah I was immediately transported to the foot of arid mountain-peaks with narrow little defiles twisting in and out amongst their towering heights. I could see the string of camels bearing the merchandise, and the company of turbaned merchants,—carrying some of them queer old firearms, and some of them spears,—journeying downward towards the plains. I could see—but at some such point Mini's Mother would intervene, imploring me to "beware of that man."

Mini's Mother is unfortunately a very timid individual. Whenever she hears a noise in the street, or sees people coming towards the house, she always jumps to the conclusion that they are either thieves, or drunkards, or snakes, or tigers, or malaria or cockroaches, or caterpillars, or an English sailor. Even after all these years of experience she is not able to overcome this terror. So she was full of doubts about the Cabuliwallah, and used to beg me to keep a watchful eye on him.

I tried to laugh her fear gently away,

but then she would round on me seriously and ask me solemn questions.

Were children never kidnapped?

Was it, then, not true that there was slavery in Cabul?

Was it so very absurd that this big man should be able to carry off a tiny child?

I urged that though not impossible it was highly improbable. But this was not enough, and her dread persisted. As it was so indefinite however, it did not seem right to forbid the man the house, and the intimacy went on unchecked.

Once a year in the middle of January Rahmud the Cabuliwallah was in the habit of returning to his country, and as the time approached he would be very busy, going from house to house collecting his debts. This year, however, he could always find time to come and see Mini. It would have seemed to an outsider that there was some conspiracy between the two, for when he could not come in the morning, he would appear in the evening.

Even to me it was a little startling to come suddenly now and then, in the corner of a dark room, upon this tall, loose-garmented, much bebagged man, but when Mini would run in smiling, with her "O! Cabuliwallah! Cabuliwallah!" and the two friends, so unequal in age, would subside into their old laughter and their old jokes, I would feel reassured.

One morning, a few days before the date fixed for his departure, I was correcting my proof sheets in my little study. It was chilly weather. Through the window the rays of the sun touched my feet, and the slight warmth was very welcome. It was almost eight o'clock and the early pedestrians were returning home, with their heads covered. All at once, I heard an uproar in the street, and on looking out, saw Rahmud being led away bound between two policemen and behind them quite a crowd of curious boys. There were blood-stains on the clothes of the Cabuliwallah, and one of the policemen carried a knife. Hurrying out, I stopped them, and enquired what it all meant. Partly from one, partly from another, I gathered that a certain neighbour had owed the pedlar something for a Rampuri shawl, but had falsely denied having bought it, and that in the course of the quarrel, Rahmud had struck him. Now

in the heat of his excitement the prisoner began calling his enemy all sorts of names, when suddenly in a verandah of my house appeared my little Mini, with her usual exclamation, "O Cabuliwallah! Cabuliwallah!" Rahmud's face lighted up as he turned to her. He had no bag under his arm to-day, so she could not discuss the elephant with him. She at once therefore proceeded to the next question,— "Are you going to the father-in-law's house?" Rahmud laughed and said, "Just where I am going, little one!" Then seeing that the reply did not amuse the child, he held up his fettered hands, "Ah!", he said, "I would have thrashed that old father-in-law, but my hands are bound!"

On a charge of murderous assault, Rahmud was sentenced to some years' imprisonment.

Time passed away, and he was not remembered. The accustomed work in the accustomed place was ours, and the thought of the once-free mountaineer spending his years in prison seldom or never occurred to us. Even my light-hearted Mini, I am ashamed to say, forgot her old friend. New companions filled her life. As she grew older, she spent her time more with girls. So much time indeed did she spend with them that she came no more as she used to do to her father's room. I was scarcely on speaking terms with her.

Years had passed away. It was once more autumn, and we had made arrangements for our Mini's marriage. It was to take place during the Puja holidays. With Durga returning to Kailash, the light of our home also was to depart to her husband's house, and leave her father's in the shadow.

The morning was bright. After the rains, there was a sense of ablution in the air, and the sun-rays looked like pure gold. So much so that they gave a beautiful radiance even to the sordid brick walls of our Calcutta lanes. Since early dawn to-day the wedding-pipes had been sounding, and at each beat my own heart throbbed. The wail of the tune *Bhairavi* seemed to intensify my pain at the approaching separation. My Mini was to be married to-night.

From early morning noise and bustle had pervaded the house. In the court-yard the canopy had to be slung on its bamboo

poles; the chandeliers with their tinkling sound, must be hung in each room and verandah. There was no end of hurry and excitement. I was sitting in my study looking through the accounts, when someone entered, saluting respectfully, and stood before me. It was Rahmud the Cabuliwallah. At first I did not recognise him. He had no bag, nor the long hair, nor the same vigour that he used to have. But he smiled, and I knew him again.

"When did you come, Rahmud?" I asked him.

"Last evening", he said, "I was released from jail."

The words struck harsh upon my ear. I had never before talked with one who had wounded his fellow, and my heart shrank within itself when I realised this, for I felt that the day would have been better-omened had he not turned up.

"There are ceremonies going on", I said, "and I am busy. Could you perhaps come another day?"

At once he turned to go; but as he reached the door he hesitated and said, "May I not see the little one, Sir, for a moment?" It was his belief that Mini was still the same. He had pictured her running to him as she used, calling "O Cabuliwallah! Cabuliwallah!" He had imagined too that they would laugh and talk together, just as of old. In fact, in memory of former days he had brought, carefully wrapped up in paper, a few almonds and raisins and grapes, obtained somehow from a countryman, for his own little fund was dispersed.

I said again, "There is a ceremony in the house, and you will not be able to see anyone to-day."

The man's face fell. He looked wistfully at me for a moment, said "Good morning" and went out.

I felt a little sorry, and would have called him back, but I found he was returning of his own accord. He came close up to me holding out his offerings and said "I brought these few things, Sir, for the little one. Will you give them to her?"

I took them and was going to pay him, but he caught my hand and said "You are very kind, Sir! Keep me in your recollection. Do not offer me money!—You have a little girl, I too have one like her in my own home. I think of her and bring fruits

to your child, not to make a profit for myself."

Saying this, he put his hand inside his big loose robe, and brought out a small and dirty piece of paper. With great care he unfolded this, and smoothed it out with both hands on my table. It bore the impression of a little hand. Not a photograph. Not a drawing. The impression of an ink-smeared hand laid flat on the paper. This touch of his own little daughter had been always on his heart as he had come year after year to Calcutta, to sell his wares in the streets.

Tears came to my eyes. I forgot that he was a poor Cabuli fruit-seller, while I was—but no, what was I more than he? He also was a father,

That impression of the hand of his little Parbati in her distant mountain home reminded me of my own little Mini.

I sent for her immediately from the inner apartment. Many difficulties were raised there, but I would not listen. Clad in the red silk of her wedding-day, with the sandal-paste on her forehead, and adorned as a young bride, Mini came and stood bashfully before me.

The Cabuliwallah looked a little staggered at the apparition. He could not revive their old friendship. At last he smiled and said, "Little one, are you going to your father-in-law's house?"

But Mini now understood the meaning of the word "father-in-law" and she could not reply to him as of old. She flushed up at the question, and stood before him with her bride-like face turned down.

I remembered the day when the Cabuliwallah and my Mini had first met, and I felt sad. When she had gone, Rahmud heaved a deep sigh and sat down on the floor. The idea had suddenly come to him that his daughter too must have grown in this long time, and that he would have to make friends with her anew. Assuredly he would not find her as he used to know her. And besides, what might not have happened to her in these eight years?

The marriage-pipes sounded, and the mild autumn sun streamed round us. But Rahmud sat in the little Calcutta lane, and saw before him the barren mountains of Afghanistan.

I took out a bank-note and gave it to

him, saying, "Go back to your own daughter, Rahmud, in your own country, and may the happiness of your meeting bring fortune to my child!"

Having made this present, I had to curtail some items of the festivities. I could not have the electric lights I had intended,

nor the military band, and the ladies of the house were very despondent over this. But to me the wedding feast was all the brighter for the thought that in a distant land a long lost father had met again with his only child.

FOLKTALES, RIDDLES, PROVERBS AND DRAMATIC GAMES OF THE MUNDAS

IN every typical Mündā village, there is a common dormitory or "giti-ōrā" for all the bachelors, and another for all the maidens of the village. This 'giti-ōrā' is at once a sleeping-house, a club, and an educational seminary, for the young folk. But the Mündā is an unalphabet, and up till recently instruction through books was altogether unknown to the non-Christian Mündā. Even to this day, it is only a microscopic minority of the unconverted Mündās who have learnt the Hindi alphabet. The only vehicle for instruction and culture known to the ordinary Mündā is folklore or 'kāhāni', consisting of narratives or folktales, riddles, and proverbs. These are recited and learnt in the evening, by young bachelors and maidens assembled in their respective 'giti-ōrās', after the day's work is over.

The commoner class of folktales are (i) *Kaji-Ka-ani*, called 'kāji-kāhānis', and are in prose. As an instance we give below the story of the Tiger and the Thief—"Kūlā ād kūmbūrūā-kā-āni":—

A thief used to lurk about a king's stable night after night, seeking an opportunity to steal a horse. For the first few nights, no suitable opportunity presented itself. But at length the opportunity came, and on one dark night the thief entered the unguarded stable, unperceived. A tiger, however, had already noticed the thief lurking about the stable. And anticipating that the thief would enter the stable, and promising himself a meal of human flesh, the tiger forestalled him and lay crouching at one end of the stable. The thief on entering the

dark stable, began to scrutinise each animal by feeling its back with his hands. When at length he felt the back of the tiger, he adjudged this to be the best horse in the whole stable. Accordingly he put a bridle into this selected animal's mouth, and forthwith got up on its back. Unused to such treatment, the tiger got frightened out of his wits and thought within himself that the man who thus succeeded in mounting his back was undoubtedly stronger and more powerful than himself. In a mortal fright, the tiger began to run with all possible speed. And thus with the thief on his back, on and on he ran through jungles and over rocks, the whole night through. The thief too was no less frightened than the animal on whose back he rode. And at frequent intervals, the thief would call out to the animal in the most coaxing tones he could command,—“Slowly, slowly, O royal horse,” “Wait a little, O king's horse!”. At these words, however, the tiger would get more frightened than ever, and would double his speed. When, at length, day dawned, the thief was horrified at discovering that he was riding a veritable tiger. His first consternation, however, did not get the better of the thief's accustomed presence of mind. At the very first opportunity he caught hold of the overhanging branches of a tree. And, in the twinkling of an eye, he scrambled up the tree and heaved a sigh of relief. The tiger too was overjoyed at finding his human rider mysteriously vanished. And in great glee the animal ran away with all possible speed. When the tiger was at a safe distance, the thief got down from the tree but felt so exhausted that he lay down on the ridge of

a field and fell fast asleep. A wolf now came that way, saw the sleeping thief, and took him for a corpse. The wolf looked about for a co-adjutor to help him in carrying the supposed corpse to his den. At some distance, he met the very same tiger whom the man had ridden the previous night. "Friend, I have found out excellent food for you," said the wolf to the tiger. The tiger, whose recent experience made him extremely suspicious, replied—"Who knows you may be playing me a trick?" The wolf assured him that he was in earnest and described the appearance of the intended victim. The tiger said,—"Who knows but that it may be the same being that made me run for life the whole night!" The wolf assured him that it was a lifeless object when he had seen it. The tiger, grown more cautious from the incidents of the previous night, replied, "I am afraid still, my friend. If I must go with you, fasten your body to mine, so that in case things do not turn out to our expectation, you may not run away leaving me in the lurch." To this the wolf agreed, and the two, tied to each other with a cord, approached the field where the thief was still lying asleep. When the tiger saw the sleeping man, he began to move backwards, and importuned the wolf to unfasten the rope. The wolf remonstrated. Their words awakened the thief, who at this extreme peril, desperately shouted out at the top of his voice, "What! you come again, tiger!" In a mortal fright, the tiger ran away, dragging the wolf along the stony ground. This was too much for the poor wolf who was soon done to death. The thief, now a sadder and a wiser man, returned home, and was cured of his thievish propensities.

A second variety of the folk-tale is the (ii) *Durang Kā-āni*, in which bits of song are interspersed. A boy in the boys' *giti-orā* or a girl in the girls' *giti-orā* tells the prose part of the story, and when a song comes in, all the assembled boys or girls, as the case may be, sing it in chorus. Here is an example of this class of folk-tales.

Once upon a time there lived seven brothers and an unmarried sister of theirs. Of the brothers, six were married and the youngest was a bachelor. The un-

married brother and the unmarried sister occupied one hut, and the other brothers lived in other huts with their wives. One day, these wives and the unmarried sister of their husbands, all went together to the village-jungles to gather green herb (*āig*) for food. In the jungle, they discovered the egg of a serpent. The six women told their husbands' maiden sister, "Take this egg home, and boil it for yourself and your (unmarried) brother." The unsuspecting maiden took it home and told his brother to boil and eat the egg. The brother quite unsuspectingly boiled the egg and ate it up. In the evening the sister, as usual, went to the maidens' dormitory (*giti-orā*) leaving her brother alone in the hut. In the course of the night, her brother was metamorphosed into a snake. At cock-crow, this human snake began to sing aloud—

[CHORUS.]

Ko-ko-re cho,
Baum-do-na mai,—
Buru-bing janae chi,
Sangsuri jana ?*

At the sound, the matron of the *giti-orā* told the girl,—"Listen! a cock is crowing at your house!" "Probably," replied the girl, "my brother has seized some neighbour's fowl." On her return home in the morning, the girl opened the doors of the hut to find a huge snake occupying it. She stood spell-bound at the threshold when the snake called her out by name and said, "Fear not, sister. I am your brother. The egg you gave me to eat is responsible for this transformation. Sweep the dust off half the room and prepare it for your own use, and I shall occupy the other half." The girl obeyed, and swept the floor of half the room with her broom. Then her snake-brother told her to get ready one basketful of parched rice (*shinra* and *murks*) for him. When the basket was placed before him, he directed his sister to bring together as many knives as she could procure from the village. When she had done this, her snake-brother

* This and the following bits of song are sung by all the boys or girls of the *giti-orā*. The song may be translated as follows:—

At cock-crow,—
Thy brother, O girl,
Has he become a hill-snake,
Or has he become a female snake?

told her to place all the knives within the heap of parched rice in the basket. The knives having been thus arranged to his satisfaction, he directed his sister to take up the basket on her head and follow him. And thus off they went into the forest, and finally stopped at the spot where the fateful egg had been found. Arrived there, the man-snake told his sister to get up on a tree and hide herself. He himself remained under the tree and began to sing aloud:—

CHORUS.

Hesel juru juru,
Kareketa lidi lidi;
Neado neado,
Burubing king ora,
Chi sangsuri king rosom ?*

At this song, the 'būrūbing' and 'sāngsuri' (the male hill-snake and his consort) came out of their hole. The human snake offered them the basket of fried rice, which the pair eagerly fell to eating. The knives concealed within the basket soon split their tongues. Then the hill snake told the human snake, "If you can smooth the surface of a bamboo with your tongue, we shall admit you into the serpent race." The human snake did what was required of him and was accordingly admitted into the tribe of the 'būrūbing'. Now the human-snake entered a neighbouring hill-stream and stopped the current by interposing his own huge body as an embankment. At his desire, the girl invited all her sisters-in-law to come and fish in the stream whose flow had been arrested. The girl herself stood on the bank, as directed, but her sisters-in-law eagerly rushed into the water and began to catch fish. When they were in the height of excitement, the man-snake suddenly slipped away, and the released current swept away all his malicious sisters-in-law. The man-snake remained in the stream, and his forlorn sister returned home alone with a heavy heart.

The third class of *Kā-ānis* or *Kāhinis* are not stories but riddles which (iii) Nutum put to test the powers of observation of the Mündā youth. When the young folk are assembled

* This song, sung by all the assembled young folk in chorus, may be translated as follows:—

The *dhante* (*hesel*) tree stands with widespreading branches,

The *kerketa* tree towers high;
Is this the house of the male-snake,
Or is this the house of the female-snake?

in the evening, at their *giti-orās*, these riddles give them pleasant intellectual exercise. There are hundreds and hundreds of these riddles out of which we cite only half a dozen examples.—

(1) *Riddle*:—*Mōyōd māchire mōnré hāgākō dūbākānāko, jūpūtīd kākō jupūtīd tānā.*

[On one chair, sit five brethren, although touching, they do not touch one another].

Answer.—The two ears (*lutur*), the two eyes (*med*), and the nose (*mū*), all sitting on one chair, namely the head (*bō*).

(2) *Riddle*:—*Mōyōd hōrō dō senōtānre hāpé hāpéte senoa; birte tebākiatē kāklae.*

[A certain individual keeps quiet while going along; but makes noise while he reaches the wood].

Ans.—'Kōndé' (the axe) which makes noise while cutting wood.

(3) *Riddle*:—*Ritipité sākānteā, gāgāralekā jā-teā.*

[It has small leaves, and fruits like small ankle-bells.]

Ans.—'Bū' (gram).

(4) *Riddle*:—*Moyod horo deā-sāre dātā-ākānā.*

[Some one has his teeth on his back].

Ans.—'Pāti' (leaf-palm-mat).

(5) *Riddle*:—*Pūndi lōyōngre karāni bābā-kō herjedā.*

[On white field grows karhāni paddy (which is black.)]

Ans.—Pūndi kagach (white paper, which is written upon with black ink).

DRAMATIC GAMES.

These form the most interesting class of Mündā games. They are meant to combine amusement with instruction, and are generally played in the evening. The Mündās have a large number of games of this class. We shall describe one which may be taken as typical of the whole class.

In the 'Kāntāru inn' or the jack-fruit game,

(1) *Kantara*—one boy represents a jack-tree, a number of boys and girls represent its fruits, one boy personates the owner of the tree, and another boy a dog, and a third boy a thief. The boys and girls representing the jack-fruits hold on to the boy representing the tree, and shout,—"*Hété téré bāndā hākā, hété téré bāndā hākā.*" The thief comes to the tree when the owner is asleep. The

dog gets scent and barks at him. The barking awakens the owner from sleep. On seeing the thief stealing his jack-fruits, he raises a hue and cry. Thereupon the thief takes to his heels, carrying away with him the fruits he has just plucked. In the morning, the thief comes to the owner of the tree and requests the loan of a knife. The latter asks, "What do you want a knife for?" The thief replies, "I have killed a goat. I require a knife to dress the slain animal with." The owner of the tree unsuspectingly lends his knife.

Giggling with mirth, the thief runs home with the knife, rips open the jack-fruit, and eats his fill. When he takes back the knife to its owner, the latter smells it and asks "Why does it smell of jack-fruit, eh?" Before the words are spoken, the thief runs away. The following night, jack-fruits are again stolen. The dog barks again; its master gets up and raises a hue and cry; and the thief bolts away with the stolen fruits as before. In the morning the owner of the tree exclaims—"No more jack-fruits will I leave on the tree. The thieves are taking them all away." Just when he is saying this, the thief, looking the very picture of innocence, once more appears, asks the loan of a knife to kill a fowl with, and goes away with the same knife he had borrowed the day before. In the night, the thief cuts down the jack-tree with this knife. And early next morning takes it back to its befooled owner. The owner comes out of the house to see his jack-tree lying down full length on the ground. He then seeks out a *sōkhā* or ghost-finder to ascertain

what evil spirit may have caused the mischief. The selected *sōkhā*, however, is none other than the thief himself! And in a mock-solemn tone, this pretended *sōkhā* directs the owner of the tree to bring "one white hen, one black goat, one buffalo," besides rice and other customary offerings to propitiate the offended *'bhūt'* (evil spirit). The offerings are duly brought forth, and a mimicry of a *pūjā* ceremony is gone through. The sham *pūjā* over, one of the boys seizes hold of the legs of the boy representing the fallen jack-tree, and another seizes him by the two hands,—all shouting in chorus—

"Sim darom joma chi?
Merom darom joma chi?
Kera darom joma chi?"

The tree will now stand up again. And all the other players will join hands, and dance round the tree.

Among other dramatic games may be mentioned the '*Didi-inu*' or Other Dramatic Games. 'vulture-play' played by two boys on all-fours and a third boy representing a dog; and the '*Tūyū oro sim lūn*,' or the 'game of the fox and the hen' in which one boy or girl represents a hen, and a number of children represent so many chickens, one boy represents the keeper of the fowls and another a fox who makes many unsuccessful attempts to catch the chickens.

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.

* These lines may be literally translated as follows :—"Will you eat fowl-sacrifice? Will you eat goat-sacrifice? Will you eat buffalo-sacrifice?"

THE LAW COURTS OF CHANDRAGUPTA

By NARENDRANATH LAW, M.A.

IT goes without saying that the welfare of the people is determined to a considerable extent by the nature of the law of the land and the efficient administration of justice. Laws are unseen agencies as important for popular well-being as the

visible agents of government. The object of this and the following papers will be to consider in detail the laws of Chandragupta's government, the way they were administered, and the contribution they made to the material welfare of the country.

There were two classes of law courts in the country. These were the *पंचायत** courts and the *सदरमहल*† courts—each differently constituted. There was also a difference in respect of the nature of the cases that came under their cognizance.

First, as to composition‡; each *पंचायत* court was made up of three persons well-grounded in the Sastras (i.e., *पंडित*) and three ministers (*बनार*) who sat together for hearing cases; the former were most probably Brahmins, the recognized depositories of sacred learning, and the latter the three judicial officers who supplemented the knowledge of sacred lore of the former by their knowledge and experience of the world.

In each *सदरमहल* court, three *बनार*'s and three *महल*'s sat to decide cases. The *बनार*'s as has been explained above were three officers with their knowledge of the world and the *महल*'s were three "over-seers" who, it seems, investigated the cases by enquiries on the spot when required, remained present at the time of trial and helped the *बनार*'s.

Next, as to the jurisdiction of the courts: a *पंचायत* court generally decided such cases as arose from the personal grievances of one or a few individuals against another or a few other individuals, and the punishments were only in fines—these fines being not even very heavy ones. The cases that came within the jurisdiction of a *सदरमहल* court generally related either to matters that affected the government, the king himself, the public at large and large bodies of men, or to such other heinous offences as murder. Though small fines were inflicted by this court for offences that were not so grave yet the fines for the graver offences ranged up to a very high limit. This distinguishes it from a *पंचायत* court. Another distinction consisted in the fact that it lay in the power of a *सदरमहल* court to inflict capital punishment with or without torture according to the gravity of the offences.

Below are given two lists of the kinds of

cases that came under the cognizance of the two types of law courts:—

I. The *पंचायत* court tried cases bearing on the following questions:—

- (i) Validity of contracts—(*सदरमहल*); (ii) Violation of contracts for service—(*सदरमहल*); (iii) Relation between master and servant, employer and labourer—(*सदरमहल*); (iv) Slavery—(*सदरमहल*); (v) Recovery of Debts—(*सदरमहल*); (vi) Deposits—(*पंचायत*); (vii) Rescission of sale—(*पंचायत*); (viii) Resumption of gifts—(*पंचायत*); (ix) Robbery and Violence—(*सदरमहल*); (x) Assault—(*सदरमहल*); (xi) Defamation—(*सदरमहल*); (xii) Gambling—(*सदरमहल*); (xiii) Sales of property by another than owner—(*पंचायत*); (xiv) Rights of ownership—(*पंचायत*); (xv) Boundary Disputes—(*पंचायत*); (xvi) Construction of Buildings—(*सदरमहल*); (xvii) Sale of house-property—(*सदरमहल*); (xviii) Damage to agriculture, pasture and public roads—(*पंचायत*); (xix) Miscellaneous hindrances—(*सदरमहल*); (xx) Duties of man and wife—(*पंचायत*); (xxi) Guilds—(*सदरमहल*); (xxii) Inheritance and Succession—(*सदरमहल*); (xxiii) Miscellaneous offences—(*पंचायत*); (xxiv) Rules of procedure—(*पंचायत*).

II. The *सदरमहल* court tried cases relating to the following:—

- (i) Protection of Artisans—(*सदरमहल*); (ii) Protection of merchants—(*सदरमहल*); (iii) Measures against national calamities—(*सदरमहल*); (iv) Suppression of the wicked—(*सदरमहल*); (v) Detection of criminals by ascetic-spies—(*सदरमहल*); (vi) Arresting robbers on suspicion or in the act—(*सदरमहल*); (vii) Post-mortem examination—(*सदरमहल*); (viii) Cross-examination—(*सदरमहल*); (ix) Discipline in government departments—(*सदरमहल*); (x) Fines in lieu of mutilation of limbs—(*सदरमहल*); (xi) Capital punishment with or without torture—(*सदरमहल*); (xii) Improper Social Intercourse—(*सदरमहल*); (xiii) Punishments for miscellaneous offences—(*सदरमहल*).

It should be noted* that over and above these courts, the headman (*बानि*) and the

* Literally, the courts composed of judges well-grounded in sacred lore.

† Lit., the courts for the removal of thorns (disturbances).

‡ Vide p. 147, *सदरमहल* and p. 200, *पंचायत*—Bk. III, *Arthashastra*.

* See *सदरमहल*,—p. 169, Bk. III, and *पंचायत*,—p. 171, Bk. III.

elders of a village (सरपंच) played an important part in the settlement of disputes among the villagers, and the headman was vested with the power of summarily punishing certain offences within his jurisdiction. It appears from a passage that he could "deport" out of the village under his charge a thief or an adulterer if such a step became necessary.

The king with his ministers and learned Brahmans formed the highest court of appeal.*

Now, as to the seats of the above courts :

* Bk. I, राजप्रतिधि: ।

they held their sittings in every *सुब*, i.e., a town forming the head-quarters of villages; in every *महल*, i.e., a town which was the head-quarters of 100 villages; in every *सुब*, i.e., a town being the head-quarters of 800 villages; and in every *महल*, i.e., a place centrally situated between any two provinces of the empire. It will thus be seen that the capital city must have had courts of the above two classes besides the royal law-court.

* *सबद्वाराद्वारा* and *सबद्वाराद्वारा*—Bk. III; see also Bk. II, *जयवर्द्धन*;

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

CHAPTER XI.

WAR WITH BIJAPUR, 1657.

THE treaty of 1636 had turned the king of BIJAPUR into a friendly ally of the Emperor of Delhi, but left his sovereignty unimpaired. He had not become a vassal prince, nor bound himself to pay an annual tribute. On the other hand, he had been formally confirmed in the possession of a large portion of the territory of the extinct royal house of Ahmadnagar, the whole of which the Mughals had once claimed.* Secure from his mighty neighbour

on the north, the Bijapur Sultan began to extend his dominions westwards into the Konkan, southwards into Mysore, and eastwards into the Karnatak. The principality of Ikkeri (or Bednur, in N. W. Mysore) had been raided in 1635 at the invitation of a local faction, and a heavy fine of 30 *lakhs* of *hun* imposed on its Rajah, Virabhadra Nayak. Two years later the invasion was renewed and the Nayak deposed.† Shortly afterwards, a vast Bijapuri army, numbering 40,000, led by the famous general Randaulah Khan, took Sira,

Bangalore, and the country north of the Kaveri (1639), and then advancing eastwards into the Karnatak, went on capturing forts and cities for many years. In 1647, the entire Bijapur army under Mustafa Khan, the foremost noble of the State, repeated the invasion, but met with stubborn opposition at first. In a great battle fought east of Bangalore,* the impetuous valour of an Abyssinian general, Malik Raihan, saved the lives of the Bijapur troops and the honour of their king from destruction; the famous Hindu general Vailuar was routed and his cause ruined. Finally starvation opened the impregnable

fortress of Jinji to Bijapur arms (17th December 1649), and the whole Southern Karnatak lay open to the

Muslims. The prize thus secured was most splendid; besides the vast rich and fertile territory annexed, the treasure captured was valued at four *hrores* of *hun*.‡ Westwards, a Bijapur force invaded the Portuguese territory of Goa and Salsette (August 1654) with some success.‡ In short, in the reign

* In the Persian manuscripts of the *Basatin-i-salatin*, the place of encounter is indistinctly written as "Antur, between Bangalore and Masti." There is a *Wantur*, n.e. of Bangalore. Both *Attur* and *Vellore* are too far off.

† *Basatin-i-salatin*, 304—308, 311.

‡ D'Anvers *Portuguese in India*, ii. 308 and 309.

* Chapter III.

† *Basatin-i-salatin*, (Major B. D. Vassu's MS.) 302—305. S. K. Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, 293—294. Sewell, 37, names the Nayak *Bhadrapa*.

of Muhammad Adil Shah (1226—56) the kingdom of Bijapur attained to its highest extent, power, and magnificence. His dominion stretched from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, across the entire Indian Peninsula.

Ever since 1636, Muhammad Adil Shah had lived at peace with the Emperor of Delhi, and we read of friendly exchanges of presents between the two Courts.* This

Relations between the Delhi and Bijapur Courts. Sultan's good name for piety, love of justice, and care for his subjects,—which was heightened by a certain

simplicity of understanding and ignorance of the world,—greatly pleased Shah Jahan. The Emperor recognised the merits of the king and the increased power of the kingdom by addressing him as *Shah* or King (1648),†—whereas the former sovereigns of Delhi, in their pride of suzerainty, had styled the rulers of Bijapur as mere *Khans* or Lords. Some years afterwards, differences had arisen between the two.‡ Adil

Shah Jahan is displeased; Why?

Shah Jahan by departing from the practice of his ancestors in holding Court in a lofty palace outside his citadel and witnessing elephant-combats in an open plain beyond the fort instead of within it, and lastly by conferring the title of *Khan-i-khanan* on his premier noble. These acts were taken to imply a presumptuous assumption of the prerogatives of the Emperor and rivalry with the Court of Delhi. Shah Jahan wrote him a letter of rebuke, sharply telling him to return to the ways of his forefathers, or a Delhi army would visit his dominion. The letter was discussed in full Court. The captains of Bijapur clattered their swords and cried, "Let them come on! We too are ready and eager for such a day. We shall be glad to measure our swords with the blades of Hindustan." A haughty reply was delivered to the Delhi envoy.

* Abdul Hamid. Waris, 90 a, 98 b, 101 a, 113 b, 117 b, (in these passages the word *peshkash* is used, but evidently in the sense of 'present' and not in that of 'tribute').

† *Basatin-i-salatin*, 324 and 325. Aurangzib refers to the granting of this title in a letter written to Shah Jahan in September 1654 (*Adab*, 44a.)

‡ In October 1652, also, Shah Jahan was angry with the Bijapur king for some reason unknown to us. (*Adab*, 22a.)

With the night came a change. A charming story is told,* how the king was amusing himself with his chiefs and favourites on the lofty terraced roof of his palace, under the moonlit sky. Hours rolled on in delight. At midnight, when all other hearts were sunk in pleasure, the pensive king turned his ears to the City of Bijapur and heard only sounds of revelry coming from it on the night wind. "What does the City say, Afzal Khan Ji?" he asked of his favourite general. "It is only singing the praise of your Majesty's love of justice and care for your subjects, and praying for your long life, so that the people may continue to enjoy the same peace, plenty and happiness." The pleased king asked again, "What will be the result if we encounter the forces of Delhi?" The reply was, "Only lamentation and grief will be heard in the place of these joyous sounds. Whichever side may win, every house will mourn some deaths and the people will know no peace or happiness." The king brooded over the answer, preferred ease to honour, and next morning took his haughty reply back and sent in its stead a letter of apology and submission to Delhi. This Adil Shah yields. long and prosperous reign of 30 years ended with his death at the age of 47 (on 4th Nov. 1656),† and the danger he had successfully averted fell on his kingdom.

But before we can proceed to the troubled history of his successor, it is necessary to take up the thread of narrative where we dropped it at the end of the last chapter.

When returning from the Golkonda expedition Aurangzib had sent Mir Jumla off to the Imperial Court (7th May), to fill the high post of prime minister. In the meantime he had completely won Mir Jumla over to his interests, and the Mir's arrival at Delhi (7th July, 1656) secured the triumph of Aurangzib's policy of aggression in the Emperor's council.‡ Mir Jumla's presents, matchless diamonds, rubies and topazes,

* *Basatin-i-salatin*, 324—326. For another quarrel about Imperial dignity, see *Adab*, 40 b.

† The glories of the reign are described in detail in the *Basatin-i-salatin*, 304—345, especially 329—331.

‡ Waris, 113 a (Mir Jumla took leave of Aurangzib at Indur on 3 May, and left that place for Delhi four days afterwards), 114 a. *Adab*, 83 a, 205 b.

dazzled the eyes of the Emperor and brought about the downfall of the peace party under Dara Shukoh. The land whence these jewels came was worth annexing!

The late *wazir* of Golkonda knew all the secrets of the Deccani Courts, the ins and outs of the land, and the exact prices of all the chief officers of Qutb Shah and Adil Shah.* Therefore, as an authority on Deccan questions he was unapproached by any other courtier of Shah Jahan. His expert knowledge was now utilised in intriguing with the Deccani Courts and seducing their officers. With Mir Jumla dominating the Emperor's counsels, Aurangzib confidently matured the plan of invading Bijapur on the expected death of its reigning king, who was lingering on the bed of illness. The Mir, as one fully conversant with the country, was urged by Aurangzib to return to him as quickly as possible, "in order that this opportunity might not slip away."†

On 4th November, 1656, Muhammed Adil Shah, the seventh of the royal line of Bijapur, died. Through the efforts of his chief minister, Khan Muhammad, and the Queen, Bari Sahiba, a sister of the Golkonda King, the crown was placed on the head of Ali Adil Shah II, a youth of 18 years, and the only son of Muhammad.

The news reached Aurangzib on 10th November, and he immediately wrote to Shah Jahan, urging an invasion on the plea that Ali was not really a son of the late King, but a boy of obscure parentage whom Muhammad Adil Shah had brought up in the harem. In anticipation of the Emperor's orders, he massed his troops on the Bijapur frontier, and proposed to go himself to Ahmadnagar to be nearer to the point of attack.‡

* *Adab*, 49 b.

† *Adab*, 88 a and b, 91 a and b 191 a (Aurangzib thanks Mir Jumla for having supported him against Dara). (Aurangzib planned the invasion of Bijapur even before the death of its king, *Adab*, 88 a). Aqil Khan, 15, asserts that Mir Jumla induced Shah Jahan to sanction the invasion of Bijapur.

‡ *Adab*, 88 b, 60 b, 145 a, 132 b. (Aurangzib writes to Khawajah Abdul Ghaflar that he invaded Bijapur for the good of the people, as the late king had left no heir!) *Basatin-i-salat*, 326, 347. Waris, 118 a. There was even a talk of Shah Jahan going to the Deccan to direct the operations. (*Adab*, 89 b.)

The death of Muhammad Adil Shah was followed by disorder in the Karnatak he had conquered. The zamindars recovered much of their former lands, and the Bijapuri officers were driven to the shelter of the forts.

Shahji Bhonsla disobeyed his new master, and set up for himself. At the capital things were even worse.

Bijapur nobles had never been kept under proper control by their king, and had been wont to regard themselves as their own masters. They now quarrelled with one another and with the prime minister Khan Muhammad for the division of power.* To aggravate the evil, Aurangzib intrigued with them, and succeeded in corrupting most of them. "I am trying my utmost," he writes to Mir Jumla, "to win the Bijapur army over, for then the chiefs of that country will join us of their own accord." Randaulah Khan's son and several other leading men of the Court promised their adhesion and prepared to desert to the Mughal territory with their troops. After they had reached him Aurangzib hoped

to seduce the others with the aid of Mir Jumla. So, he sent Rs. 20,000 to Multafat Khan, the Governor of Ahmadnagar, the nearest point on the Mughal frontier towards Bijapur, with instructions to distribute it among the deserters: every Bijapur captain who brought a hundred men to the muster was to get Rs. 2,000 out of the local treasury, (evidently after the above sum had been spent). The Governor was ordered to welcome, and conciliate every arrival from Bijapur, even if he were not a captain of known position and importance.†

An envoy from Shivaji waited on Aurangzib proposing the terms on which the Maratha chieftain was willing to co-operate with the Mughals by making a diversion in the Bijapuri Konkan. He received in reply a letter of vague promises.‡

On 16th November Shah Jahan sanctioned the invasion and gave Aurangzib a

* *Adab*, 89 b, 91 a.

† *Adab*, 91 a, 145 a & b, 146 b.

‡ *Adab*, 144 b (about July 1656), 146 a (about February or March 1657).

Shah Jahan sanctions invasion of Bijapur.

free hand to "settle the affair of Bijapur in any way he thought fit."* At the same time orders were sent to Shaista Khan, the Governor of Malwa, to hasten to Aurangabad and hold it during Aurangzib's absence in the war. A force of 20,000 troopers, partly from the Court and partly from the *jagirs*, with a large staff of officers, was despatched to reinforce the army of the Deccan. Lastly Mir Jumla himself, with most of the officers and a portion of the troops ordered, was sent (1st December) to join Aurangzib.†

The Emperor's instructions to his son were, first to march with Mir Jumla to the Bijapur frontier and conquer the whole of the kingdom, if possible; otherwise, to annex that portion of the old Ahmadnagar kingdom which had been ceded to Bijapur by the treaty of 1636, and to spare the territory of Bijapur proper on the payment of an indemnity of 1½ *crores* of Rupees and the recognition of the Emperor's suzerainty,—i.e., the issuing of coins in his name and the public reading of his title from the pulpit at Bijapur. If the latter alternative was carried out, Aurangzib was to employ the vast army assembled under his banner in the conquest of Golkonda. The Prince, however, was keen upon conquering Bijapur first; "I want to put off the conquest of Golkonda, which can be seized at any time we like."‡

The war thus sanctioned was wholly unrighteous. Bijapur was not a vassal State, but an independent and equal ally of the Mughal Emperor, and the latter had no lawful right to confirm or question the succession at Bijapur. The true reason of the Mughal interference was the helplessness of its boy-king, and the discord among his officers, which presented a fine "opportunity" for annexation, as Aurangzib expressed it.§

* *Wazir*, 118 a; *Adab*, 90 a.

† *Wazir*, 118 a and b, (list of officers sent to the Deccan.) *Adab*, 118 a (Mir Jumla takes leave of the Emperor on 26th November, but actually starts from Delhi on 1st December).

‡ *Adab*, 90 a, 196 b.

§ *Adab*, 88 a, 91 b. Grant Duff, i, 155. The Bijapur historian points out the wickedness of the Mughals. "After the death of Muhammad Adil Shah, Aurangzib invaded Bijapur, in violation of the treaty and solemn

Aurangzib impatiently waited for Mir Jumla's coming and pressed him to hasten his movements. "Let not such an opportunity (*vis.*, the revolt and dissension among the Bijapur officers) slip away. Come quickly, so that we may both start together." It was of no use waiting for the rest of the reinforcements ordered from Northern India. Several officers were slow to leave their *jagirs*, in spite of strong letters from the Emperor urging them on; and Aurangzib could not expect to get the whole additional force of 20,000 men before 19th February, 1657.*

Mir Jumla arrived at Aurangabad on 18th January, and that very day at the auspicious hour chosen by the astrologers, the Prince set out with him to invade Bijapur.† As he was encumbered with heavy artillery and siege materials, his movement was very slow; 240 miles were covered in 43 days. On 28th February, he reached the environs of Bidar, and laid siege to the fort on 2nd March.‡

A short distance south of the Mughal frontier fort of Udgir and across the Manjira river lies the city of BIDAR. It is large and well peopled, and the remains of fine buildings speak of its ancient grandeur. Tradition connects it with the father of

Bidar. Damayanti, the devoted wife of Rajah Nala, who flourished in the mythical age of the *Mahabharat*. Coming down to historic times, we find that Bidar§ was captured by Muhammad Tughlaq in the 14th century, and became successively the capital of the Bahmani Sultans and of the short-lived Barid Shahi dynasty, both of whom adorned it with fine palaces, tombs, and mosques, as memorials of their greatness. The glory of the city is the magnificent college built

agreement between the Mughals and Bijapur, and though Shah Jahan [the maker of the treaty] was alive," *Basatin-i-salat* 348.

* *Adab*, 90 b, 91 a, 91 b, 92 a, 195 b.

† *Adab*, 92 a, 109 b, 145 b, 118 a, 196 b. Kambu, 2 b.

‡ Kambu, 2 b; (both MSS. wrongly give 14 days instead of one month and 14 days, as the time taken by the march. *Adab*, 109 b, 145 a, 118 b.

§ This account of Bidar is based on Kambu, 2 b and 3 a, *Adab*, 145 a, *Dilhasha*, 14, Burgess Bidar and Aurangabad Districts, 43-44.

by Mahmud Gawan, the famous minister of the Bahmanis (1478). On the extinction of the Barid Shahi kings, Bidar passed into the hands of Bijapur.

The city stands on a high plateau, 2330 feet above the sea-level. A wall with a dry ditch and glacis surrounds the city itself, and bastions rising at various points of the wall add to its defensive power. The fort or citadel, finished in 1432 and occupying the eastern face of the city, is of immense strength. Its wall is 4500 yards in circuit and 12 yards in height. Three separate ditches each 25 yards wide and 15 yards deep, cut in the solid rock, surround the citadel, which contains many palaces, mosques, Turkish baths, mint, arsenal, magazine, and other public edifices built of trap but now in ruin. The only entrance is a zigzag passage from the southwest, protected by three gateways. On the bastions stood several guns, one of them being 23 feet long with a 19 inch bore. In the age before modern artillery, Bidar was rightly held to be impregnable to assault.

Aurangzib's opponent at the siege* was Siddi Marjan, an Abyssinian who had held the fort for Bijapur for thirty years, and had collected abundance of materials of defence and a garrison of 1000 horse, and 4000 foot, including musketeers, gunners, and rocket-men.

In spite of a fierce fire from the fort walls, the Mughal sappers worked hard in the inspiring presence of their chief, and in two days carried the trenches to the edge of the moat. Then they began to fill up the ditch. Siddi Marjan offered a stout defence; he made several sorties, and falling on the trenches tried to arrest the progress of the siege. But the superior numbers of the Mughals told in the end, and Mir Jumla's fine train of artillery did great damage to the fort walls; two towers were demolished, and the battlements of the lower-most wall as well as the outer breast-works were levelled to the ground.

The ditch having been filled up, the assault was delivered on 29th March.

* For the history of the siege, Kambu, 26-32, *Dilhaska*, 15, *Adab*, 109b-110a, 119b, 122a, 127a, 146a.

Muhammad Murad, at the head of a select body, sallied out of his trenches, rushed to the foot

of the tower opposite Mir Jumla's post, and planting ladders scaled the wall. An accident favoured the assailants. Siddi Marjan, with his sons and troops, was standing close to the tower ready to repel the attack. But a spark from a rocket thrown by the Mughals fell into a chamber of gunpowder and grenades behind the tower. There was a terrific explosion. Marjan was mortally wounded with two of his sons and many of his followers. The garrison, appalled by the disaster, carried their dying chief to the citadel, while the exulting Mughals swarmed out of all their trenches and rushed into the city, driving the remnant of the defenders back with fearful slaughter. Behind them came Aurangzib himself, with his banners waving and his drums beating a victorious note, and took possession of the city. The Mughals

Bidar captured. closely followed the retreating garrison and took possession of the gate of the citadel. But the fall of their leader had taken the heart out of the defenders. In response to the Mughal call to surrender and promise of quarter, Siddi Marjan from his death-bed sent his seven sons to Aurangzib with the keys of the fort.

Thus, the stronghold of Bidar, hitherto reputed impregnable throughout India, fell into the hands of Aurangzib after a siege of 27 days only. Among the

The spoils of victory. spoils were 12 lakhs of

Rupees in cash, 8 lakhs worth of powder, shot, grain and other stores, besides 230 pieces of cannon. Well might Aurangzib exult over such a victory. Well might he boast to Shivaji, "The fort of Bidar, which was accounted impregnable, and which is the key to the conquest of the Deccan and Karnatak, has been captured by me in one day, both fort and town, which was scarcely to have been expected without one year's fighting."*

On Wednesday, 1st April, Siddi Marjan succumbed to his burns. Aurangzib again visited the city and fort, and had the

* Quoted in Grant Duff, i. 157a. This passage is referred to in a letter of Shivaji to the Mughal officers in 1665 (*Khatut-i-Shivaji*, 2). There is a similar boast in Aurangzib's letters to Nasiri Khan and Abdul Ghaifar, (*Adab*, 132 b, 130 b).

Emperor's titles publicly read out from the pulpit of the grand mosque built by the Bahmani Sultans two centuries earlier.

Meanwhile the Bijapuris had made some feeble attempts to relieve Bidar. A force under Khan Muhammad, their prime minister, had been advancing towards it during the siege; but it had evidently retreated without striking a blow.* After the fall of the fort, Aurangzib learnt that a large Bijapuri army was being mobilised near Kulbarga.

Their light troopers arrived within six miles of the Mughal camp and carried off some of the transport oxen that were grazing there. So, Aurangzib sent a force of 15,000 well mounted and experienced troopers under Mahabat Khan, to punish the assembled enemy and ravage Bijapur territory up to Kaliani in the west and Kulbarga in the south, "leaving no vestige of cultivation in that tract."

In his march southwards from Kaliani, the Mughal general encountered the enemy on 12th April. The Bijapuris, numbering some 20,000, under their famous chiefs Khan Muhammad, Afzal Khan, and the sons of Randaulah and Raihan, began the attack. Mahabat Khan, leaving his baggage and camp behind, advanced with the Van. The fiercest onslaught was delivered on the Mughal Right under Dilir Khan. The Bijapuris kept up a hot fire of rockets and muskets from all sides, but, as was their wont, did not engage at close quarters. A counter-charge on the enemy's centre produced no lasting effect on the illusive Deccanis. Mahabat Khan, like a good general, kept his men well in hand, amidst the ring of his enemies and their distracting mode of attack. Finding his Right Wing hard pressed, he charged the enemy with his own followers; the Bijapuris fled without standing the shock, and the Mughal general chased them for four miles, but evidently he found his position insecure, as, on the 14th, he fell back on Bhalki, without waiting for the reinforcements sent under Najabat Khan.†

* *Adab*, 146 a.

† Kambu, 3a and b, (for the battle of 12th April).

Adab, 125a and b, (Aurangzib's instructions of 13th April to Mahabat Khan), 120a (Najabat Khan sent on 15th April to reinforce Mahabat). Najabat Khan's

Forty miles west of Bidar, on the old road from the holy shrine of Tuljapur to Golkonda, stands the city of KALIANI,* the ancient capital of the Chalukya kings and of the Kanarese country. With the fall of the Kalachuris in the twelfth century, it ceased to be a capital, and afterwards passed into the hands of the Deccani Muslim powers as a mere dependency of Bidar. But the large mounds surrounding the town indicate its greater extent in days of yore.

Mahabat Khan having cleared the road of hovering bands of the enemy, Aurangzib on 27th April set out with light kit and arrived before Kaliani† in a week's time. The place was immediately invested, and through Mir Jumla's exertions and supervision the siege trenches were pushed on to the edge of the ditch by the 11th May. Day and night the garrison kept up a ceaseless fire from the walls; they made fierce onslaughts on Mir Jumla's trenches, but to no purpose. The bands of the enemy roving outside gave greater trouble and retarded the siege. They established themselves four miles from the besiegers' camp and molested them at night by the discharge of rockets, the favourite fire-arm of the Deccanis and especially of the Marathas. Expert in partisan warfare, they effectually closed the path for the coming of provisions and couriers. The Mughal army could not be fed unless its food supply was sent under strong escort. Once Mahabat Khan himself on escort duty

was hemmed round by the enemy at a place 10 miles north-east of Kaliani. The small Mughal detachment of 2,000 was outnumbered as ten to one, but stood its ground heroically. The battle raged long and fiercely. "The field was

force is given as 10,000 on 125a and as 2,000 on 120a; the latter is more likely. Aurangzib's instruction was that the two generals should unite south of Kaliani and advance to attack Chidgupa. But on Mahabat Khan's retreating northwards to Bhalki, he ordered them to meet near fort Nilanga and try to capture it by corrupting the *qiladar* through his brother Mamaji (or Nanaji) Deshmukh, who had made overtures to the Mughals. The attempt failed. (*Adab*, 125b, 126b-127a).

* Burgess, 23, 37, 38.

† For the siege of Kaliani, Kambu, 3b-5a, *Adab*, (very meagre, no detail) 113a, 139a, 149b, 156b.

The defender was an Abyssinian named Dilawwar.

obscured by the smoke of artillery and muskets, and the dust raised by horses' hoofs. Fathers could not look after their sons," as the Mughal annalist writes. The brunt of the battle fell on the Rajputs. The horsemen of Khan Muhammad burst in vain upon the granite wall of Rao Satar Sal and his Hada clansmen. Rajah Rai Singh Sisodia, assaulted by the sons of Bahlol Khan of Bijapur, was wounded and unhorsed in the press of the enemy. Shivaram, the captain of the Maharana's contingent, was slain with many followers of Rai Singh. Barhamdeo and others, as is the wont of Rajputs in desperate straits, dismounted, drew their swords, and flung themselves in reckless fury on the enemy, vowed to slay and be slain. Just then relief arrived: a charge by Mahabat Khan broke the enemy's ranks and they fled. Sujan Singh Sisodia and others of his party were severely wounded, but they had not quitted the field. Ikkhas Khan, the leader of the Mughal Van,

Mughal victory;
heavy loss of
Rajputs.

had been wounded during the onset, but in spite of it he had held his ground and even driven back Afzal

Khan's division which was opposed to him. The obstinate struggle had raged till an hour after nightfall, when the enemy withdrew,* and the hard-pressed Mughals at last got the respite they sorely needed.

Aurangzib concentrated his efforts on pressing the siege hard and capturing Kaliani as quickly as he had done Bidar. He, therefore, paid no attention to the Bijapuri army assembled only four miles from his camp. This emboldened them to acts of greater audacity. A force of 30,000 enemies posted only an hour's journey from his camp could no longer be neglected. So, he cunningly announced that his army would proceed to Bhalki in the north-east to bring in provisions; but on 28th May, leaving a screen of tents round the fort, he marched with the main body of his troops upon the enemy's position.

The sons of Bahlol Khan attacked the Mughal Van under Mir Jumla and Dilir Khan and fought with valour and obstinacy for some time. Dilir Khan received some sword-cuts, but his armour saved him from harm. The battle soon

* Kambu, 4a.

became general. All divisions of the two armies were engaged with their respective opponents. The fight raged for six hours. The Deccanis kept up a running fight, in their customary manner: four times in succession were they broken and as often did they form again to face the advancing Mughals, regardless of their thinned ranks. But at last the repeated charges of the northern horse prevailed in the close fight; the Imperial army crowded upon them from left and right; and they were finally repulsed; their whole army fled in confusion; the Imperialists pursued them pell-mell to their camp, slaying and capturing all that they could. Everything found in the Bijapuri camp,—arms, slave-girls,

Imperial victory;
Bijapuri camp
looted.

horses, transport-cattle, and all kinds of property,—was plundered; and the tents were burnt down. In

the evening Aurangzib returned to his trenches before Kaliani, his brows adorned with victory.*

The siege was pressed with vigour, but the defence was equally heroic. The sap had reached the moat on 11th May,

and by the 23rd three-fourths of the ditch had been filled up, under the guidance of Mir Jumla, with thorny plants. The garrison, by hurling down lighted gunpowder and burning naphtha and grass, reduced these plants to ashes; the work of bridging the ditch had to be begun anew; the assault was delayed. Stones and earth were now thrown into the ditch, but progress in this task was necessarily slow. During this period of enforced idleness detachments from the besieging army were usefully employed in capturing the forts of Nilanga and Chincholy.†

Since their defeat in the great battle of 28th May, the Bijapuris had not interfered with the siege for nearly two months. At the end of this interval they repaired their losses and began to assemble in order to

* For the battle of 28th May, Kambu, 4b, 4d, 112a, 147b, 154b. In his letters Aurangzib speaks of the Bijapuris generally as *Zangis* or Negroes. The context shows that the term is merely used by way of abuse, and does not mean any Negro corps in the service of Bijapur.

† Kambu, 5a.

oppose the Mughals. So, on 22nd July, Aurangzib sent a large division under his eldest son and Mir Jumla to break up their forces before they could gain formidable strength. This Mughal corps advanced forty-eight miles, and then, sighting the enemy's camp at a distance, charged and broke their formation, and pursued them for four miles. The victors proceeded, laying the Bijapur villages waste with fire and sword, and leaving no vestige of habitation or tillage in their path. They reached the unprotected hamlet near the fort of Kulbarga, the old Bahmani capital, where they reverently spared the tomb of Syed Gisu Daraz, a famous saint of Southern India.*

At last the end of the siege came in sight; the ditch was filled up with stone and mud, the parapets were demolished by artillery fire, and on 29th July the Imperialists scaled a tower on the other side of the

Kaliani taken by assault. moat. But the garrison had built a wall across this tower, and under shelter of it fought the Mughals hard with rockets, bows, and matchlocks. The struggle here was most obstinate. While the Mughals were checked by the unexpected obstacle of the wall and had to demolish it, the Bijapuris flung on their heads lighted bombs, blazing sheets steeped in naphtha, and bundles of burning grass. But regardless of all these, the assailants swarmed into the fort and held this portion of the defences. Two days afterwards, the commandant Dilawwar (an Abyssinian) offered to capitulate on condition of a free passage out for the garrison and their families. Aurangzib readily consented to grant them quarter, as the place sheltered many Muhammadans, especially Syeds.† On 1st August the keys of the fort were delivered to him by Dilawwar, who was

given a robe of honour with permission to go to Bijapur.

Bidar and Kaliani, the guardian fortresses of Adil Shah's north-eastern frontier, had fallen, and the way now seemed open for an advance on Bijapur itself. But a cruel disappointment was in store for Aurangzib: his victorious career was to be suddenly checked. The Bijapur agents had intrigued hard at Court; Dara's jealousy was rising in proportion to the success of his younger brother, and he at last persuaded the Emperor to put an end to the war.* Even in the midst of the siege of Kaliani

Shah Jahan orders peace.

Shah Jahan had repeatedly written to the Prince to patch up a peace with Bijapur as soon as possible, because the rainy season was approaching when the Mughal army must retire to cantonments at Bidar, and Shaista Khan, who had been guarding Aurangabad during the Prince's absence, must return to his own charge of Malwa without further delay. Aurangzib knew that to raise the siege of Kaliani and retire to Bidar, would only embolden the Bijapuris and take away from them their only motive for offering terms of peace.† So, he had sat down before Kaliani a month longer, and brought the siege to a successful issue. Negotiations for peace were now opened. The Bijapur envoy, Ibrahim Bichittar Khan, agreed to pay an indemnity of 1½ lakhs of Rupees and to cede not only

Terms of peace with Bijapur.

Bidar and Kaliani, but also the fort of Parainda with its dependent territory, all the forts in the Nizam Shahi Konkan, and the district of Wangi. The King of Bijapur accepted these terms and sent letters to his officers to deliver the forts in question to the Mughals. Shah Jahan ratified the treaty, remitting half a lakh from the indemnity, and sending a gracious letter to Adil Shah. He at the same time ordered Aurangzib to return with his army to Bidar; the officers and men sent from Malwa and Hindustan were recalled from the Deccan to their former posts. Mir Jumla

* Kambu 50. Aqil Khan states that after taking Kaliani, Aurangzib himself besieged Kulbarga (pp. 16, 38). Grant Duff (l. 157) makes him besiege Bijapur! But neither the official history of Kambu nor Aurangzib's letters support the assertion. Aurangzib did not advance further south than Kaliani, and his son, who had penetrated to Kulbarga, did not besiege that fort.

† Kambu, 50.

* *Adab*, 177a (Aurangzib complains of Dara corresponding with Bijapur behind his back, but two years before this time.) Aqil Khan, 16. Kambu, 104 (probably two months later). *Alamgirnamah*, 29, 83.

† *Adab*, 112b (dated early in July).

was directed to take possession of the newly ceded forts in the west and then return to the Imperial Court.*

Thus Aurangzib received a sharp check in the hour of his triumph. He had gained only the northern fringe of the vast Bijapur kingdom when his father cried halt to him. Small as his acquisitions by the treaty were, he had no power to hold the Bijapuri King to his promises. At the Imperial order dictating peace, the Mughal officers slackened their efforts and many of them set out for the Court in spite of Aurangzib's entreaty to stay a little longer.† The Bijapuris profited by his distraction and weakened power, and delayed fulfilling the terms of a peace that had no armed strength behind it. Their commandants refused to surrender the forts ceded by the treaty.

To complete the misfortunes of the Mughal cause in the Deccan, Shah Jahan fell ill on 6th September and for one week lay at death's door. Illness of Shah Jahan. Mughal retreat. Rumours of his death spread through the Empire, and

gave rise to confusion and disorder in every province. Aurangzib, harassed by anxiety and distracted by conflicting plans, at last decided to be content with what could be easily secured from Bijapur. On 30th September he sent Mir Jumla towards Paranda to take delivery of it, and on 4th October he himself began his retreat from Kaliani to the Imperial dominion.‡

Only one episode of the war still remains to be recorded. While Aurangzib was busy conquering the north-eastern angle of the Bijapur kingdom, stirring events were occurring in its north-western corner, where the boundary of the Mughal district of Ahmadnagar adjoined the Northern Konkan. Here a young and obscure local chief of very small means and no high family influence, was just beginning to peer above the horizon of history and to

start on that career of greatness whose noontide splendour was destined to dazzle the Indian world and to leave his name a byword for posterity. Shivaji, the son of

Shahaji Bhonsla, a Maratha captain in Bijapur service, Shivaji's negotiations with the Mughals; had taken forcible possession

of his father's western jagirs and seized hill-fort after hill-fort in the Ghats from the agents of Bijapur. When the Mughals were about to invade Adil Shah's territory, he had sent an envoy to Aurangzib's lieutenant at Ahmadnagar, offering to co-operate on condition of being guaranteed by the Mughals in the possession of the Adil Shahi Konkan. He had received in return vague promises of favour and protection.* Even a less astute man than he must have known that such promises would amount to nothing in practice when the need of the Imperialists would be over. So, on the outbreak of the war, he seized his opportunity,

and in concert with the raids the Imperial dominion. Bijapuri officers in the neighbourhood, he raided the Mughal territory from the west. One night he silently scaled the walls of Junir with rope-ladders, and after slaughtering the defenders carried off 11,000 *huz*, 200 horses, and much costly clothing and jewels.† Bands of Maratha light horsemen spread in all directions, cutting off provision trains and foraging parties, plundering the smaller towns and flourishing villages, rendering the roads unsafe, and carrying devastation and alarm to the very gates of Ahmadnagar, the seat of the Mughal administration in that region. An attack on the town (*pettah*) which nestled under shelter of the fort of Ahmadnagar was frustrated by a timely sortie of the garrison. But so great was the alarm it caused that the Mughal governor made the citizens remove their property to within the fort as a precaution. Two other Marathas, Minaji Bhonsla and Kashi, were notably successful in their raids.

Aurangzib learnt of these disturbances and hurried reinforcements up to Ahmad-

* Kambu, 5b, (rewards for the capture of Kaliani, and settlement of peace.) *Adab*, 113a, 157a. Aurangzib was commanded to return to Bidar (according to *Adab*, 112a, 108b), or to Aurangabad (on the authority of Kambu, 5b), which latter is very unlikely.

† *Adab*, 107a, 149b, 157b. *Alauddinamah*, 29. Aqil Khan, 16. Kambu, 6a.

‡ Kambu, 6b. *Adab*, 157a, 169a.

* Grant Duff, i, 161-162. *Adab*, 144b (Shiva sends agent, July 1656); 146a (Shiva sends agent, February 1657).

† The history of the contest with Shiva is given in Grant Duff, i, 162-164, Kambu 3b, and *Adab*, 110b-112a (Aurangzib to Shaista Khan), 147a-149a (to Muklat Khan), 153a-157a (to Nasiri Khan).

nagar, with strict orders to punish Shiva. He chastised with his pen those captains who were slow in marching to the scene. His letters to his officers breathe fury and revenge: the Mughal captains must beat

Aurangzib orders
reprisals against
Shivaji

the raiders back from the Imperial dominions and make reprisals by entering Shiva's land from all sides, "wasting the villages, slaying the people without pity, and plundering them to the extreme";—Shivaji's possessions, Poona and Chakna, must be utterly ruined and not the least remissness shown in slaying and enslaving the people;—the village headmen and peasants of the Imperial territory who had secretly abetted the enemy, must be slain without compunction.

Aurangzib's new dispositions for guarding this tract showed excellent combination and judgment. Kartalab Khan was posted

and effectually
protects Mughal
territory.

near Junir, Abdul Munim at Garh Namuna, Hushdar Khan at Chamargunda and Raisin, and Nasiri Khan and some others at Bir and Dharoor. These officers stood facing the frontier and barring every path of the enemy's advance, so that the Imperial *ryots* behind them might enjoy peace and safety. The officers were further bidden to make a dash forward across the frontier, whenever they got an opportunity, ravage as much of the enemy's territory in front to them as they could, and then quickly return to the defence of their respective posts. At last in May, 1657, Nasiri Khan, so often rebuked for his slow movements and failure to catch Shivaji up, made

a forced march, for once, to the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar and fell upon

Shiva, who escaped with heavy loss. Orders were sent to the victor to pursue Shiva into his own territory and wrest all his lands which had been given up to the Mughals by the Bijapur king in the new treaty*. But a campaign in the Tal Konkan in the rainy season was impossible, and Poona escaped an invasion. When his liege-lord, the King of Bijapur, made peace, Shivaji found it useless and even ruinous to himself to continue the war with the Mughal empire

* *Adab*, 153a and b, 154b (rebuks for slowness), Kambu, 4b, 156a (news of defeat of Shiva, in May, 1657).

single-handed. He must try to save his patrimony. So, he sent an agent, named Raghunath Panth, to Nasiri Khan, with a letter offering submission and promising loyal behaviour in future. To this a conciliatory reply was given. Then Shiva

makes peace
with Aurangzib.

sent another ambassador, Krishnaji Bhaskar, to Aurangzib himself, begging forgiveness for his raids and offering to send a contingent of 500 horse to the Prince's assistance.* Aurangzib was then about to leave the Deccan to contest the throne of Delhi. He received Shivaji's submission with outward pleasure; but his mind was not really composed about the Konkan; he omitted no precaution to maintain peace in that quarter by force, for he felt convinced that the young Maratha chief was a raider whose daring was only equalled by his cunning, and an ambitious adventurer who placed self-interest above fidelity to his plighted word or gratitude for favours received.†

The invasion of Bijapur now ends, and the great War of Mughal Succession begins.

[Chapter X, which deals with the Mughal raid on Haidarabad in 1656, has not been printed here, as it is necessary to economise space; but it will be included when this History is issued in book form,]

APPENDICES.

I.—PARENTAGE OF ALI II.

The parentage of Ali Adil Shah II is not altogether free from doubt. The Mughals declared him to be a stranger of unknown origin whom the late Sultan had brought up like a son, *pisar-i-khanda*. (Waris, 118a and *Adab* 88b). The Bijapur side stated that Ali was born to Muhammad Adil Shah on 17th August, 1638, and that at the fond request of the Queen, Bari Sahiba, the sister of the Golkonda King, the baby was handed over to her to be brought up under her eyes in her apartments, known as the *Anand Mahal*. The boy's birth, initiation into Islam, and commencement of education, were all celebrated with the pomp and ceremony worthy of a prince of the blood, and he publicly rode through the capital in the style of the heir to the throne. His right to ascend

* *Adab*, 156b-157a. Grant Duff, i, 163-164.

† *Adab*, 157a, 163a. "Take care of Ahmadnagar. Keep your troops ready, lest when Nasiri Khan goes away to Hindustan, Shiva, finding the field vacant, should begin to plunder" (To Multafat Khan. *Adab*, 149b). "Don't leave your charge at the call of Shah Jahan, lest Shiva should sally out" (To Nasiri Khan, *Adab*, 157b). "At Nasiri Khan's departure that district has been left vacant. Attend to it, as the son of a dog is waiting for an opportunity" (To Mir Jumla, *Adab*, 92a.) *Dilhaska*, 20 and 21.

the throne was apparently not questioned by the Bijapur nobility and officers of the army, though they soon afterwards began to quarrel about the division of power and influence. But such internal discords were the usual case at Bijapur and in every other country where the king is weak and his officers strong and selfish. Against Aurangzib's theory that Ali was a lowborn lad smuggled into the harem, stands the fact that at the time of his birth (August 1638), Muhammad Adil Shah was only 29 years old. Are we to believe that at this early age he and his queen had given up all hope of having any issue, and had contrived the fraud of proclaiming a stranger child as their son? Some scandalous tale about the private life of Muhammad Adil Shah was told after his death by a Bijapur officer who had deserted to Aurangzib, (*Adab*, 9a) but we do not know of its precise nature. Aurangzib himself utters a pious cry of disbelief in it! Who Ali's mother was is not explicitly stated in the Bijapur history. In the record of an event a few years after his accession the chief Dowager Queen, Bari Saheba, is spoken of as his *walida*, but the term may mean nothing more than adoptive mother, because in the account of Ali's birth even this lady is never once described as his mother. Possibly he was the son of a slave-girl of the harem. But under Islamic law children of such birth are not debarred from inheritance.

[The history of Ali Adil Shah II from his birth to accession is given in the *Basatin-i-salatin*, 345—347.]

Tavernier, i. 183, repeats the prevalent story that Ali was merely an adopted child. Also Bernier, 197.

II.—CORRUPTION OF THE BIJAPUR WAZIR BY AURANGZIB.

The Bijapur history asserts that the prime minister, Khan Muhammad, surnamed Khan-i-khanan, was corrupted by Aurangzib, and gives the following account of his treachery and its punishment:—

"Adil Shah had appointed Khan Muhammad, with a large army to guard the kingdom. He took post on the frontier. Spies brought him news that the Delhi army was crossing a pass only two or three days' march off. Khan Muhammad by a forced march at night barred the road. Famine raged in the Mughal camp, but the troops had no way open for escape. Aurangzib then wrote to the prime minister: 'If you let me off now, there will be perpetual friendship between the Bijapuris and us, and so long as you or your descendants hold the wazirship of the country, we shall never covet any of its territory.' The letter reached Khan Muhammad when he was sitting down with some learned men after his evening prayer, and he remarked, 'This letter will be the death of me.' After long reflection, he replied on the back of the epistle, 'Early next morning, getting your men ready as for a night-attack, make a forced march and escape.' Aurangzib with his men fell on the Khan's troops who left a path open for them, and so they escaped. At the news of the night-attack Khan Muhammad's officers hastened to him, found Aurangzib already fled, and urged him to chase the Mughals as there was yet time. The Khan replied, 'We shall thus secure peace. But if we slay Aurangzib an ocean of troubles will surge up and [Mughal] armies will drown the Deccan land. Good, that he has escaped.' So, he forbade pursuit. Afzal Khan

after using hot words left with his troops, went to Bijapur, and reported the matter to the Sultan; who recalled Khan Muhammad and his army to the capital. The Khan, knowing that his death was certain, marched very slowly, with frequent halts. On the day he entered the city, two Mughals, armed with many sharp weapons, stood on the two sides of the Mecca gate. As the Khan's *pahli* entered, they fell on him and despatched him with blows. The date was the year 1068 A. H., [early in November, 1657 A. D.]...It is said that Aurangzib ordered that the annual tribute from Bijapur to the Emperor should not that year be paid to him, but spent in building a tomb for Khan Muhammad." (*Basatin-i-salatin*, 349-351.)

Now, this story of Khan Muhammad having caught Aurangzib in a trap in a mountain pass near the frontier, is clearly false. The detailed official history of the Mughals and Aurangzib's letters show that he only marched from his own frontier to Bidar (a short distance), and then from Bidar to Kaliani, and lastly (28 May) he made a four miles' advance from Kaliani in order to disperse the enemy assembled in the neighbourhood. There is no formidable mountain-pass in this route, and at every one of these steps Aurangzib had a strong base close behind him; viz., the Mughal fort of Udgir when he first marched to Bidar, the conquered fort of Bidar when he proceeded to Kaliani, and lastly the part of his army left to invest Kaliani when he advanced four miles from that fort. Further more, the road between Bidar and Kaliani had been cleared of the enemy by Mahabat Khan, before Aurangzib traversed it.

Khan Muhammad might possibly have hemmed round some small Mughal detachment escorting provisions, or even Mahabat Khan's division in its march towards Kulbarga, (12th April) but then Aurangzib himself was too far off to write to the Bijapur *wazir* the letter of temptation described above. I think it most likely that the charge on which he was condemned of treason and murdered was that, having been already corrupted by Aurangzib, he had made a sham fight in the battle of 28th May, when he might have easily annihilated Aurangzib's force.

From the description in the *Basatin-i-salatin* it appears that Khan Muhammad had an opportunity of crushing Aurangzib during the latter's retreat from Kaliani or Bidar. This theory receives some support from Aqil Khan Razi, who writes (p. 17), "Aurangzib's army was distracted, but he remained firm, without being at all shaken by the departure of such high officers [as Mahabat Khan and Rao Satar (Sal.)] With boldness and prudence he returned, unhurt and without loss, from the place, through that ring of enemies."

In a letter written a few days after 8th October, Secretary Qabil Khan reports a rumour that Afzal Khan with the Bijapuri army had crossed the Benathora with a view to invade the *mahals* on "this side" evidently meaning the newly annexed districts of Bidar and Kaliani (*Adab*, 197a.) We read (*Adab*, 64b) that the Bijapuri territory north of the river had been previously occupied and administered by Aurangzib's officers. Therefore, his return march from Kaliani to Bidar, 4th—9th October, could not have been molested by Khan Muhammad.

Did the Bijapur prime minister, then, get and throw away, with fatal consequences to himself, the

reciting Purāṇa to the priests, who were initiated and ready to perform a holy sacrifice, was not forgotten; for, the Paurāṇika Ugrasravā asks the Risis in the following words to ascertain whether they were in a fit state to listen to the narration:—

“Kṛitābhisekāḥ sucāyah kṛitajapyā hutāg-
nayah.

Bhavantah āsane svasthā bravime kimā-
ham dvijāḥ? (15).

As to the fact that the Vedas have to be explained by the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa, a line occurs in the very introductory chapter of the Mahābhārata, namely, “Itihāsa-
purāṇābhyām Vedam samupabrimhayet”
(267).

We can thus see that the Purāṇa literature is as old as the collection of the *mantras* themselves. The orthodox tradition is, that Vyāsa divided the Veda in the early years of the Kali *yuga*, and became the progenitor of the Purāṇa literature. We need not concern ourselves here with the question as to when and under what circumstances the different Vedic Samhitās were compiled. But there can be no doubt that once it became necessary to divide the Veda, or more properly to classify the Vedic *mantras* and rites from the ritualistic standpoint of view. When this division or classification had to be made, Purāṇetihāsa could not but form a separate branch under the Vedas. The account we get by tradition is therefore not wrong that the Purāṇa as a literature arose out of the work of classification or division of the Vedas, no matter whether the author of that work of classification or division be called Vyāsa or not. Since the word ‘vyas’ means in Sanskrit (to divide into parts or to arrange), the sage of the olden times who was principally instrumental in bringing about the aforesaid distribution and arrangement, can be safely said to be the progenitor of the Purāṇa as a special branch of the sacred literature.

That the Purāṇa as a sacred literature was both taught and learnt by the Brāhmaṇas along with the Vedic *mantras* and the other correlated sciences, is distinctly mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. V. 7. 1; XIV. V. 4. 10). There is similar mention also in the Taittiriya Aranyaka (II. 9-10). The Upanisads have referred to Itihāsa Purāṇam as a subject studied

by the orthodox Vedic scholars. The old Chāndogya Upanisad of the Sāma-veda school states that the Itihāsa-Purāṇam is the Fifth Veda in the division of the Vedas: “Rig-vedo Yajurvedah Sāmaveda Atharvanscaturtha Itihāsa Purāṇah pancamo vedāṇām vedah”, Ch. VII. 1. 4.

From the remarks made before regarding the Purāṇa-literature, it is clear beyond any doubt that the Purāṇa-literature was bound to be recognised as the Fifth Veda, when the Atharvana collection was recognised as the fourth division of the Veda. When the Mahābhārata was compiled as a Samhitā with the nucleus of the Bhārati-kathā, all the stories that existed at the time of the compilation in the name of Purāṇetihāsa were included in, or intertwined with, the Kuru Pāṇḍava story. It is for that reason that Mahābhārata Samhitā claimed for itself the title ‘the Pancama Veda’, and that the people considered that title to be quite legitimate.

We have noticed that the Purāṇa has been in association with the Itihāsa from a remote past. There are many instances in the Mahābhārata, where the Purāṇa has been spoken of as a depository of Vedic Sruti (Nāṇāsrutisamāyuktam). We meet also with such passages in the Mahābhārata where in narrating some legends or ‘Vamsānucaritam’ it has been stated by way of an introductory remark, that “Mayā srutam idam pūrvam Purāṇe puruṣarsabha,” or “Atrāpyudāharantimam Itihāsam purāṭanam,” or “Sruyatehi Purāṇe’pi Jatilā-nāma Gautami,” etc. These instances show that the Purāṇa handed down the ‘Vamsānucaritam’ and other historical accounts from generation to generation and its character as the history not only of the gods, but also of men, was established even in the days of the later Atharvana Sūktas. Being the history of the gods and the Risis, the Purāṇa-literature had to deal with the original or primary creation, the secondary creation or the creation of the world men were living in and the Manvantara revolutions. Again, as associated with Itihāsa, it had to narrate the stories of the ideal epoch-making rulers and to maintain the records of many Raj families of note. In this combined character, the Purāṇa of the olden times did not much differ from the modern Purāṇas; since, for the definition of the

Purāṇa we get it in almost all the Purāṇas that the subjects referred to above must be delineated in a Purāṇa. I quote the definition here of the Vāyu Purāṇa which has a special significance in this introduction:—

Kīrtanam.....

Svargasca pratisvargasca vamso manvantarāṇi

Vamsanūcaritam ceti Purāṇam panca laksanam.

—(Ch. IV. 10-11).

Though I could not cite any proof from the oldest Vedic literature in support of the statement that Purāṇa, as associated with Itihāsa, had the character of a history, as we now understand it, I think the evidence of the Mahābhārata goes to some extent to establish my view. That the history of the mighty kings from the remotest antiquity was maintained in the very work in which the history of the creation was preserved, is pretty clear from the accounts of Megasthenes. We get it recorded in the fragments of the accounts of Megasthenes that when he came to India, the Indians narrated to him their previous history as well as the history of the creation of the world. Arrian records in his *Indica* that Megasthenes reported that the Hindus reckoned 6,042 years from the earliest day to the time of Chandra Gupta. It must also be noticed that Arrian has remarked in his *Indica* that it was a matter of wonder with him how Megasthenes could give an accurate account of 118 tribes and 58 rivers of India without visiting most parts of that country. This points to the fact, as has been noticed by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson in his instructive essay—*The Epic and the Puranic Notes* [J. R. A. S. (Bom.) Extra 1905 and 67], that Megasthenes must have got before him a regular catalogue of rivers and tribes. Non-mention of the character of the Purāṇa and Itihāsa in the oldest literature, does not prove that the Purāṇa did not assume the character of a history. It is curious to note that though Purāṇa is found mentioned in the Atharva-veda and in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, this word does not occur in any Sūtra of Panini. It may however be mentioned that the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya mention it in association with the Itihāsa. The readers can easily see how unsafe it is to establish any proposi-

tion on the evidence of Panini's mentioning or not mentioning any word in his work.

In what form and state the Purāṇetiḥāsa of olden times continued to exist till its complete absorption by the Mahābhārata Samhitā, cannot be definitely stated. It appears to me highly probable that as for each Veda there are Brāhmaṇas, Anukramanis and Upanisads, the Purāṇa (the story cum history of old) for each Vedic school was also separately organised. The Purāṇas given in the Brihaddevatā fail to explain many allusions of the Atharva-veda. As such, a separate book of allusions for the Atharva-veda must be presumed to have existed. I adduce one fact in support of my supposition.

We get it in the Satapatha and the Aiteraya Brāhmaṇas that the Rig-veda proceeded from Agni, the Sāma-veda from Sūrya and the Yajur-veda from Vāyu, when the Prajāpati performed tapas to get the Vedas (Sat. Brā. XI. 5--8, 1; Ait. Brā. V. 32--34). The Chāndogya Upaniṣad also gives us the same story:—

Prajāpatiḥ lokān abhyatapat, tesām tapyamānānām rasān prābrihat agnim prithivyā vāyum antariksāt ādityam divah (1) Sa etāstisro devata abhya-tapat; tāsām tapyamānānām rasān prābrihat agneh rico, vāyoh yajūmsi, sāmāni ādityāt (2) [Ch. IV. 17. 1-2].

The names Vāyu, Agni and Sūrya for the three extant Purāṇas seem to have their origin from the Vedas to which their once existing originals belonged. The use of the word 'Purana' in singular form in the Atharva-veda does not show that originally there was but one collection of the story-literature. The use in the singular points to the reference to a class of literature considered collectively. Similarly the plural form 'Itihāsapurāṇāni' in the Taittirīya Aranyaka does not also support the view that there were many treatises on the subject; this use in the plural is intended to signify many stories that might have been collected in a single work.

It is quite true that the extant Purāṇas did not exist previous to the time of the collection of the Purāṇas in the Mahābhārata Samhitā; for, the present Purāṇas differ in many cases from the Paurāṇika stories given in the Mahābhārata. I have thrown out this suggestion that the pre-Mahābhārata Purāṇas might have existed

with the names Vāyu, Sūrya and Agni Purāṇas to signify the Vedas to which they were attached. It is true that references to the Purāṇas in Chapter 191 of the Vana Parva and in Chapters 5 and 6 of the last Parva of the Mahābhārata are to the Purāṇas now extant. But that these chapters are very late additions, can be detected by even a superficial reader. The Mahābhārata Samhitā postdates itself, when it refers to the political condition of India of a time when the name of the Samhitā became widely known (*vide* Vana Parva, Chapter 188, 35-36). Again it may be observed that though Yudhisthira had the fullest advantage of hearing from Mārkaṇḍeya what would happen in the Kali Yuga, he asked Mārkaṇḍeya over again the same question regarding the future events of the Kali Yuga at the commencement of Chapter 190 of the Vana Parva. The facts stated in Chapter 190 are mere repetitions of old facts with additions of things which make the chapter bad from a chronological point of view. The 'Rāsi-cakra' or the Zodiac unknown to the whole of the Mahābhārata-literature, is mentioned in verse 91. Chapter 191 is only a continuation of Chapter 190. In this chapter occurs the following verse:—

Eat te sarvamakhyatam atitanagatam maya
Vayuproktam anusmṛitya purānam rāsasamtutām.

It may be that this reference is to an old Purāṇa of the Yajur-veda school. But as the Mahābhārata Samhitā absorbed all the Purāṇas and assumed the title of the Fifth Veda, it is not likely that consistently with its character it would cite the authority of any other book. In the next place the quotations made from the Vāyu Purāṇa show that a careless man inserted some new chapters at a very late date, to speak with some vehemence of the evil effects of the time he lived in. For, on the authority of the Vāyu Purāṇa it has been stated in the 49th verse that the girls will bear children at the age of 5 or 6, while in reality it has been stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa (Chapter 58, verse 58) that in the evil daya of Kali the girls will bear children before attaining the sixteenth year. There are two different readings of this sloka, and I quote it with both the readings:—

Pranaṣṭa cetanāḥ pumso muktakesaṣṭu
cālikāḥ
Unasodasa varṣāca prajāyante yugaksaye.

In the second reading of the sloka we get "dharsayisyanti mānavān" for the words "prajāyante yugaksaye."

The second reading appears to me to be correct, as the last words of this reading are quite in keeping with the meaning of the first portion of the sloka, where capturing men by female charms has been spoken of. But practically both the readings indicate the same thing that the girls were not married before they became 16 years old by those who adhered to the ideal rules of the Brāhmanas. That this was the custom in olden times can also be known from a passage in Susruta which could never recommend any rule which was not in accordance with the orthodox Smṛiti rules. The sloka runs thus:—

Unasodasa varṣāyāmaprāptah pancavim-
satim
Yadā dhatte pumān garbham kuksistha
sa vipadyate
Jatovā na ciram jivet, jivedva durvalendriya
Tasmāt atyanta bālāyām garbhādhānam
na kārayet. (X. 13).

The mention of the 18 Purāṇas in the last two chapters of the very last Parva is quite singular; for, the Mahābhārata Samhitā does not disclose this knowledge elsewhere, even where there has been special enumeration of different branches of knowledge and of different Sastric treatises. The last or the sixth chapter may be easily disregarded, as the Mahābhārata is said to have ended with the fifth chapter. The fifth chapter also seems to be a late addition; for, in the first place the "svargārohana" concluded with the fourth chapter, and in the second place the fifth chapter has been improved by quotations from other previous chapters of the book. For example, the slokas 68 and 69 are the same as 395 and 396 of Chapter II of the Adi Parva. From the very fact that many Purāṇas, including the Vāyu, name the Mahābhārata Samhitā, it is proved conclusively that neither the group of the 18 modern Purāṇas nor the Vāyu Purāṇa could exist at the time of the compilation of the Mahābhārata.

I have shown that (1) the Purāṇa as a branch of sacred literature did exist in the Vedic days bearing exactly that character which is attributed to it in the extant Purāṇas, and (2) that till the time of the compilation of the Mahābhārata as the

Fifth Veda Samhitā, the extant Purāṇas were not in existence at least in their present shape and form. Again on reference to the mythology of the Hindus as it was by about 140 B. C., it can be stated that the modern Purāṇas with their pantheon of new gods could not come into existence in the second century B. C. Gods like Durgā, Ganesa and the Paurāṇika Siva were not known to Mahābhāṣya of 140 B. C., or to modern Manusamhitā which has not got a greater antiquity. Of my essays on Siva-pujā, Ganesa and Durgā, I may refer the readers only to the last essay (J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 365) and my paper on 'Phallus worship in the Mahābhārata' (J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 337). The other essays having been published in Bengali magazines, I could not refer the readers to them.

Besides setting up the above highest limit, no definite chronology can be fixed in respect of the extant 18 Mahā-Purāṇas. On comparing with the Paurāṇika stories of the Vedic days, it may be asserted without any fear of contradiction that many stories in the modern Purāṇas, though based on Vedic basis, have not only been changed, but have been given quite new and inconsistent forms. New stories unknown to the Vedic literature are often met with. The scope and the character of the Purāṇa or the Purāṇas made it inevitable that new lists of kings should be introduced with the progress of time. As the Purāṇas had to be recited to the people throughout all ages to communicate to them the glory of the gods and the noble deeds of the ideal sages and kings, the language of the Purāṇa of one age could not but change at a subsequent time. With the expansion of Aryan influence in India, the new geographical names of countries, rivers and mountains were required to be introduced. When we notice such changes wrought at a particular time, we cannot say that such and such a book bearing evidence of such a time was really composed at such a late date.

Since the modern Purāṇas radically differ from the Vedic Purāṇas, both in mythology and in the narration of the stories, they may be said to be altogether new in their origin and compiled long after the second century B. C. But the modern Purāṇas having once been compiled, do not

seem to have much changed in essential matters, in subsequent times. The additions or accretions of subsequent ages are to be regarded merely as additions and accretions. The old lists of kings handed down from the Vedic times must have been preserved in the new Purāṇas. When giving a genealogy of the Ikṣaku Rajas, the Matsya Purāṇa states :—

Atrānu vamsa slokoyam vipraṅgitah purā-
tanaiḥ

Ikṣakunāmayaṁ vamsaḥ Sumitrānto
bhaviṣyati.

Similar statements occur in all the Purāṇas, wherein old genealogies have been given. That the Paurāṇika lists of kings of very olden times are not fanciful, and that old chronology can be roughly established with their help have been very ably shown by Mr. F. E. Pargiter (Retired Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court) in his masterly paper on the "Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology" (J. R. A. S., 1910, pp. 1-56). I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the remark of Mr. Pargiter that "these old genealogies, with their incidental stories, are not to be looked upon as legends or fables, devoid of basis or substance, but contain genuine historical tradition, and may well be considered and dealt with from a common-sense point of view."

Those who are in favour of the opinion that the principal modern Purāṇas were compiled during the time of the Imperial Guptas because of the fact that the Royal genealogies do not go far beyond the limit of their time, ignore the fact that when after the Huna invasion the Gupta Empire was practically dissolved towards the end of the fifth century A. D., the bards or chroniclers could not get any particular Royal House which could be designated as Imperial. The downfall of Hindu India commences from this date. Petty kingdoms commenced to grow all over India like mushrooms. In olden days when the Indian Empire was not established under one overlord, the kingdoms and principalities of Northern India had such interrelation amongst themselves that dynastical genealogies and ballads of Royal exploits could be inserted in the time-honoured Purāṇic literature.

But when after the fall of the Imperial Guptas, a considerably large number of

small kingdoms were established, no unity could be preserved, and no interrelation could exist. I cannot deal with this political question elaborately here beyond mentioning what actually took place. Every Raja had his own bard, and he never failed to keep a fairly accurate Royal genealogical list of his master's house, as is known to all scholars who deal with the epigraphic literature.

In this dark period of Hindu India, the Purānas, nay even the Mahābhārata Samhitā, received interpolations to record the glory of the new tribal gods and the new local *tirthas*. At different centres of importance several Purānas received additional books of considerable bulk. Thus it was that the Brahma Purāna swelled in bulk in Orissa, the Agni Purāna obtained some new chapters at Gaya and the Padma Purāna besides singing the glory of Puskara followed the poet Kālidāsa of his own country in narrating the stories of Sakuntalā and of Raghu's progeny.

Beyond noticing these local additions or changes necessitated by the change of time, we cannot say, unless proved otherwise, that the Purānas have not retained their general form and character since their compilation. This time must be, as I have already stated, long after the second or even first century B. C.

I have stated it above that the Purānas originated when the Vedas were classified or divided to secure ritualistic convenience. This does not imply that Vyāsa was the author of the Purānetihāsa-literature. The Mahābhārata also does not assert it. It has been only stated in the Mahābhārata that Vyāsa taught the Purāna to some disciples of his, and in the hands of those disciples the Purānas were developed. But if we separate the Bhārati-kathā from the Purānas, we find that the Mahābhārata favours this opinion that the Purānas owed their origin to Romaharsana (XII, 319, 21), while the Bhārati-kathā was promulgated by the other disciples of Vyāsa (I. 1 et seq.). The name 'Romaharsana' is extremely interesting. A very good derivation of this name has been given in the Vāyu Purāna itself (I. 16):—

Lomani haranyam cakre srotinam yat subhasitai
Karmāṇa pūthitastena loke'smin Lomaharsanah.

This shows clearly that it was not a particular person to whom the authorship of the Purānas is to be attributed. Lomaharsana is a class name to represent those persons, who, by reciting some wonderful and exciting stories to the people, made the hair to stand on the bodies of the audience. That the 18 Purānas were composed at different times by different sages, has been clearly stated in many Purānas. The order in which the Purānas were compiled is also given generally in the Purānas. This order is as follows: (1) Brahma, (2) Padma, (3) Visnu, (4) Vāyu or Siva, (5) Bhāgavata, (6) Nāradiya, (7) Mārkaṇḍeya, (8) Agni, (9) Bhaviya, (10) Brahmavaivarta, (11) Linga, (12) Varāha, (13) Skanda, (14) Vāmana, (15) Kūrma, (16) Matsya, (17) Garuḍa, (18) Brahmāṇḍa. That this list was inserted after the compilation of the Purānas is apparent on the face of it; for, all the Purānas could not manage to copy one another.

The narrators of the Purānas have been designated generally by the class-name 'Sūta.' The Sūtas and Māgadhas are held to be of low origin in the modern Smritis. In the Vāyu Purāna also (I. 32 et seq.) a Sūta is said to have no right or 'adhikāra' to study the Vedas. Some passages of the Mahābhārata Samhitā also support this view. It is however to be noted that the solemn introduction of 'Sauti' in the 'Naimiṣāranya' as described in the introduction of the Mahābhārata, shows that the narrator of the Purānetihāsa, was not a member of any degraded caste, but was one who could be honoured by the Brāhmanas. Many Purānas also show that venerable 'Munis' like Mārkaṇḍeya and Nārada were the narrators of the Purānas. That in the Vedic times very respectable Brāhmanas recited the Purānas, cannot be doubted. It may be owing to the fact that the Paurānikas commenced to earn money by singing the ballads to the common people that they lowered themselves in the estimation of others. Another reason for this degradation may be supposed. It may be that when the kings of Magadha became supreme in India, men other than Brāhmanas were employed as chroniclers and ballad-singers, and as such the Paurānikas were regarded to belong to a non-priestly class, though in reality they discharged some

functions of the priests on ceremonial occasions.*

It is not difficult to understand how once long after the Vedic times and previous to the time of the compilation of the Mahābhārata and the modern Purānas, the Purāna literature became non-Brahmanical in the strict sense of the word. When the true Vedic priests extolled the Rajas, they chose only the ideal kings from the priestly point of view. For this reason many Rajas of real note were not included in the old Brahmanical lists of the kings, and many otherwise insignificant rulers were lauded in the Brāhmanas. Many instances of it

* Now-a-days there are many degraded Brahmanas who have to discharge some important functions in connection with the *Śraddha* ceremony of the high class Hindus. It must be mentioned, however, that very respectable Brahmanas now-a-days recite Puranas in India on ceremonial occasions, and no one is degraded because of this profession of his.

will be pointed out in my notes on the genealogical sections of the Vāyu Purāna. This is what led the powerful kings to employ their own bards to sing their glorious exploits, and to record their family history. This Ksatriya-Purānetihāsa was bound to be incorporated in the modern Brahmanic Purānas when the Brāhmanas had to depend upon the favour of the Royal houses. In his paper referred to above, Mr. Pargiter has made the following remark touching this point :—

"This Ksatriya literature grew up in virtual independence of Brahmanical literature, and only when it had developed into an imposing mass and had attained great popular appreciation was it taken over by the Brahmanas as a not unworthy branch of knowledge. It was then that it was arranged and augmented with stories and discourses fashioned after Brahmanical ideas."

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

THE NEXT STEP IN THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF THE WEST

THE "Modern Review" for November last, contains a discriminating article entitled "The Coming Industrial War in the West." In that article the significance of the recent railway strike in England is dwelt upon, with its indication of widespread discontent among the railway servants, and of "the growing solidarity of labour forces" in the British Islands. That growing solidarity is clearly visible, as the writer of the article remarks, in the "sympathetic strike", which though not new in idea has recently attained in more countries than one an effectiveness never before seen in the combinations of labour against capital. In the course of the railway strike it was found that men who had no declared grievances of their own struck work on behalf of other men's grievances, and that sections of strikers whose demands were granted by the employers refused to return to work until their comrades' demands had been granted.

By this "sympathetic" and co-operative development a new lease of life and utility

from the wage-earners' point of view has been accorded to the strike. Prior to this new development, the lessons of experience had been accepted by the most intelligent of Trade Unionists as telling against the usefulness of strike-warfare, and telling in favour of the employment of the more peaceable instrument of parliamentary agitation. Strikes cost the Unions large sums of money difficult to replace in the reserve funds; it is impossible to foresee the result of a strike; and the most successful of strikes benefits only a small section of the wage-earners and does nothing to improve the condition of the wage-earners as a whole. An Act of Parliament on the other hand accomplishes by royal assent for large masses of men what a long series of strikes may fail at last to accomplish for a few. It was thus the officials of the Trade Unions reasoned, and one result of their reasoning has been the considerable share the Trade Unions have taken in the creation of the Labour Party in Parliament. Another result has been a not seldom heard

accusation of cowardice against the Trade Union officials, for their discouragement of the resort to a strike in many emergencies. Today a change appears to have come over the temper of the officials, whose hands have been forced by the eagerness of their followers, and who have been obliged to recognise the fact that the higher organisation and unification of capitalist enterprise introduces of itself a higher organisation and unification into the ranks of the wage-earners, and lays the capitalists and public more open to attack at the same time that it places the wage-earners in a better position for conducting a combined assault.

The railway strike has demonstrated to all who study labour problems that an increase of power in the hands of the wage-earners will be accompanied by no lack of daring to make use of the power. A body of workers possessed of grievances will not hesitate to paralyse a vast national industry if they have the power to paralyse it, when the time appears to them to have come for making their grievances heard. The stoppage of the railways in England brought many cities to the verge of disorganisation and famine, caused a serious embarrassment to trade and communication, provoked rioting and the calling out of the military, and exacted from millions of non-combatant citizens a toll in the form of inconvenience or ill-afforded expense or loss. These effects were clearly foreseen by the strike organisers and deliberately created;—not we may be sure without the gravest sense of responsibility, and the endurance of anxieties with which the anxieties of the Cabinet during the crisis are to be compared. Nothing less than the conviction that they were acting in the long run in the truest interests of the country can have carried the Trade Union leaders through the fiery ordeals of the few eventful days.

If we consider the vital importance of its railways to a country so populous and given up to industry as Great Britain we shall find reason to wonder that the efficiency and the smooth working of its railways have not long ago been placed as far as human foresight can place them beyond the reach of disturbance. A railway exists in idea although not always in fact for the national benefit, but if one asked any

shareholder why he held shares in a railway company, one would receive the answer: In the hope of selling them by and by for a profit, or for the sake of receiving dividends. Great Britain thus suffers her railways to be carried on not as an acknowledged branch of the civil service, not directly and professedly in the interest of the nation as a whole, but as a permitted means of making money to be put into the pockets of private speculators and proprietors. The various grades of workers upon the railway systems,—labourers, porters, guards, engine drivers, clerks, station masters, and the rest—are not regarded as what they are, civil servants, rendering an honourable and indispensable service to the community and therefore entitled to adequate remuneration and adequate leisure; their condition is far removed from this: they are on the whole an underpaid and overworked body of men (and women) whose just demands for a higher rate of wages and for less trying hours of labour are always liable to be put off by the shareholders upon an alarm raised in respect of dividends. It is this condition of affairs which brought about the railway strike, and the responsibility for the confusions and disasters of last August must rest eventually upon the shoulders of those who are responsible for the existing condition of affairs, upon the shoulders of the common body of citizens, the parliamentary electors of the country, who have manifested hitherto but a tardy willingness to redress or even to understand the railway problem.

It is difficult to see how any possible end can come to the railway troubles before the obvious step is taken of nationalising the railways, constituting the railway service a civil service like the post office, and granting to every railway servant a proper wage and a pension as the reward of well doing. The wages would necessarily be higher wages than are paid at present, and it would be possible for the Government to afford this expenditure out of the economies of a centralised administration while lowering rather than raising the rates charged for both goods and passenger traffic.

The proposal to nationalise the railways in England is already in the air, and no incautious politician might prognosticate from the pressing nature of the problem

that the Government will soon be taking over the railway systems. If that is done and if an adequate rate of wages is paid to every railway servant, a battle will have been won for a principle the acceptance of which seems to represent the next step to be taken in the progress of industrialism in the West. I refer to the principle of the minimum wage which Mr. Sidney Webb hails as belonging to "the necessary basis of society,"—

"There will clearly have to be a legal minimum of wages, as there is already in Australasia, and as we have now, in the Trade Boards Act, already adopted in principle for the United Kingdom.... The employers will be under no legal obligation to employ any person whatsoever, but if they do employ him or her it will be a condition of every contract... that its terms shall not be such as will impair the efficiency of the citizen or diminish the vitality of the race."

"The Coming Industrial War in the West" therefore does not promise to be a war without solid results for civilised society. The long history of Trade Unionism explains itself in the light of Mr. Sidney Webb's theory; the suffering and the passion in the breasts of hundreds of thousands who have struggled for better conditions since the dawn of modern industrialism find in the minimum wage their justification and reward.

The Trade Union movement has been subjected to a great deal of deserved and undeserved criticism. Trade Unions have their drawbacks like all other human institutions; but it is purely cynical and erroneous to look upon Trade Unions as merely organised manifestations of primal human selfishness. At first sight there is something vulgar and ignoble in the determination of organised societies of men not to sell their labour at less than the best price they can bargain for; but a deeper view of the matter will show that the man who deprives his fellow of employment, by accepting a lower rate of wages than he, is not playing the part of a good citizen. It is to the interest of a nation that its workers of all classes should be well paid, so that the wives and children of the workers and the efficiency of the workers themselves may be protected by good food, good clothes, and good shelter. Under the stress of competition these vital necessities have been left unguarded and uncared for except by the precarious humanity of

capitalists and the belligerent common sense of the Trade Unions. A working man who joins a Trade Union may be conscious merely of the advantage to himself of doing so. He may be thinking solely of his own livelihood. But there is joined on to his act a consequence of much wider significance. In standing shoulder to shoulder with his fellows he is benefiting not merely his own life and home but the lives and homes of all his fellow workers, and ultimately therefore he is acting in the best interests of the states. For it is a social disadvantage that any body of men should be poor, and it is a social injustice that any body of men should be victims of want who are enabling other men to become rich.

There is still another consideration. Manufacturers have various ways of competing against each other for custom, some ways socially beneficial, some socially injurious. An unscrupulous manufacturer will try to gain an advantage by adulterating his articles or issuing a lying advertisement. The long arm of the law is liable to come down upon him if he adopts either of these practices. Driven out of these fields of enterprise an unscrupulous manufacturer will try to lessen his expenses by lowering wages. The Trade Union endeavours to intercept him here, and discharges a function as conservative of the public well-being as any performed by an Adulteration Act. Unable to cheat any longer his customers or his work-people the unscrupulous manufacturer is either driven out of his business or is compelled to compete for custom upon lines beneficial to society. He must make his goods of better quality than his rivals', or he must invent some new process by which a satisfactory article can be manufactured for a smaller price than has hitherto been paid for it.

If the ideal of the Trade Unions were realised competition between employers would be confined to beneficial paths, and no employer in Great Britain would be able to underpay his work-people. The existence of the underpaid and sweated worker shows what limitations have hitherto been set to the success of Trade Unionism. The difficulties that lie in the way of combination must for a long time to come frustrate the efforts of the Trade

Unions. Hence the idea of achieving the minimum wage by legal enactment. It has begun to dawn upon the ranks of the wage-earners of the West for what they have been struggling,—that no man, woman or child should be sweated. "It is this policy of a National Minimum which in my judgment," says Mr. Sidney Webb, "is going to inspire and explain the statesmanship and the politics of the twentieth century."

The development of industrial policy in England therefore promises a return to the methods employed in the West during the Middle Ages. The legal minimum wage is no new thing. As we learn from historians, the prices of all articles in common use were fixed by law and custom during the Middle Ages, so as to provide a fair and living wage to the craftsman, and so as to defend the consumer from excessive profits charged by the producer or middleman. Modern conditions have placed the craftsman at a great disadvantage in the battle of life, and the growth of monopolies is

beginning now to threaten the position of the consumer.

As India increases her manufactures it is to be hoped that she will profit by Western experience in policy as well as in inventions. Wealth gained at the expense of classes of underpaid or sweated wage-earners is scarcely national wealth. Riches poured into the pockets of the few while the many are but barely provided with the means of subsistence is a condition of affairs which in the West is fast becoming discredited. The baneful effects of wealth are produced for the most part by its glaringly unequal distribution, or by injury done to the worker in providing the exertion that creates wealth. The next step in the industrial progress of the West seems to be not an equal distribution of wealth, but such a distribution by means of a wages law as shall leave no wage earner with less than the minimum needed to maintain life in well-being of body and soul.

P. E. RICHARDS.

DRAVIDIAN SCULPTURE

THE ethnology of the people speaking Tamil and other cognate tongues and who inhabit the southern part of India otherwise called the Dravida Desa offers many points of dissimilarity to that of their Aryan brethren of the Gangetic valley. They are the representatives of the Pre-Aryan races who were in possession of the tract south of the Vindhya mountains before the Aryan migration and probably belonged to the Turanian group who occupied southern and eastern Persia in ancient times and who either by sea or by land passed to the western shores of India. Whatever may be the origin of the Dravidian races it is beyond doubt that the two divisions of the country indicated by the Vindhya ranges were occupied by people essentially different in blood and temperament. This is also evidenced by the language and physical peculiarities of the two races and the style of architecture practised by each. Yet the civilization that we meet

with in South India today is essentially Aryan in its general features and there is no record whatsoever, except now and then in minor social practices and mythological details, of the civilization which existed there before South India was aryanised.

"The Dravidian civilization of the South though much more ancient than its history, owes its history to Aryan immigration as much as does North India..... In the centuries on either side of 750 B.C. the Aryan began to penetrate into the Maha-Kantara round about the Vindhya's the memory of which is preserved in the tradition regarding Agastya's advent into the South. The forest is supposed to have extended upto Pampa Sarovar. The advent of Agastya introduces reclamation of the jungle into arable land. Agastya is also the reputed author of the first Tamil grammar. Whoever this Agastya was, Rishi or some one else by that name, he does for Tamil what Panini did for Sanskrit."*

And the South of India is referred to in various local works as "the land lit up by the glory of Agastya," who was evidently

* *Ancient India* by S. Krishna Swami Aiyangar, M.A., 1911, pages 3, 8 & 30.

regarded as the first missionary of Aryan culture in the South. There is one fact to be noticed in connection with the Aryan migration to the south: when the Aryans displaced the original inhabitants of the Punjab and the Gangetic valley their policy was usurpation. They practically swept away the life which existed there and

Aryans penetrated into the South, there existed already well-organised communities and kingdoms."*

To this fact must be attributed many of the peculiarities which we meet with in South Indian sculpture, architecture and iconography. In its Vaisnav and Saivait pantheon we very often meet with conceptions of deity which have no counterpart in the northern Puranas. The style of the architecture though related to those prevailing in the north displays features which are quite individual. The sculptures, particularly those representing images other than those of gods and goddesses, strike out a fantastic note—which jars rather than



Fig. 1.

established the supremacy of Aryan thought. In the South the Aryans had to change their policy of usurpation to that of amalgamation, which alone was possible under the circumstances prevailing there. As Dr. Bhandarkar has pointed out,—

"Further south and on the eastern coast, though the Aryans penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization. Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil and other languages of those races now spoken in Southern India are not derived from Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock and hence it is also that Southern art is so different from the Northern. When the



Fig. 2.

chimes with the idealistic conceptions of the Pauranic mythology. The Turanian blood now and then asserts itself in spite of its Aryan clothing. In some of the sculptures of South India we get a peep into the mettle of the original Dravidian race

* *Early History of the Deccan* by R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 5.

which the Aryan thought and culture sought to envelop and overpower.

We have chosen for our illustrations four examples of stone figures which decorate the pillars in the famous choultry of TIRUMALA NAYAKA at Madura. One is struck at once with the high-degree of technical skill and the remarkable beauty of the decorative designs displayed in the ornaments and the dresses in all the figures, particularly



Fig. 3.

in figures 1 and 3. Figure 3 representing probably Indra makes up with the two attendant figures a beautiful group which fits in admirably with the pillar which the figures are intended to decorate. The unity of design here illustrated bespeaks an artist of no mean merit. The statues here illustrated form a few of a series of life-size stone figures which decorate the monolithic pillars in the Hall. Next to SIVA-TANDABA (figure 1) the figure of ARDHANARISWARA (figure 4) is perhaps the best of the group. The choultry also called the Vasanta Manda-

pam was built in 1645 by Tirumala, the then Tamilian Prince of Madura. It was originally intended as the summer resort of Sundareswara, the presiding deity of the Madura temple. It has now been improvised as a market and is covered on all sides



Fig. 4.

by bamboo screens and mats which make it difficult to obtain good photographs of the figures. Some of them are certainly very grotesque in their subject matter. And to the casual observer unacquainted with the strange stories related in the *Madura Purana* the figure of MINAKSHI* nursing the pigs and some of the other sculptures are certainly repellent. But they hardly deserve the abuses heaped on them by Fergusson† whose reproaches must be taken to

* The legend is related at p. 211, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol III, old series.

† Fergusson—*History of Indian Architecture*. Second Edition 1910, p. 390, Vol I. It will be interesting to compare the impression of a French critic with regard to these sculptures. M. L. Bon in his *Monuments de l'Inde*, p. 163, says:—"It is difficult to dream of something more imposing than this long

be against the subject matter of the legends themselves rather than upon their sculptured representations. The importance of this group of sculptures lies in the fact that in spite of their fine technical execution and their subject matter, which is entirely Pauranic, they display in their general conception

tion which the northern style (now represented by the South Indian bronzes) introduced in the country. He has been attempting to follow the bent of his own mind in shaping his stones to the requirements of the Pauranic legends. The faces in all the figures betray a strange, uncouth if not a grotesque feeling which hardly accords with the general conception of the figures. In both their technique and *motif* they are similar to



Fig. 5.

and particularly in the type of the faces a note which is distinctly non-Aryan. It appears that the Dravidian artist has for the moment set aside the standards of Divine concep-

avenue of fantastic monsters, of images of gods and goddesses of which these sculptured figures, smiling or terrible, crowded together in this recess, transport the visitor into a world of the strangest dreams."



Fig. 6.

the series of sculptures which adorn the pillars along the corridors in the main temple of Madura and were probably constructed about the same time though not by the same artists. Perhaps the best specimen of this class of sculpture is represented by the figure of Ganesha in the main temple reproduced in figure 5. The pose and the movement of the figure present a new invention of the artist which is quite different from the treatment which is usually given to this hackneyed

subject in other parts of India. The images in the mantapam in the temple of AVADYAR KOIL in Arantangi (District Tanjore) display the same peculiarities and can be assigned to the same school. It is possible there are other examples of the style spread over the various temples of southern India but the figure sculptures of the Madura temples may be taken to fairly represent the best efforts of the Dravidian genius in stone sculpture. Except with regard to this class of images, it will be a mistake to accept as a general proposition Dr. Bhandarkar's statement 'that the southern art is different from the north.' I had an opportunity to examine various copper images in South Indian temples 'better known as "South Indian Bronzes."' In their technique and convention they seem to repeat practically the same style with which we are familiar in the northern parts of India. Apart from these bronzes, now and then, we meet in these temples, stone images which belonging to a group quite distinct from the examples at Madura illustrate the same style of the north and could be hardly labelled as 'South Indian' solely on account of their *habitat*. One of these stone images from Srirangam is reproduced in figure 6. It is intended to illustrate the distinction between the style indicated in the sculptures at Madura and those which do not betray the local peculiarities which characterize the Madura images. The image (figure 6) is in black stone and is a representation of a Tamil saint named *Nammaluar*. The cloth covering and the

mark on the forehead rather spoil the effect of the figure. The dignity and the fine repose of the image and the simplicity of its conception recall the best traditions of the North Indian style which has been adopted in South India images in connection with the most important temples and shrines. The black stone images of Bhairaba and Mahākālī in the temple of Chidambaram are some of the best examples of this style, which could be easily multiplied. It is a well-known fact that when the ritualistic Hindu religion was over-run by the Mahomedan invasion in the North it had to take refuge in the South where Bramhinism with its elaborate ceremonial practices and all that followed in their train practically reproduced in the minutest details the same systems and institutions which prevailed in the North and which are now perpetuated in the cathedral cities of South India. In course of time all that represented the best in the religious art of North India became imbedded in and has remained as a part of the art practices of the South. It would hardly be proper, therefore, to designate all the sculptures there, indiscriminately, as 'South Indian'. When the materials are available for the study of the detailed History of Indian sculpture the examples here discussed, which present a well characterized school and which I have provisionally called Dravidian, should claim a separate place among the mediaeval non-Buddhist sculptures of India.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

A BROTHER'S TRIBUTE

I generally look forward very much to reading the "Modern Review." This month your number naturally has a melancholy interest for one, though that melancholy is mixed with satisfaction and pleasure, because it is a testimony of the kindly feeling that many Indian workers had for my sister. Perhaps you may think it unusual and immodest for a brother to come forward and speak of his sister, yet, in

writing to you I can assure you it is not any motive of immodesty which prompts me, but rather a feeling of gratitude to you all.

There were two sides to my sister's life which are not always known, one her great religious feeling, and the other, her ardent national fervour. These two attributes with her were so closely interwoven that it might truly be said, that there was one thing which she stood for,

and not two, namely, the unquestionable right of a people to express themselves in the terms of their own heredity. This we have cause to understand in the country from which I write, where various reactionaries, both so-called Nationalists and so-called Unionists, seek to persuade the people to make themselves more or less bad imitations of other nations, and to forsake the genius of their Gaelic ancestors. That is one of the secrets of Ireland's decadence, the denationalising process which has been going on in the form of Anglicisation. To counteract this we have to seek to revive the Gaelic language, the Gaelic dances, the Gaelic customs, and to consolidate Irish farmers so that they may be as little as possible the prey of the Gombeen Middleman. In other words the problem that faces us here is to conserve the traditions of the Irish race. I expect, you have, as we have, persons who say that our policy is reactionary, that we are seeking to make a people national when the tendency of the time is to make them inter-national, and that we are preventing them from doing well in the world. One's reply to that is that no one can truly be inter-national before he has first learnt to be national, that in making him national and in making him use the medium of experience which was used by his forefathers, we are giving him backbone, we are giving him individuality, and we are making him a stronger and a better man, than he otherwise would have been, and that in so doing we are enabling him to make his way better in the world, than he otherwise would have done. We know, for we have seen it, that the Irishman who wants nothing of what his country is to him, lacks Morale, and is really nothing more than a decadent and a degenerate. Our materialistic friends who dwell upon commercial success overlook this very important factor in the education of a human being.

I feel, however, that I am digressing from the subject on which I set out. My object was to say in a few words something of the consecutive causes which led my sister to go to India. Mrs. Bose was good enough in her article to refer to a curious premonition which my father had. It was curious, however, the form in which Margôt (the name by which I always refer to my

sister), received her first training for the call which she was to have in later life. The Tractarian movement in the Church of England caught her attention when she was about 15 years of age, and the colour which it introduced into its services, the importance it attached to symbols, and sacraments, and the devotion, and the physical exertion which it called upon its adherents to perform, caught hold of my sister's imagination, and gave her the first strong religious influence in life. This influence of High Anglicism lasted to the end of her days. It was however the persecution which she had to undergo at this time, which did most to make her fitter for the work which she was afterwards to be called upon to do.

High Anglicism was too rigid, too inflexible, and too illiberal, to hold such a spirit as hers in long control. The hardness of its dogmas, the lack of charity which its adherents displayed to those holding different beliefs, in the end caused her to inquire further, and to seek beyond this ecclesiastical system for a more Christian and a more human religion. The Tractarians had, however, taught her the value of the tradition. By degrees she joined what is known as The Broad Church School in the Church of England, but very much of the influence of her early Tractarian experience remained with her.

Still, Broad Churchism, for want of a better term, could not satisfy the spiritual craving of such a nature as hers, for it merely uttered platitudes without any positive feeling or teaching underneath. There was a spirit of cynicism which seemed to look down on everyone else's belief as being superstitious or as being wanting in scholarship which would make it lack the poetry of the emotion so necessary to the religious life. It was at this juncture of her life, that Swami Vivekananda arrived. His teaching seemed to co-ordinate all which she had previously learnt and experienced, it made them all one as part of a whole, and that there was nothing which contradicted the other. Everything was thus galvanised, with a new life and with a new meaning, and her sympathies, which had always been quick, were easily aroused on behalf of the suffering which a subordinate people were undergoing.

Swamiji died when young; my sister

was little older when she died. That my sister should have obeyed his call was nothing wonderful, for I myself saw Swamiji, and I know his power. One had only to see and to hear Swamiji, and to say to oneself, "behold the man". One knew he spoke truth, for he spoke with authority, and not merely as a scholar or as a priest. Swamiji brought certainty with him, he gave assurance and confidence to the inquirer. This I think was what he did for my sister, and it was the certainty which led her to obey the call fearlessly, and once having obeyed without hesitation she never had cause to regret.

Usually one feels additional sorrow in losing a loved one far away from home, but in my sister's case I feel that she really passed away in the midst of us here in Ireland. I feel even that being with Dr. and Mrs. Bose at her end that she was in the midst of her family, and of her own people. One feels too a sense of gratitude that she upheld to the last the traditional duty of her race, to help those that were in the shadow of death, and to guide their feet into the ways of peace.

RICHMOND NOBLE.

ART AND ETHICS

I.

THE ESSENTIAL MORALITY OF ART.

"He who is able to endure here on earth, ere he be liberated from the body, the force born from desire and passion, he is a *Yogi*, he is a blest."—*Bhagavad Gita*, V. 23.

IF it is not the function of art to preach any moral, or to incite to any action, whether virtuous or selfish, what actually is the relation of art to morality?

The morality of art lies in *same-sightedness* of aesthetic contemplation. In all natural expressions the will and its actualising are one—the body of a crystal, a tree, or a man is an actual expression of *Will* (idea, force, character) affirmed in time and space. "Outward the creator pierced the holes":* therefore creatures see. In nature, art and artist are one and the same thing. The sum of what a man has willed, he actually is. In momentary expressions equally, the will is attached: the angry man curses because of his anger, the good man gives alms out of pity.

In aesthetic expression on the contrary, the will is not attached—the senses are not united with their objects but serve only to make possible the contemplation of those objects. The man who expresses anger aesthetically is not angry; a sad man may be an excellent clown.

We are often moved by beauty to tears or

to awe—but how different are this sadness and this fear from the disappointments and alarms of our daily life! In aesthetic contemplation we behold life itself from afar. We are the spectators, no longer the actors in a drama. Thus beholding life, we may well be sad, as Buddha and Christ were sad, sorrowing over the world (*Samsara*, Jerusalem). For in that moment our will, like theirs, is beyond the attraction of the pairs of opposites, we are *same-sighted* (*sama-drishtah*), regarding equally the evil and the good.

It is in this sense that we sometimes say all the best art is saddening. We do not mean that it makes us unhappy, as frustrated aims for good or evil do. We feel, rather, too experienced to suffer again. We remember, perhaps as the mother of Jiva remembered, that a thousand Jivas in other lives have been loved and wept for.

Deirdre wept for her own sorrows: but if the story brings tears to our eyes at all, it is not for her sorrows, but because of sorrow. The story would not move us less if it were proved that Deirdre never lived,—as it would if our grief had been for any individual woman. The Trojan women had already for a moment escaped from their servitude, when they reflected that their grief should make a story for all time.

Art is also as much an emancipation from

* Kathaka Upanishad, 4. 1.

personal joy as from personal sorrow. The mother singing her own cradle song, or worshipping a picture of the Mother of God, Maya or Mary or Isis, is no longer the mother of one but Adi Shakti, the mother of all children, all manifested things.

In this emancipation lies the profound morality of art: the impassioned contemplation of the world without attachment of the will! For what is morality? "The Lord accepteth neither the evil-doing nor the well-doing of any." Morality is the turning of the will from affirmation to denial, from attachment to indifference. "He who is the same to loved and to unloved—he is said to have crossed over the qualities."

Is art then antipathetic to life? The answer is both Yes and No. Art appears in its noblest forms in those times and places where life is strongest, where movements of the will, whether of affirmation or denial, are most passionate. For art is made of life, and declines where luxury, indolence, materialism, pride of intellect, or false asceticism prevail, or conflict is absent. Yet, the artist is one who stands aloof, at least in times of creation, and it is only in moments of aloofness,—non-willing, that the ordinary man also becomes an artist. Aesthetic contemplation, however, is a momentary enthusiasm—it does not like renunciation, take us away from life for ever. It is a gentler training than mortification of the flesh. Very often indeed the hedonistic accompaniments of art, the pleasures accompanying but not at all essential to aesthetic contemplation, bind us very closely to life; so closely that some mistaking these pleasures for art itself have looked on art as immoral.

Art then does not separate us from life, but it prepares us to relinquish the hopes and fears that belong to life. Hence its profound peace. At the same time it assures us that the reality beyond these hopes and fears is a reality, though only to be described in negative terms. Our brief experience of

Brahmanic bliss—a term used by Abhinavagupta* in describing the moment of aesthetic contemplation—proves to us that this bliss is indeed different from annihilation, that it is not merely Bliss, but Intelligence and Being. And so we need not fear when in this or in some other life the Infinite calls upon us to surrender the affections; we may have courage to "cultivate vision, even when it is terrible": for we have had intimations, additional to those which the practice of morality otherwise brings us, of that life which he finds who loses what in common speech we call by the same name, but from the standpoint of Vedanta is rather Death or Dream.

Here it is necessary to take warning. It must not be supposed that the purpose of art is to afford us this delight or to promote morality. Aesthetic experience has no purpose whatever; it is in itself an end. We shall find it fail us if we seek it either as a means of escape from the vexations of life, or, in pedagogic fashion, to encourage practical goodness. Art is simply a spiritual adventure—the quest of Beauty. By means of external works,—pictures, musical performances, dances, poems or other aesthetic expressions,—we are able to share this adventure with others. But those only can achieve this adventure who seek it, not because they think they ought, but for its own sake and because they must. We have here a parallel to the case of practical morality. Good deeds, spontaneous if they are the fruit of a will turned to denial, are morally valueless if performed with a desire for reward, or in obedience to the commands of the intellect.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

* Abhinavagupta says that when we enjoy a beautiful piece of poetry, we realise our own higher self. What is called *bhoga*, delight, is nothing but the revelation of our own higher nature conditioned by *sattva* though previously obscured by *rajas* and *tamas*. This 'delight' is akin to the bliss (*ananda*) of Brahmanic consciousness. The experience of it is an intimation or foreshadowing of *Moksha*.

KASHMIR AND THE KASHMIRIS

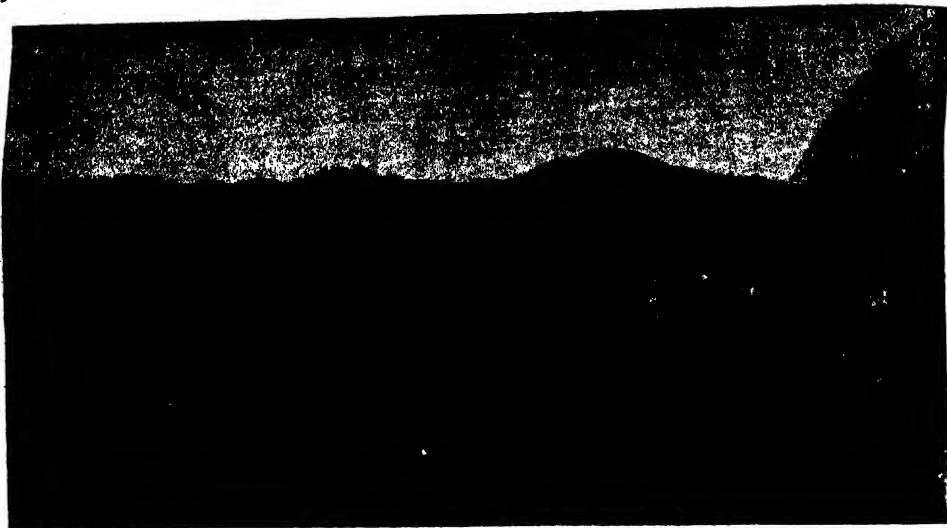
III

THE CITY OF SEVEN BRIDGES.

IF the ancient City of Rome is rightly called the City of the Seven Hills, the Capital of Kashmir (Srinagar) can most

appropriately be called the City of Seven Bridges.

It is to the credit of this land that I can say with great emphasis that the men of no other country on the face of the



THE CITY OF THE SEVEN BRIDGES.

earth can boast of greater intelligence. But intelligence void of manly qualities and high principles is of little avail. I have been told by school-masters and professors that they find in Kashmir the average student sharper than his contemporary of the Indian plains. Kashmir has produced great Sanskrit scholars and philosophic works of which mention will be made later on at its proper place.

ARCHITECTURE AND PLAN OF THE CITY.

The Jhelam, which according to Hindu tradition and legend takes its rise from Bitasta two miles off Verinag, and according to common sense,—which builds its conclusions on the volume of water and its flow from a glacier as the source of the river—from Verinag itself, flows in its curves right through the city of Srinagar. It washes the foundation stones of almost every wooden house. When it swells, it even makes the lowest storey close its doors and be vacated.

The city is situated on either bank of the river, and begins from the palace of the Maharaja—a portion of which is the ugliest building ever made by any prince. The palace is right on the left of the Jhelam. The accompanying illustration does not give a full view of the palace, yet it gives the major portion and an idea of the building.

The middle part of the palace is not rather bad, but the wings need cutting off. The state in modern India, be it the British Government or the native Princes, is wholly responsible for vulgarising buildings and demoralising Indian art. Even an Anglo-Indian writer of the type of Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I., in his official book on "India" holds the British Government responsible for the deterioration of Indian arts: he writes on p. 294 of his India, 4th Ed. 1911:

"India has nothing to learn from us in this respect. We have done much to debase her beautiful and still living arts, and almost all the influence that we have exercised has been destructive."

Note that he is one who justifies and apologises for every action of the Indian Government—and if he says so much, then there must be really great truth in it. We need not quote here the opinions of Mr. Havell, the wellknown art critic and artist. The opinions of men like Fergusson are too wellknown. Dr. Coomaraswamy has often brought it home to the minds of Indian princes that their aping proclivities were not appreciated by Europeans, who understand art much more than the Indians of modern times. The case of that Prince is too well known to be mentioned here who when going to entertain Lord Curzon kept aside European furniture and stuffed his palace with Indian, for the time being, and again replaced it



THE MAHARAJA'S PALACE.

by European as soon as Lord Curzon had turned his back on the palace. The taste of our Princes has been demoralised indeed and there are only a very few who care for and understand the greatness, beauty and utility of Indian art. I may remind our Princes most humbly in the words of Lord Curzon, whom they would have done anything to please, as long as he was in India, that

"There is no country the antiquities and arts and monuments of which are more precious than those of India."

I may also quote here with advantage Mr. Fergusson, who needs no introduction:

"Architecture in India is still a living art, and there consequently and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of art in action...those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the uneducated natives of India produce."

We live amongst such living artists and products of art of so high an order about which the same art critic, Mr. Fergusson, says,—

"There is nothing in Italy in this sort of decoration that can be compared, in beauty of design, or colour, or effect, with the work found in the (old) palaces and tombs of India."

If the producers of such excellent architecture belong to the race of ours then what makes it necessary to vulgarise our houses? Indian princes can do much to revive and regenerate Indian arts and crafts

if they only take to patronising Indian artists as their forefathers, the old rulers, did.

Kashmir is a country where domestic architecture is executed most wonderfully. The house for the most part being of wood affords a great facility to the artist to show his skill. A slow rowing with keen eyes to find out beautiful houses rather than to detect signboards of curio-shops will enable one to find very beautiful houses down the Jhelam; particularly near the fourth bridge

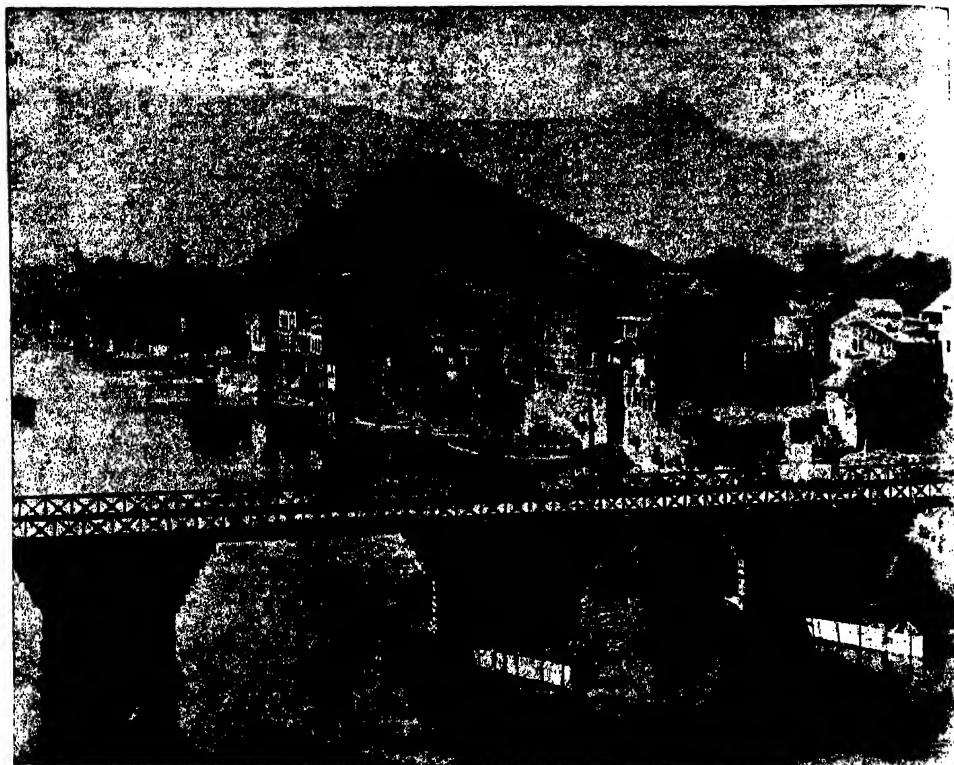
on the left, there are 2 or 3 superb wooden houses. The doors, fronts, and balconies are very beautifully carved. I can hardly think of more beautiful small houses.

The town is situated on the banks of the Jhelam—the streets all running landward and also along the bank. The Jhelam is crossed by seven bridges within the boundary of the city which is about 3 miles in length. The different parts of the city are connected across by these seven wooden bridges. The houses of wealthy men and big merchants nearly all rise just from the water of the Jhelam as it were. A rowing down the river in the early morn or at dusk presents a unique scene in several respects. In the midday also boating in the river is a pleasant pastime.

Floating shops of pedlars or curio-selling Kashmiri-merchants are very amusing features on the waters of the Jhelam. The people (tourists) living in house-boats on the Jhelam or her tributaries, canals or lakes connected with the Jhelam are invaded by these curio-merchants from morn to eve.

THE FILTH OF THE CITY.

The houses for the most part are all built of wood. It is far beyond the means even of the richest in Kashmir to paint the houses. Consequently just after one year or so, all houses grow dark. Gradually the smoke makes them darker and the winter snow covers them to strengthen



The Fourth Bridge with Hari Parbat (Fort) in the background.

their dull colour. Thus the whole town wears a very gloomy and dull aspect.

I wish I could not think of the filth and the dirt of the capital of Kashmir. I cannot imagine any dirtier town. Unless the fabulous filth of Tibet were to surpass that of Kashmir, I would hardly allow the laurels to any other dirty place in this respect. Think of the dirtiest possible streets and homes and you will have a picture of Kashmiri towns or villages. In this respect the capital city is the greatest sinner. I found in the mufassil, that the villages were comparatively a little less dirty—though I remember that some of the purely Muhammadan villages were simply disgusting. Of course the Hindu Pandits bathe every day, but what about their yards and streets and surroundings? I had the occasion to enter some of the houses of the Pandits of the town too. Some were remarkably clean but others were full of dirt and dust. As to the houses of the Muhammadans and their

surroundings, one can hardly bear to stay there. They are store-houses of filth as it were. The houses and surroundings of the Hindus are comparatively cleaner but they too seem not disgusted with the filthy streets and dirty habits.

There are practically no public latrines in the city. Though the municipality has a huge crowd of sweepers in its service, yet they are unable to improve the sanitation of the city. It is no wonder that Srinagar is almost every year attacked by cholera. If there were any city in the plains so dirty, it would have become the home of perpetual plague and cholera. The State and the municipality can adopt very radical and efficacious methods to remove the filth of the city. It is a disgrace to the State to have such a filthy capital.

I was told by people themselves that sometime ago the people had very foolish superstitions: they were actually proud,

of the heap of dirt at their doors. It spoke of their prosperity!

THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY.

It is the case everywhere that the cities contain the best men as well as the worst. So it will be no news if I add that the city of the seven bridges contains people who have no scruples to tell lies and to flatter and cheat and that they can do any thing or yield every thing to get money or win posts or official favour from the State officials, etc. Visitors constantly fall victims to the cheating, lies and the sycophancy and sweet words of the people, both high and low, learned and ignorant.

In this respect the people of the country (muffasil) are much better. When I went out into the valley the good qualities and the goodness of the people so constantly and so often came before me that I almost withdrew my remarks about the truthfulness and honesty of the people even of the town.

The people of this city by race belong to one stock—the pure remnants of the Aryans with a little mixture of Turks and Mongolians. By religion they belong to Kashmiri-Muhammadanism and Hinduism, the former being 90 or 85 per cent. Almost all the trades and arts are in the hands of the Muslims. The Hindus (Pandits) think it beneath their dignity to handle the hammer even of the goldsmith or to deal in any trade. Now, gradually they are taking to the least paying trades—some are opening shops of foreign cloth, some are becoming photographers. I may add here in a parenthetical way that almost all the photographers are pandits. They would not feel it degrading to touch foreign stuff and chemical solutions but the handle of the honest hammer or the needle is not becoming to them! They go in for the least lucrative profession if they ever think it worth while to go in for any particular occupation, otherwise astrology and copying Sanskrit manuscripts are the only works worthy of them. The rest are 'unholy.'

THE CAMPING GROUNDS.

The chief features of the suburb of the city are its splendid camping grounds. On the banks of the Jhelam or at the skirts of the lakes there are very happy

lawns studded by lovely gigantic *chinar* trees. It is at the skirts of these lawns and grounds that house-boats are generally moored. Chief of such camping grounds are: the Chinarbagh, the Munshibagh and Sonewarbagh. These are all within the city proper. There are others close by on the *Dal* lake. The Chinarbagh is near the gate of the Dal lake and is on a canal of the Jhelam connected with that of the outlet of the Dal. There is a part (the best part) of this Bagh which is specially reserved for 'European Bachelors.' The Sonewar and the Munshibagh also are practically in the possession of the European visitors. Poor Indians generally launch their boats near or about Amirakadal and some other odd corners and places. The famous Bund (embankment constructed to dam up the water of the flood) is covered with European shops, offices and the houses for European officers. A most pleasant walk in the morning just after sunrise can be enjoyed on the Bund road.

THE PLACES OF INTEREST AT OR NEAR SRINAGAR.

(a) *The Shankaracharya Peak*.—There is a very high peak close to the city called



The Shankaracharya Peak (The Takht-i-Suleman).

Shankaracharya by the Hindus, and Takht-i-Suleman by the Muhammadans. There is a temple of a very peculiar type on the top of this hillock. The plinth of this



The State Water-fete in the Dal on the 25th of May 1911. The Maharaja of Alwar and some Rajputana chiefs are being received by the Maharaja.

temple is said to belong to the Asokan period of Indian architecture. Sri Jut Jagadish Chandra Chatterjee, the Director of Archaeology, affirms that there is some reason to believe the tradition that the original temple was built by Asoka. The one now in existence is said to have been built by the well-known temple-builder—Shankaracharya. The Muhammadan iconoclasts did only a little damage to it as they baptised it by the name of Suleman, a Muhammadan saint, and thought it worthwhile to respect it, but I am afraid that the present idolatrous rulers may do it more harm than the iconoclasts. Sometime ago a bomb was fired on its plinth on a public occasion and it damaged the temple in part. This hill is made use of on public occasions as a pillar for bonfires. To have a complete birds-eye-view of the city and its surroundings this peak is a splendid place: no visitor should miss a climb up the Shankaracharya.

(b) *The Hari Parbat*.—On the other extremity is another hill little less in height. It was turned into a fort by Akbar, the ruins

of which have now been converted into a state prison. There are some chiefs of the frontier imprisoned in it at present. On the slopes of this hill there are some remains of old palaces. On one side there is the temple of a Hindu Goddess.

(c) *The Dal Lake*.—To call this piece of water, which is the second largest in Kashmir, the *dal-lake*, is a misnomer. Because in the Kashmiri language Dal itself is the word for a lake. However the visitors call it Dal-Lake. This splendid lake is a very charming thing in the city of Srinagar. Tourists and visitors ply on its waters freely and often. The public and the Court also enjoy the Dal a great deal. On festive occasions water fetes are performed in it.

This lake besides produces a large quantity of fodder and vegetables for the city. It is in this lake that the floating gardens of Kashmir float about and are stolen away. They are small pieces of fields made with earth spread over mats. Only vegetables and such creepers as bear cucumbers and pumpkins grow in them. They are no

gardens but only small patches of artificial fields. They are very beautifully stolen away! The fields are tied to a long pole stuck to the bottom of the lake. The thief comes in a small canoe. He cuts the rope and drags the whole thing from one part of the lake to another! The whole of the lake excepting the central part is leased out by the State to tenants on seasonal rents. Thus it pays the State a great deal.

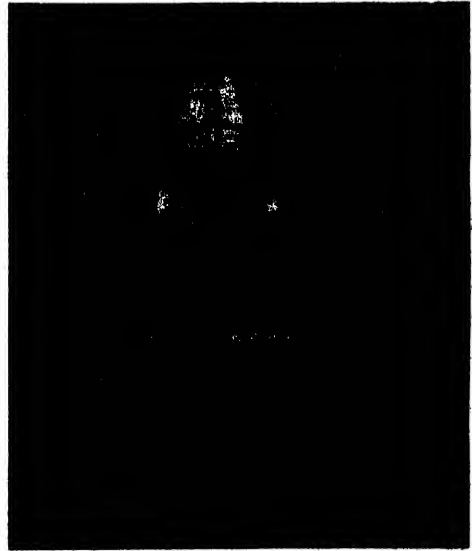
(d) *The Salimar* and (e) *The Nishat*.—These are two most famous Mughal gardens of Kashmir; they are to the north of Srinagar at the base of the northern mountains. Both of them are said to have been founded by Shah Jahan. Salimar is just after the famous Salimar of Lahore. It is in ruins now. But the Nishatbagh is being taken great care of by the State and is placed under the special care of Sjt. J. C. Chatterjee. The fountains which number about 200 are now being put in order. On Sundays they are in working order and the scene on that day is simply charming and most impressive. The fountains are very systematically arranged. They are run or supplied with water from a canal that comes from a stream of fresh water. There are some artificial small waterfalls also. At the gate and within the garden there are some small beautiful Mughal buildings with splendid inlay (painting) work in the ceilings. It is a joy to spend the whole day in a fascinating garden like the Nishat. The flower-beds are a special feature of Nishatbagh.

The uneducated people of India are generally supposed by some people to be void of the sense of beauty and love of nature. In Kashmir both poor and rich, illiterate men and women, are quite fond of visiting such gardens, flower beds, lakes and streams. They love them. They enjoy the natural scenery as much as any so-called educated being. On Fridays this Nishatbagh is crowded by people, particularly by Muhammadans. They come out of their homes in boats with tea-pots (the samawari) and articles of food—all cooking is made in the boat by both Hindus and Muhammadans, the boat being rowed by Muhammadan boatmen. They first go to Hazarat Bal, a place of worship for Muhammadans and from there they come to this garden simply to enjoy and see. It is unfortunate that the fountains are not set at work on this day when the

people come to visit it but on Sundays when the tourists come to enjoy it. Further back in the lap of the hills, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Salimarbagh there is Harban—a small lake which is an artificial reservoir of fresh water 20 feet deep, and several yards in circumference. It is one of the most charming and sublime spots I have ever seen.

THE VANDALISM OF THE ICONOCLAST.

One can hardly imagine another city in India where the ruins of old Hindu temples tell a more pathetic tale of Muhammadan vandalism. Here and there, everywhere are heaps of carved and well cut grey



A Hindu Temple in the City with a Dharmasala round it on the Jaelam.

stones of the temples ruined by the iconoclast—Shekandar, the But-Sikin, who demolished all the temples of Kashmir. The stones of these ancient temples have been turned into tombstones and the sites into places of Muhammadan worship, and the materials of the temples used for Muhammadan Ziyarats and mosques. The "Badsha" is a good example. It is a tomb of a Muhammadan prince built on the site of a Hindu temple. In this case bricks are used instead of the actual stones of the temple.

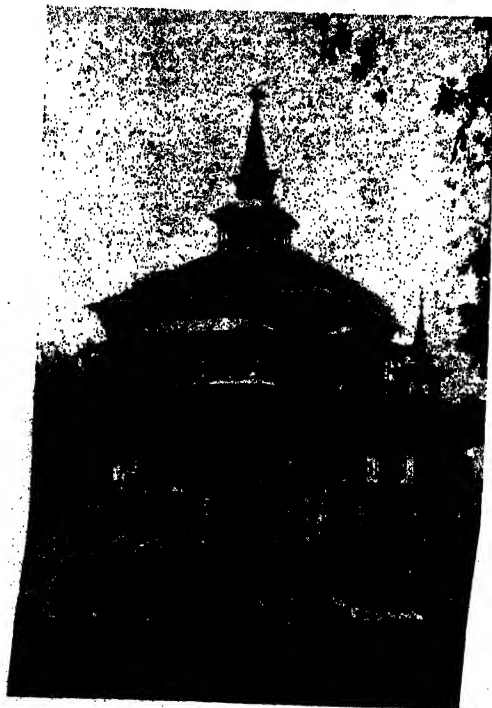
Kashmir is as good in stone architecture as in wood. The remains of these once

wonderfully beautiful temples speak of their first class design and marvellous finish.

The State with unnecessary sensitiveness, for fear of wounding the feelings of the Muhammadan subjects who form the majority, is benevolently indifferent towards the ruins of Hindu temples of this type, the remains of which will not survive ten years hence even to be observed by the tourists and visitors who like to see ancient ruins.

THE ZIYARAT.

It is a very unique place of worship in the valley of Kashmir. In fact it is always the tomb of some Muhammadan saint. To Kashmiri Musalmans it serves exactly the same purpose as a temple does to the Hindus. The city of Srinagar boasts of four very large *Ziyarats*. One of them is the largest in the valley and is an excellent example of Muhammadan religious wood architecture.



The largest *Ziyarat* (Tomb of a Mohamedan Saint).
The Stone just above "a" marked in the illustration is being worshipped by the Hindus.

The Hindus worship a stone of the plinth of this *Ziyarat*, from the river side. They

believe or affirm that before the *Ziyarat* was erected on the spot there lived a Kali—Hindu Goddess—who was a wicked Shudra woman—and that she was given shelter by the saint under the base of the *Ziyarat* as she was an excellent and stone sweeper. Of course this is a legend which is likely to have another version also. I cannot vouch for its accuracy but it is a fact that almost every morning Hindus go to worship that stone in the plinth. The stone just above "a" marked in the illustration of the *Ziyarat* is the spot that draws to it its devotees every day, while their Muhammadan brethren offer prayers on the platform and the yard of the *Ziyarat*.

THE MISSIONARIES AT WORK.

The description of the capital of Kashmir will not be complete without referring to the work and institutions of the Christians in this charming land. The methods and the



The trained students diving from the Mission School building, near the 3rd bridge.

proselytising zeal of the missionaries are too well-known to be mentioned here.

In Kashmir I am told up to this time only one young man has succumbed to the

CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF RITUALS AT HINDU CORONATION

influence of the missionaries. The people though poor yet are strong in their convictions. The first word that I uttered to a Kashmiri was the word that I spoke to a boatman at Baramulla and it was that I asked him to become a Hindu. I told him that his ancestors were Hindus and he would be welcome in the original fold. He was poor and ignorant too. But he said, "I am contented in my own Muslim fold. And why should I become a Hindu or anything else? It is the Hindus that become Muhammadans and Christians and not we that become converts." The conversion of Kashmir into Christianity is an impossibility. Therefore the missionaries do not talk of proselytising. But they are doing other things. They are gradually preparing the way. They are making the Hindu Pandit touch the oar which his father would rather die than do. He is taking to cigarettes, boots, watches and European dress gradually. He is sure to be miserable and unhappy in the near future. Discontent is spreading among the half-educated boys of the Christian Schools. They hate their homes and indigenous things: they can allow the *mlechchha* to touch the sacred thread when taken to learn diving and similar other water feats. This is done all with

school boys who I saw last year about 1900, reading in English and the whole valley, the Kashmiri, the one school at Srinagar, and in the words of a reverend Englishman, the author of the "Holy Himalayas," "many lying rascals are being turned into men."

The reader will laugh in his sleeve if I tell him that the verandah of the mission school is always during school hours quite full of shoes. For all students go into their classes according to Hindu practice with shoes off. This is the way of compromise of the tactful missionaries.

In addition to schools there are hospitals run by the enterprising missionaries. A very large and prosperous hospital is at the foot of the Shankaracharya hill in Srinagar.

Of course they expect much more of the indoor patients but the outdoor patients are only asked to wait till the largest possible number collect together and then they offer their prayers to the Healer of the sick, who cured without medicine, before the chemical solutions are freely and magnanimously distributed in cups and pots—phials of glass being rare. This is the way of winning. Indeed need and want can demoralise man very easily.

MUKANDI LAL.

RITUALS AT HINDU CORONATION: THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS

By K. P. JAYASWAL, B.A. (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW.

THE term 'Coronation' is used here for the sake of convenience and its present-day associations. For the placing of the crown on the head of the King-elect was not one of the elements of the Hindu Coronation,* where, firstly, sacred rites culminating in the 'Abhisheka' or 'the

sprinkling of waters' over the person of the King-elect, secondly, the ascent to the throne,* and, thirdly the repeating of some solemn vows by the King-elect formed the essentials. The 'Abhisheka' rites were symbols of election, and the ascent to the throne symbolised the taking of the office by the sovereign. The 'Coronation' oaths defined the legal position of the office and the holder thereof. The first two elements and, partly the third also, are embodied in

* It is, however, interesting to notice that a traditional crown is mentioned in the Ramayana (Yuddha, 30, 64, 65.)

महाबा निर्मितं पुनः किरितं रत्नमणिमयम् ।

अभिषिक्तः पुरा देवः मनुजः शीतलेन वस्त्रम् ।

तस्मान्नदे राजानः क्वायदेवाभिषेचिताः ।

* Originally wooden, spread upon with tiger-skin, but later on, of solid gold. (Ramay. Yud. 130, 59.)

a series of sacred formulas in the Shrutis or the class of post-vedic literature called the '*Brahmanas*.' The royal vows, crystallised in the form of oaths, have a popular, most probably, a republican origin. Their specimens are to be found in the great encyclopædia of the Hindu civilisation so aptly called the *Great India* or the '*Maha-Bharata*.'

THE VEDIC AGE.

Before we proceed to the examination of the 'Coronation rituals,' it would be convenient to sketch here the older procedure of the Vedic age which developed into the Coronation of Hindu kings in later times. It seems that the word *rajan* originally did not possess the sense conveyed by the term 'king' or 'monarch,' it simply meant a ruler and, literally, perhaps, 'one who had a seat' in the assembly. There are two lines of evidence for this supposition. In the Atharva Veda, Kanda III, Anuvaka 6, Sukta 3, we find the plural term '*rajanah*'* predicated of the members (of the assembly) '*sitting*,' and similarly, in III, 1, 4, the officers of state sitting round the newly elected *raja*, are styled *rajanah*. In the popular language of the country as found in the 6th century B. C., the term is used, as pointed out by the greatest Pali scholar Prof. Rhys Davids,† to denote 'something like the Roman consul or the Greek archon.' At the same time we find *all* the Vajjians called *rajas*. A young cousin of the Buddha is styled *raja*, while Shuddhodana, the father of the great teacher, is similarly designated, the latter, however, being 'elsewhere spoken of as a simple citizen.' Whatever the original meaning, it is clear that its early significance was not of the word king. It is also clear that the officer under the title *raja* was elected by the people (the *Vishas*), congregated in the national assembly called the *Samiti*. Here is a passage employed at the re-election of a *raja* who had been apparently driven out:—

तां विभी उच्यते राजानं जालिनाः प्रविष्टः पञ्च द्विवीः ।

पञ्च न राज्ञं सङ्गृह्य पञ्चसु ततो न उच्यते विभया नृपतिः ॥

"The people elect you to rulership, the five glorious quarters (elect) you. Be seated on this high point in the body of the state and from there vigorously distribute the natural wealth." Atharva-Veda, III, 1, 4, 2.

* बहु राजानो विभजन्त इन्द्रपुत्रेण योक्त्रं वनजाली समसदः ।

† *Buddhist India*, Ch. II.

Let us take a complete Song of Election:—

१
आ साहायनमरम्भं वसिष्ठविवाचनम् ।

विश्वसा सर्वा वाङ्मन्यु ना तद्वाङ्मनि वयम् ॥

२
इद्विषि माप ऋषिः पर्वत इवाभिवाचनम् ।

इदम् इविष्य भुवसिष्ठे राहुसु भारम् ॥

३
इदम् एतदीश्वरं भुव भुविष्य विवाच ।

तयो सीतो ऋषिः प्रवदन् न ब्रह्मव्यसतिः ॥

४
भुवा यीर्ष्या विविषी भुव विचलितं जनम् ।

भुवास्तः पर्वता इति भुवो राजा विजालयम् ॥

५
भुव ते राजा वदन् भुव द्विवी उच्यतिः ।

भुव त इन्द्रवाचि राहु भारवता भुव ॥

६
भुवोच्यत प्र सचीति ब्रह्मकर्मयतीश्वरान् पादयन् ।

सर्वा दिवः स नमस्तः सचीर्ष्याव ते समितिः कस्यतानिह ॥

'Gladly you come among us; remain firmly without faltering; all the people want you; may you not be degraded from the State.

'Here be you firm like the mountain and may you not come down. Be you firm here like Indra; remain you here and hold the State.

'Indra has held it (the State) firm on account of the firm Habi offering; for it Soma also the Brahmanaspati, has said the same.

'Firm (as) the heaven, firm (as) the earth, firm (as) the universe, firm (as) the mountains, let this *raja* of the people be firm.

'Let the State be held by you, be made firm by the *rajan* Varuna, the God Brihaspati, Indra and also Agni.

Vanquish you firmly without falling the enemies, and those behaving like enemies crush you under your feet. All the quarters unanimously honour you and for firmness the assembly here creates (appoint) you. —Atharva-Veda VI. 9, 2.

The main features and aspects of the Vedic election may be summed up as follows:—

1. The election is by the people and the whole people. Latter on this is expressed, as we shall presently see, in a number of rites and formulas accompanying the prominent ceremony of the *abhishechaniyam*. The principle of popular election occupies the most important place in coronation even when Hindu kingship becomes in practice almost invariably hereditary.*

* Apart from the indispensable rituals which embody the principle, we find references in literature which

2. The *rājan* thus elected had his power, as rightly observed by Dr. Macdonell, 'by no means absolute, being limited by the will of the people expressed in the tribal assembly (*Samiti*).'[†] (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 158). This limitation when the *rajan* assumes the character of a monarch still exists, being exercised by the council in the first instance and the people ultimately in practice and by law in theory.

3. There is yet no territorial conception in the appointment of the ruler, he being only the proctor of the people and the holder of the State, the *rashtra*.

4. The sprinkling has not yet become prominent.

5. The *raja* is asked to ascend a raised seat which is significantly described in the first quotation as 'the highest point in the body politic'. This symbolisation of the throne is unique in the literature of the world, its parallel is nowhere found. It is also noteworthy that the *rashtra* is called a body. The organic nature of the state seems to be somewhat present to the mind of the Vedic Hindus.

6. The only symbolical ceremony which accompanied the Vedic election consisted in the function that the *Raja* after ascending the throne and sitting thereon, received from all the high functionaries of state there seated ('the *rajanah*') a symbolic armlet (mani—मणि) made of *palasa* wood. He puts it on and says: 'Let the *rajanah* *raja*krithah

indicate that the principle did not exist only in theory. The coronation described in the Ramayana as that of Rama has the sprinkling performed by Brahmanas, women, ministers, soldiers and guilds of merchants (Yuddha. 130, 62). As to the *abhisheka* of Rama as Crown Prince, the townships, the districts, the leaders of men, and the Brahmanas after holding a conference unanimously declare in favour and approval of the king's suggestion;

मन्त्राणां नमस्तुभ्यः दीरजातपयैः सह ।

उदीय नमसिमा तु समतां नमस्तुभ्यः ॥

Their reply takes the form: 'Consecrate him, we want (उत्थातः) him.

In the days when the Mahabharata was composed invitation to a coronation of 'all the respectable Shudras', also was deemed necessary (xxiii, 41; 42).

We read in the Mahavamsa (iv) that in Magadha, finding the descendants of Udayibhadra 'a race of paricides' 'the populace of the capital assembled and formally deposed Nagadasaka; and desirous of gratifying the whole nation they unanimously installed (Sam-abhisinchesu) in the sovereignty' Sisunaga. (Turnour, p. 15).

(the seated state officers), the Suta, the head of the village community (*gramani*) (and others; they all being mentioned in the honorific plural), and all the people around be seated in order by virtue of that *palasha* (mani).^{*} This little ceremony develops into a very interesting and important function in the sacerdotal age of the Brahmanas, which we shall have occasion to examine later.

Just before we take leave of the elected *rajan* it may be remarked that an officer under the same title is found presiding over the sessions of republican assemblies of the 6th century B.C.[†]

One is inclined to think that there were instances preserving the Vedic institution perhaps in its more original form.

THE RITUALISTIC AGE.

In the ritualistic age sacred formulae and rites for royal installation are formed and prescribed. And they were prescribed once for all. Since that time every Hindu sovereign crowned in India has observed them, for without them, according to the orthodox view of both law and rituals, no one could attain kingship. They are preserved with considerable detail in the Shruti literature.

In the Shrutis there are three ceremonies for consecrating heads of society. There is the first and foremost, the *Rajsuya* or the Inauguration of a King, there is, secondly, the *Vajapeya* used for consecrating a king or a high functionary as the royal priest, and thirdly there is the *Sarva-medha*, 'a sacrifice for universal rule.' The *Vajapeya* partakes of a political nature owing to its origin, it being primarily designed to celebrate something like an Olympic victory. It was later on adapted for royal and religious consecrations. The *Sarvamedha* is more or less an exceptional ceremony and perhaps a mere device to emphasise the territorial ideal of a "one-state" India.[†]

* Atharvabeda, III, 1, 5

दे दीवानो रवकाराः सर्वाराः दे सर्वोदितः ।

उपवीतुं पर्वं भजं तं सर्वान् जननिती जनान् ।

दे राजानो राजतः स्ताः शान्तस्य दे ।

उपवीतुं पर्वं भजं तं सर्वान् जननिती जनान् ।

† Rhys David's Buddhist India, p. 19.

* वाचायः उदयपर्वस्यैवात् सर्वोदितः वाचादायपर्वस्यैवात् उदयपर्वस्यैवात् वा उदयपर्वस्यैवात् । Aitareya Brahmana,

The normal ceremony of Coronation, however, was the *Rajasuya* :—

राजा एव राजसूयम् । राजा वै राजसूयेनेहा भवति.....

"To the king doubtless belongs the *Rajasuya*, for by offering the *Rajasuya* he becomes king...."

We shall here mainly discuss the rituals of the latter. In fact, they all have very many details in common.

The *Rajasuya* is comprised of three distinct parts: the first is a series of preliminary sacrifices, the second is the *Abhishechaniya*, the sprinkling or the anointing, and the third is a number of post-anointing ceremonies. Out of the three, the *Abhishechaniya* is the most important; and, perhaps, in practice the rites and formulas of it alone were considered indispensable.

One of the first things which strikes the students of the ceremony is the pronoun "he" by which the king-elect is studiously designated. It is only after the sprinkling-stage that he is called 'king'. That is, the ceremony only when complete, invested him with the royal office and powers, before that he is an ordinary citizen.

THE RATNA-HAVIS.

Among the preliminary offerings there are the eleven *ratna-havis* (the 'jewel'-offering) which he has to make to the eleven *Ratnins* or 'the jewels-holders' at their respective houses. The recipients of the *Ratna-havis* are: (1) the commander of the army, (2) the court-chaplain, (3) the King-elect himself in his prospective capacity, (4) the queen-elect in her prospective capacity, (5) the court minstrel and chronicler (the *Suta*), (6) the head of the village-corporation (*gramani*), (7) the chamberlain, (8) the master of the treasury, (9) the collector of revenue, (10) the superintendent of gambling,† (11) the keeper of forests (lit. destroyer of beasts) and (12) the courier.‡

The *ratnins* are a development of the

VIII, 4, 1. 'Empire should be extant up to natural frontiers; it should be territorially all-embracing, up to the very ends undivided, then should be one-state up to the seas in the land (country).'

* *Shatapatha Brahmana*, V, 1, 1, 12.

† Gambling being under state-control, the department had an individuality. It brought in revenue. But the prominence of the department is rather strange.

‡ *Shatapatha Brahmana*, V, 3, 1. Cf. also *Taittiriya Brahmana*, 1, 7, 3; S, 1, 8, 9.

Vedic bestowers of the *palasha-mani*. The latter were the 'state-makers' (राजकृतः) (the ministers), the *Suta*, the head of the village community, the builders of chariots and the skilful in metals, 'surrounded by the folk.' Now the *ratnins* are all high officers, the priest being added and the headman of the village alone representing the people. The change is due to the growth and differentiation of society. The popular element is narrowed down in the symbol of the village-headman but its importance is, retained, if not (enhanced, by the symbolic offering made to the *gramani*. The *Brahmanas* say the *gramani* stands for the people (*Vishah*, *vaishayah*). That being so, the King-elect would be regarded as almost worshipping the people before his consecration.

The offerings to the 'jewel-holders' is explained by the set phrase in each case, for it is for him that he is thereby consecrated and him he makes his faithful follower.' He treats with havi the headman of the village corporation because 'he assuredly is one of his jewels and it is for him that he is thereby consecrated, etc.'

Apparently the whole procedure symbolises the obtainment of the approval of the differentiated organs of government in his selection like the symbolic approval (the *Anumati*) of the Earth which he has already received.†

It also symbolises the respect which was due to the traditional offices from the crown; they are significantly called by the *Brahmanas* the 'jewels of sovereignty.' The enumeration of the queen among state institutions is also remarkable. In the *Vajapeya* the consort ascends the throne with the king-elect and the coronation scenes of the epics have the queen-elect by the side of the king-elect. Similarly offering havi at his own house only confirms that his is also in its nature an office like that of the other functionaries.

The idea underlying is altogether human; there is no divinity about the person or the

* राजाञ्चो यथायु परीक्ष्य मातन् हतक्रपाञ्च पुरोडाशं निष्कपति त्विषो वै भवती त्वैषो वै वामवीर्यवान् मावती भवत्येतादृशं यत्कृत्स्नं राजं वह्यं यामवीर्यवान् एवंतेन हवते तन् स जनपदमिषं कुर्वते—*Shatapatha*, V, 3, 1, 6.

† यथानुमत्याप्येतादृशमिषं पुरोडाशेन प्रवर्ततीयं वा अनुमतिः स हवत् कर्त्तव्यं यतोति कर्त्तव्यं वशिषीर्यतीत्यनु—*Ibid*, V, 2, 3, 4.

office of the sovereign. Then it may also be supposed, that the offices of the departments of the government existed independent of the sovereign; at any rate, they were not his creations but they were institutions which he found already existing. It reminds one of the precautionary and suspicious division of power in republican constitutions of the sixth and the fifth century B.C.*

Here amongst the Shruti 'jewels' the judicial officer is conspicuous by his absence. It was perhaps due to the fact that law was originally administered by a body of men which still bore the name of assembly but which, as a matter of fact, consisted of a few men in uneven numbers. This had its foundation in the orthodox theory that law was eternal and self-existent and it could be explained only by an assembly of learned men who, of course, acted without any remuneration. Such a body could not be regarded as a machinery of state administration.

"After the jewels he offers a pap to Soma and Rudra." That the great gods should come after the secular officers was unpalatable to theologians, and they, therefore, give a fanciful explanation by introducing a myth imposing that as offerings had been rendered to some unworthy of sacrifice, it was necessary to sacrifice to gods 'for enlightenment' (expiation).†

The *Abhishechniyam* or the sprinkling ceremony starts with sacrifices to a set of deities for instilling in the king-elect certain virtues necessary for his office. The Savita is prayed for energy, the family fire for family virtues, Soma for capacity to protect forests, Brihaspati for eloquence, Indra for ruling capacity, Rudra for power to protect the cattle, Mitra for truth, and lastly Varuna for the protection of law. Says the Shatapatha Brahman thereby:—

"Varuna the protector of law makes him the protector of law, and that truly is the supreme state when one is protector of the law, for whosoever attains to the supreme state to him they come in causes of law."

Here is a new theory of the monarchical days when the *Brahmanas* were written.

* The Lichchhavis had separated the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Judge from the head of the republic. Cf. the Jaina Acharanga Suttam, ii. 3, 1, 8, where among constitutions are mentioned the rule of the lot 'the rule of two' (ganā-rayani, do-rayani).

† Shatapatha V. 3.2.

The sacred formula only contemplates the protection of law as a necessary duty of the king, but the commentator takes it in the sense that one of the chief features of a full-fledged state must be that the law should be administered by the king ('for him they come in causes of law'). The old theory had been that the law of the community was administered by the community.

The new theory of the *Brahmans* was extended in the imperial days of the Mauryas, when salaried judges not only dispensed royal justice but also administered royal laws.

COLLECTION OF WATERS.

Waters are then collected from the sea and other reservoirs of the land, proclaiming in sacred formulas the name for whose anointing they were gathered. The waters are taken in each case with the poetic formula: "Self-ruling waters, ye are bestowers of kingship, bestow ye kingship on N. N."

In the description and details of the waters there is to be found a touch of rude but pathetic constitutionalism. Waters are brought from the Sarasvati of historic memories, from the mighty rivers of the land, from the great ocean. The sum total of the waters is also contributed by a humble pool of the country, which is also styled with the lofty address: "Pleasing ye are, Bestowers of kingship, bestow ye kingship on N. N." The comment upon the sacred address of the *Brahmana* is majestic and it is reserved only for the insignificant reservoir. "He thereby makes the people steady and faithful to him."*

A common pool of the country over which he was going to rule is made a sacred source of his sovereign powers. The gods have been invoked to endow the potential king with ruling virtues 'for national rule,' *जानराज्याय* 'for the ruling of the folk,' yet the rivers of the land, the waters of India are prayed as 'bestowers of State' to confer the actual status of kingship. Gods might give him virtues for 'national rule,' but they could not give the kingship of the land; it was the right of the waters in the land to do it. And they too when combined from the

* माता क राक्षस राक्ष नि दस काजा माता क राक्षस राक्षस-
सुखं इतेति तानिपिबिबिषति विव्र निराकाह एतन् आनरा ननप-
ननिषी करोति—*Shatapatha*, V, 3, 4, 14.

VESTING OF SOVEREIGNTY.

After three steps he ascends the wooden throne and he is addressed these three constitutional sentences:

इत्वं ते राट् । कुमादि वनवः । भुवोदि पदवः । कर्षत्वे
वेनावली एव्यं वा पोषवता । साधवेता ।

"To thee this State is given, thou art the ruler, the ruling lord, thou art firm and steadfast—to thee (this State is given) for agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for rearing, (that is) for the common weal."^{*}

The theological interpreter emphasises† that it is by the virtue of the above formula that sovereignty vests in the man. 'To thee this State is given' is naturally the most sacred text uttered at the Hindu coronation.

It bore such a mightily solemn consequence as the vesting of sovereignty in one man. The terse comment of the author of the *Brahmana* is immensely important in the history of the institution of kingship.

Then, it is this sacred act of delivering the trust that kingship depended upon, and not any other principle such as that of succession and inheritance or bequest. Such is the orthodox Hindu attitude.

The purpose for which 'the State is given' is defined, 'for culture, well-being, prosperity, rearing' and is generally summed up in the expression: 'for the weal.' It is not a gift; it is a trust, and a trust made sacred by the most sacred rites.‡

The conception armoured in sacredness is wholly human. The son of N. N. is made the king of the people N. N. He is not the son or lieutenant of any god. Nor is he appointed by any superhuman spirit. He is appointed by man, anointed by man. Gods are invoked to aid him, just as they are invoked for any other undertaking. But they do not confer 'the State', that being effected by the human act expressed in the words—'To thee the State is given.

evident by the existence of the indicative 'This, amī', the naming of the people or folk, and the homage when the Brahmana resigns his privilege in the person of the the king. (*vide sub* Homage). However considering the general attitude of the *Brahmana*, he can not be accused of dishonest attempt to place Brahmanas above the king of the people.

* Shatapatha V, 2, 1, 25.

† *Ibid.*

‡ The Shrutis texts are regarded as revealed ones.

CORONATION OATHS: Acceptance of the Trust.

The trust is accepted when immediately after 'the one who has taken the vow' takes his seat on the throne. What was this vow? We have not got it in the Shrutis literature. The reason of omission might be that either the vow was implied, or at the time when the Shatapatha Brahmana was written the introduction of the vow was too recent, and most likely associated with something not regarded with particular favour by the ritualistic school.* Whatever the reason, we have in evidence that the vow in the form of certain coronation oaths was expressed as a part and parcel of the coronation ceremony; and that they were more popular than sacerdotal. Through these oaths the king accepted and reciprocated the trust vested in him. Specimens of these oaths are preserved, as already observed, in the Mahabharata, in the form as they were administered by the priest. They are of Supreme legal and constitutional significance.

(a) "Do you swear from your heart, by word of mouth and in fact, 'I will see to the growth of the country, regarding it as the Deity and this ever and always.'

(b) 'I will act unhesitatingly according to the law as prevails here and in accordance with the policy of the Ethics of Government. I will never act arbitrarily.'

* It appears that there obtained a system of oath-taking amongst the little republics which had apparently grown out of the tribal assembly system of the Vedas. On the model of the government of the republics, certain corporate institutions were constituted in the country. The Buddhist brotherhood was copied by the Buddha (?) from the Lichchavi constitution. Trade guilds (*Shreni, Sangha*) were called little sovereignties, merchant companies were similar bodies. The Buddhist Sangha took a vow, the guilds and merchant companies had their vows (*उत्तमाधुपणा*, Artha Shastra II, 1.) These corporate bodies being descendants of republics, the feature of oath may be presumed in their parents: and the coronation oaths may have been substantially the same as those administered to the head of a republic. Indeed they bear distinct traces of higher ideal of social life than that generally seen under Hindu monarchs. The doctrine which regarded the country (*धी*) as God was surely different from that which treated the inhabitants of the country as mere children (*पुत्रा*).

* प्रतिज्ञावाचिरीयस्य मनसा कार्यवा निरा ।

पादविधानम् नीलं प्रहृष्टं च पादवत् ।

इदाम् धर्मा नीलोको ह्यसौ नीलवर्णवत् ।

मनामहः करिष्यामि स्वर्गं च स्वदायम् ।

To the royal oaths, the people pronounced Amen (एवमवुक्त्वा).

That these were the stereotyped forms at the time at least, of the compilation of the Mahabharata may be inferred from the fact that the portion embodying them is declared to be of the 'Shruti authority of the highest order (सुतिरेवा वरा) (LIX, 110), amongst men.'

It would be noticed that the passage also points to a popular origin ('amongst men').

To these two fundamental oaths there were added others to suit circumstances, as is evidenced by one appended to them in the Mahabharata, (Verse, 108) which stands out on account of its incongruous style and subject-matter.

'How originated the word *Raja* O Bharat, as it is generally used. Having hands and arms and neck like others, subject like others to the same kind of pain and pleasures.....in fact, similar to others regarding all the attributes of men, why does one man, *vis.*, the king, govern the rest of the world containing many brave and intelligent persons, (Shanti, LIX, 5-8)?'

This was the question put by Yudhisthira which elicited from Bhishma a history of Coronation Oaths.

"There must be some mighty reason for all this because it is seen that the whole world bows down to one man as if to a God."

The 'mighty reason' was explained by Bhishma with a professed historical account of the institution of Hindu monarchy. 'There was no monarchy and no monarch,' he related, in early times, and that then the people protected one another by law. As they thus lived, they found in time that mutual co-operation was not sufficiently powerful and law itself began to suffer. These men in consultation with gods decided to elect a monarch. The gods gave them Virajas who however refused to be king. His three successors followed as 'Lords,' the fourth one 'built an empire and became arbitrary.' Evidently they had not taken any oaths, coming, as they were, from gods to men. The fifth lord of divine origin, called Vena, proved to be quite 'unlawful' to the people, and he was deposed and executed. Thereupon now the men (the wise) elected a man called Prithu, a relation of the head of a frontier-tribe, the Nishadas. He promised faithfulness and the above oaths were administered to him. He was called the 'Pleaser' (Raja).

Such is an historical theory devised to explain the Hindu coronation oaths and the institution of Hindu monarchy.

An analysis of the oaths discloses the following position of the Hindu king.

1. That the trust in his hands—the tendency (lit. I will see to the growth', *पानविधानि*) of the country—is the foremost solemn obligation of the sovereign.

2. That the country put under his care is to be regarded by him nothing less than a god, which implies sincerity, respect and awe. The relation is far from being patriarchal or theocratic or aristocratic.

3. That he is expressly not arbitrary. He is bound by the law and the rules of political science. These two regulate his actions in internal administration and foreign relations. He is brought under the law. If he acts arbitrarily, he would be breaking faith with the people and his action would be illegal, for which the people who have installed him would depose him. In the Mahabharata the plea for the deposition and execution of the tyrant Vena was that he was unlawful (*vidharmi*); the 'formal' deposition of the predecessor of Sisunaga of Magadha was due to his murder of his father. King Palaka of the *Mrichchhakatika* was deposed because he had incarcerated the cowed Aryaka without the latter having committed any crime.

That the King is deemed to be subject to law is quite in keeping with the general attitude of the Hindu mind towards the majesty of law. 'Law is the king of kings, far more powerful and rigid than they; nothing can be mightier than law.' (*Vyavahara Darpana*). Hence constitutional laws were laid down in a special chapter in the *Smritis* called the law of the king (the *Rajadharma*). He is regarded so perfectly amenable to law that provisions for severely fining him find place in the law books.*

4. Such being the case his position by virtue of his vow would be strictly contractual. The consequence of the breach of the royal contract would have been considered as a legal sequence.†

* Cf. Manu, VIII, 336. He is, however, excused from corporeal punishment, as it could only be executed in the case of deposition, when the people assume the position of judge and chastiser in one.

† The account of the fall of the last Mauryan emperor has a curious expression. Brihadhratha was '*pratijna-durbala*' says Bana who drew upon some record now lost. The expression literally means 'weak in observing his vow'. The very word *pratijna* is used in the Mahabharata for the coronation oath. We know that Brihadhratha was a weak monarch; and,

Now we come to comparatively unimportant and less rigid

POST-Abhisheka CEREMONIES.

Symbolism of Judicial Supremacy.

The vow-holder steps down from the throne and puts on shoes of boar-skin, and takes a symbolically short drive in a chariot drawn by four horses. This seems to be the origin of the Hindu pageantry of the coronation procession, which assumes an oppressive gorgeousness in the age of the Ramayana.*

The King comes back immediately to the throne which he again ascends while the priest cries: 'Sit thee on the pleasant soft-seated throne!' Then follows an exceedingly queer procedure. The king's person is 'silently' touched with a rod which is the symbolic sceptre of justice, conveying by the action the view of the sacred common-law that the king was not above but under the law. The interpretation given of this is an amusing piece of euphemism. The commentator says that it is done to carry the king's person beyond 'judicial destruction.' (दण्डवत्).†

THE HOMAGE.

Amongst post-abhisheka ceremonies, the homage and its symbolical acknowledgment are the most important both from the ritualistic and constitutional points of view. The set formulas with fixed epithets and adjectives and their universal and uniform occurrence in the Shruti literature indicate sacerdotal rigidity and the consequent importance of the two functions.

The King seated on the throne is surrounded by the Ratnins sitting below the Brahmanas as an estate of the realm, the Brahmanas as priests, to the king and the nobles. But the homage of the estates has been preceded by the homage of the king to the Prithivi or the Earth, the Land.

इषिणि मातर्मा मा हि सीर्षिष्व'लजिति

'Mother Prithivi, injure me not, nor I thee.'

perhaps it is implied that he was removed for non-fulfilment of the obligation conveyed by the first oath as set above.

* Cf. the preparations for the procession at the consecration of Rama to the office of the crown prince.

† Shatapatha V, 4, 4, 7.

This is performed, says the interpreter, 'lest She should shake him off.'*

The homage to the King is first paid by the Brahmanas both as estate and as priests in the council of the Ratnins.

The prologue of the function is as crude as it is significant. To the address 'O Brahmana'—the reply forthcomes almost interrupting:

Thou art Brahmana (because) thou art Varuna† of true power. 'Thou art Brahmana, mighty through the strength of the people.'‡

Five times, to five individual Brahmanas and priests, the king tries to address by the privileged designation, and in all cases the title is resigned in the sovereign's favour, describing their reason in expressions pointing out the sovereign character or the representative character of the king as in the above quotations.

"A Brahmana or a priest then offers the sword"§ to the king 'the Increaser of Public Prosperity.'||

The sword thus received he passes on as symbol of authority to all of the State officers including the village-headman and demands their co-operation by what was thought a graceful employment of the words of fealty of the Brahmana 'Rule for me therewith,' (तेन मे रज्येति) in a different sense 'serve me therewith' (तेन मे रज्येति).¶ The command for co-operation is even directed to the *Sajata*, the individual member of the 'nation.'**

The new king does not stop here. He calls the ratnins as 'the true king.' Further, to impress that administration like a game of dice was not possible by a single man, he asks the *true kings* to a symbolical game of dice. The bet is a cow, brought for the occasion by an ordinary member of the community.

* Ibid, V, 4, 3, 20.

† Varuna in the vedic pantheon is the king of Gods.

‡ Shatapatha V, 4, 4, 10, 11.

§ Ibid 4, 4, 15.

|| Ibid 4, 4, 14.

¶ The puzzle in which the author of the Shatapatha (V, 4, 4, 15—19) lands himself arises for not realising the pun.

** Receiving costly presents in homage and making generous gifts in return which abnormally developed in Hindu India and which Mohamedan monarchs inherited therefrom is unknown to the rituals even in symbols.

Thus in this great game of governments which the king and his ministers were going to play, there was laid that sacred bet with its feminine helplessness provoking all the chivalry of the players. The bet was the wealth of the most humble member of the community. It was willingly and graciously offered by the humble citizen. It was placed at their mercy by a *Sajata*, 'one born together' with the players.

There is a constitutionalism put here in physical symbols; there is pathos intermingled in duty. The abstract has been thickly clad in the concrete.

Now the chief features of the ceremonies comprised in 'Hindu coronation' are before the reader. In modern language they may be summed up and expressed for the sake of clearness in a few sentences:

(a) The Hindu Kingship is a human institution.

(b) The Hindu Kingship is elective,* the electorate being the whole people.

(c) The Hindu Kingship is a contractual engagement.

(d) The Hindu Kingship is an office of

* In theory the hereditary principle appears in as much as a son of the King-elect once plays a little part in a minor ritual.

State, which has to work in Co-operation with other offices of State.

(e) The Hindu Kingship is a trust, the trust being the tending of the country to its material and moral* benefit and growth.

(f) The Hindu Kingship is expressly not arbitrary.

(g) The Hindu Kingship is not above the law but under it.

(h) The Hindu Kingship is primarily national and secondarily territorial.†

This constitutional conception is not undeserving of our philosophic forefathers. It appears that, after all, the Hindu race did not care all in all for the world-after. Here, in one instance, we see the Hindus of flesh and blood and of sinews and muscles. It is surely not the despicable picture which represents them as an unholy assemblage of spiritual imbeciles, the *ohermen* who were used to 'bow before the blast and plunge in thought again.'

* न की सो नो जगदीश जदो न जययो नामहितार्थनविज्ञान
की ही कीरवी हुतः।

† In my country there is no thief, no coward, no drunkard, no one uneducated etc.' Chhandogya VII, 5, 11.

† Cf. 'King of the people N.N.' and the collection of water and the homage to the Lord.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space.

We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

History of the Constitutional Movement in Japan.

In the December issue of the "Modern Review" appears the second article on the "History of the Constitutional Movement in Japan." There are again certain inaccuracies in this article which I deem it necessary to point out.

On page 555, column I, lines 19 to 28 run as follows:—"The Government seeing that the movement was every day gaining in strength and power tried to divert the current of public feeling by organising a military expedition to Formosa. But all these tactics were in vain, and in April 1874, the Government issued an Imperial Decree convening the assembly of Prefectural Governors as a first step towards the establishment of a National Parliament." The language of the above quotation clearly implies

that the Imperial Decree convening the assembly of Prefectural Governors was issued after the organisation of a military expedition to Formosa had failed in its real object, namely, that of diverting the current of public feeling from home politics. This is wrong, for the Imperial Decree convening the assembly of Prefectural Governors had been issued on the 14th of April, that is, several weeks before the military expedition to Formosa was organised. The latter expedition left the shore of Japan in the month of May when the assembly of Prefectural Governors had already been established. The establishment of the assembly of Prefectural Governors was a reform in the civil administration of the country and was no doubt chiefly due to the agitation carried on by the politicians of the *Risshisha* school. But the expedition to Formosa was a military affair and was mainly due to quite a different set of circumstances. When

Itagaki founded the *Risshisha*, which—at least as far as its open propaganda went—was a purely academic institution, another popular hero named Saigo Takamori simultaneously started a private school for military education in the province of *Satsuma*. This Saigo had sometime back been the Commander-in-chief of the Imperial army at Tokyo. Being dissatisfied with the policy of the Government on the Korean question he tendered his resignation with Itagaki and others in October, 1873. A few months later he started his military school at Kagoshima the capital of *Satsuma*. A number of branch institutions were started throughout the province and affiliated to this central one at Kagoshima. Thousands of patriotic young men from different parts of the empire flocked to these institutions for military training. These young men were not only given up-to-date military education but were also filled with hatred for the existing Government. Again in February 1874 an insurrection broke out in *Saga* which could be quelled only after much bloodshed. The Government got alarmed at these terrible war-like activities and it was to divert the attention of these military firebrands from home politics that an expedition was sent to Formosa in May 1874 under the command of Saigo Yōrimichi, a younger brother of Saigo Takamori. Of course the Government failed in its object and the famous Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 was the ultimate outcome of Saigo Takamori's activities. Yet it is strange that the writer of the article under review should have altogether ignored these important facts and thus missed the real causes which directly led to the establishment of the assembly of Prefectural Governors and to the Formosan expedition respectively.

Saigo Takamori was killed in the Satsuma Rebellion. Okubo Toshimichi was then in office. Some misguided fanatics of the Saigo school thought that Okubo had directly instigated the murder of the popular hero Saigo Takamori. It was this misapprehension which was the immediate cause of Okubo's murder to which reference has been made by the writer at the end of page 555 and which has only been partially explained in the beginning of page 556.

On page 556, column I, line 13 "and" ought to be "20th." In column II, line 14 "Okuma" ought to be "Okuma." An exactly similar mistake occurs in line 20. On page 557, column I, line 3 "Okumo" ought to be "Okuma." The above four mistakes may be due not to the writer but possibly to the devil without whom no paper can be conducted. However, I thought it necessary to point them out.

On page 557, column I, lines 17 and 18, that is item number (3) in the programme of the Liberal Party ought to be replaced by the following:—

(3) We shall strive to realize our objects by the united efforts of those of our fellow-countrymen who faithfully uphold these principles.

It appears that the writer has confused the programme of the Liberal Party as organised after the Imperial Decree of October 1881 with the programme of a different party bearing the same name which had existed since the Ōsaka Congress of March, 1880. Soon after the issuing of the said Imperial Decree a new strong Liberal Party was organised: the old party was amalgamated with it and a new party programme was issued on the 30th of October 1881. It is this newly organised liberal party and its programme that

the writer can correctly include in "the third stage" of his "History of the constitutional movement in Japan."

Further on in the programme of the Constitutional Progressive Party the writer has altogether omitted the sixth item which ran as follows:—

(6) We advocate a reform of the monetary system on the principle of the "hard money system."

Similarly in the programme of the Constitutional Imperialist Party items number (2) and (3) have been shortened and items number (8), (9) and (11) have been omitted. Item number (8) as given on page 557, column II, was really item number (10) of the party's programme. The omitted items ran as follows:—

(8) We maintain that naval and military men should be excluded from the politics of the country.

(9) We maintain that the holders of all judicial offices should be made independent of the executive with the complete development of the judicial system.

(11) We also maintain that the present inconvertible paper money should be changed into convertible paper money by a gradual reform of the monetary system.

I venture to say that the omission of the above few items was not necessary to keep the volume of the article within bounds and that their mention would have been more in the interest of accuracy.

On page 557, column II, lines 7 to 9 the writer asserts that "the real leader" of the Imperialist party was Ito, "though he did not openly profess to be its leader." I am altogether unable to find any grounds for the above assertion. Rather the following four reasons may be given against any such assumption:—

(1) The Imperialist Party was first organised on the 19th of March, 1882 and early in that month Ito had already left Japan for the West in order to study the constitutions of the different countries of Europe and America. Ito returned from his tour in September, 1883, while both the Progressive and the Imperialist Parties were dissolved during the months of September and October. Thus the period of the Imperialist Party's life-time was very nearly co-extensive with the period of Ito's absence from Japan.

(2) Numerically speaking this party was almost insignificant when compared with the other two. Its leaders were very unpopular among the people. One Mr. Fukuchi, the then editor of the "*Nichinichi Shimbun*" was one of its chief promoters and leaders. He was openly hated by the people and his paper was branded as "*Goyo Shimbun*," or "*Herald on Official Service*," because of its staunch allegiance to the Government. Prince Ito was all his life a popular hero and even those firebrands who could throw a bomb at Okuma's carriage never thought of attacking or accusing Ito.

(3) From the beginning it appears to have been the declared policy of Prince Ito not to associate with any particular political party. He all along tried to remain above party-questions. As a member of the governing body he was a staunch believer in the principle of "Ministerial Independence." Ito stuck to these views up to 1895 when new parliamentary experiences compelled him to abandon this aloofness. In that year as Minister President of Japan he openly formed an alliance with the liberal party.

(4) When Ito's views on the question of "Ministerial Independence" had undergone a complete change he began to deliver a series of lectures on the

be true, and many diseases can be prevented and cured by adopting vegetarian system of living.

According to the author Cancer is also a self-inflicted disease but it is preventable and curable. The food of the patient should, to a large extent, consist of uncooked fruits, nuts and vegetables and butcher's meat should be completely abstained from.

The book is profusely illustrated and its get-up is excellent.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus (No. 28 and 29), Vol. X—Parts 1 and 2. Purva-Mimansa Sūtras of Jaimini translated by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganatha Jha, D. Litt.; published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at Panini Office, Bahadurgunja Allahabad. Pp. 177. Annual subscription, Rs. 12-12-0. Foreign £ 1. Price of this copy Rs. 3.

The book contains :—

1. The Sanskrit Text of the sutras.
2. The meaning of every word in English.
3. An English Translation of the sutras.
4. An original commentary in English.

Very few persons are now conversant with the Purva-Mimansa and the Editor of the sacred books is to be congratulated on his being able to secure the services of Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganatha Jha in translating the book. Pandit Jha is one of the profoundest scholars and that he is the translator is a guarantee that it will be an excellent edition of the Purva-Mimansa.

The commentary given in the book is learned, original and valuable.

In this part the first Adhyaya and the first Pada of the second Adhyaya have been translated.

The get-up of the book is excellent.

GUJARATI.

Gujarati Kahevat Sangraha or a collection of Gujarati Proverbs, by Asharam Dalichand Shah, Printed at the Shri Satyanarayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 356. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1911).

"Proverbs," in the words of Bacon, "are the genius, wit and spirit of a native," and a collection of proverbs is therefore sure to be interesting and instructive. There have been two or three such small collections published ere now, but they were meant to assist school boys, and did not cover a wide range. So far as we know, the work was taken systematically in hand by a late Parsi millionaire, Mr. Jamshedji N. Petit, the result of whose labors was a magnificent collection of 12,285 proverbs and sayings, published in two large volumes, called *Kahevat Mala*, in 1898. The books are up-to-date in every respect, printing, indexing, &c., and prefaced with a highly practical and readable introduction by Mr. Jijibhai Pestanji Mistri, M.A., setting out and applying in detail, the different canons of proverb-literature, to the subject in hand. The proverb-wisdom of the world was also put side by side, in the shape of proverbs and sayings from many other languages, Indian and Foreign, for a comparison with their Gujarati parallels to show that the wisdom of the Gujaratis was in no way inferior to

that of other nations. The collection under review proceeds in other lines altogether. The great practicalism in life, the highly developed powers of observation, the intelligent grasp of all worldly subjects, and the retentive powers of the writer's brain, coupled with a wide outlook on all affairs, which are known to his friends and acquaintances, are here reflected very faithfully. They know that his luck on any subject is always illustrated with proverbs and stories picked up during a chequered career in Gujarat and Kathiawad, and the marshalling of these proverbs to illustrate the different topics of life, and the illustrative stories appended to them make interesting reading. There are several verses also printed towards the close of the book. Cognate in every way to the subject of proverbs, they also bear on the folklore of Kathiawar and are reminiscent of the days passed in that province by Mr. Asharam. In short even though the collection might fall short of the magnificent work of Petit, and hence of lesser value as a collection than that work, still its chatty light nature, and the arrangement of the sayings according to the subjects which they illustrate, along with the typical stories interspersed here and there makes the book excellent reading, and we felicitate the author on the way in which he is spending the leisure earned in the evening of his life, a way which is neither frivolous nor useless but of benefit to others.

Prospectus of the Kala Bhavan, Baroda. Pp. 72. Paper bound. (1911-12.)

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad's solicitude for Technical Education is too well known to need any dilution there on by us. The founder of this highly useful institution was Professor T. K. Gajjar of wide fame. It has for the last two decades been pursuing its even course, and turning out a number of passed pupils in the various branches in which tuition is given there. The present Principal is Mr. C. H. Vora who was educated in England. The book supplies all information, about Entrance Examination, fees, students' quarters, etc.

Bhagvad Dharma Marga Darshan,' by Bulakheram Nathuram Bhatt, Printed at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 92. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1911).

This is a treatise on a religious subject and shows by what stages Salvation (*Aksharaham*) could be reached. It treats of *Golok* and other *Loks*, the different passions, the different modes of *Yoga*, etc. The price is out of all proportion to the size or contents of the book.

Sudama Chantrya of Premanand. Text and annotations, by Mangalji Harjivan Osa, Second Assistant Master, Kathiawad Male Training College, Rajkot, Printed at the Lakshminivijaya Printing Press, Rajkot. Paper cover. Pp. 93. Price Re. 0-4-0 (1911).

These notes on this famous poem of Kavi Premananda are intended to be of use to students of the Fourth Standard in English Schools. On going through them, we find them likely to fulfil their purpose.

Siri Samayik Sutra, by Mohanlal Dulichand Desai, B.A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Bombay. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cardboard cover. Pp. 192. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1911).

The practical part of the Jaina religion is as full of rituals as any other religion, and the *samayik* ritual is the most general amongst the community. Mr. Desai has tried with the aid of the original Sanskrit *sutras* which have to be repeated in this ritual, to explain in simple Gujarati, the purpose and the *rationale* of each step in the performance of the ritual. A perusal of the book is sure to explain the significance of many parts of the ritual which on account of the ignorance of those who practise them, has come to be regarded as ridiculous absurdities. He has attempted to tear off this cover of absurdity and present them in their true light, and shown to what good purpose those who instituted them, meant them to be applied. It is a useful and readable book.

Sitar no Shokh by Bhogendralal Ratanlal Datta, B.A., Published by Somalal Mangaldas Shah, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 108. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1911).

To readers of Leo Tolstoy, his book called "The Scrutcher Sonata" is well known. This is an adaptation of that book, and as the first attempt to introduce Tolstoy to Gujarati readers it deserves every commendation. The adaptation is so skilfully made, that we hardly feel, that we are reading something borrowed from foreign literature. Not only is the spirit of the original preserved, but the language too is suitably simple. The question of marriage being a contract or a sacrament is now before the public in a prominent form on account of the Basu Bill, and a perusal of this work is sure to help the problem, as Tolstoy has treated it from all points of view, national, foreign and international.

K. M. J.

NOTES

"Civic and National Ideals."

All that Sister Nivedita possessed she has left for the education of "our women," as she loved to say. All the income derived from her writings is to be devoted according to her last wishes to the education of Indian women. Some of her writings have long been available in book form. Others are still in manuscript. Some, and they too are of great value, lie scattered in the pages of various newspapers and periodicals to which she contributed. These and her manuscripts, it has been decided to publish in a series of small handy volumes. We are glad to find that the first volume of the series is ready. It has been styled "Civic and National Ideals," and can be had at the *Udbodhan* Office, Baghbazar, Calcutta, at Re. 1 per copy. The contents are: The Civic Ideal, Civic Elements in Indian Life, The Modern Epoch and Nationality, Indian Unity, The Indian National Congress, The Principle of Nationality, The Function of Art in Shaping Nationality, The Message of Art, Indian Sculpture, Indian Painting, Shah Jahan Dreaming of the Taj, The Passing of Shah Jahan, and, The Sati.

Nationalism is a great spiritual force. It can succeed in doing unmixed good to humanity only if we can spiritualise it. To

this end, we know of no better means than writings like those of Sister Nivedita.

The Modification of the Partition.

Lord Curzon divided the administrative unit of Bengal in one way, it has now been divided in another. Lord Curzon's division displeased the majority of the Bengali-speaking population, the present division has pleased that majority, and has pleased the Beharis, too. The division which will soon be made is, therefore, far better than Lord Curzon's partition.

In our opinion it ought to please all Bengali-speaking persons *residing in the five divisions to be placed under a Governor-in-Council*. It has undoubtedly pleased Hindu Bengalis, it ought to please the Musalman Bengalis of West Bengal, for they had been openly demanding re-union with their brethren of East Bengal, and it ought not to dissatisfy the Musalman Bengalis of East Bengal. For Dacca will, under the new scheme, be one of the two capitals of Bengal, where the Governor will spend some time every year, and, taking both West and East Bengal together, the Musalmans will still be in a majority, as the following figures will show. According to the Census of 1901, in the five divisions now to be consti-

tuted a province, the Hindu population numbered 20,191,082 and the Musalman population 21,954,976; that is to say, the Musalmans were in a majority of 1,763,894. The majority must be greater now according to the present year's census.

Bringing together the motives ascribed to Lord Curzon for the partition of Bengal by his friends and critics, we may say that he wanted to make the administration more efficient, he wanted to break up the solidarity of the Bengali people, he wanted to satisfy the Musalman Bengalis, and he wanted to diminish the influence of the Bengali Hindus, by, among other means, placing them in a minority in both Bengals. That shows that when the "Times" says that the chief objects towards which Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal was directed have been fully safeguarded and the "Daily Mail" says that Lord Curzon's ends have been attained by slightly different means, their observations are not without a substratum of truth. This will be more evident when we take into consideration the removal of the capital to Delhi.

We have said above that the new partition ought to please all Bengali-speaking persons *residing in the five divisions to be placed under a Governor-in-Council*. We have used the words in italics advisedly. For the proposed partition will not satisfy all Bengalis, if certain Bengali-speaking areas which have hitherto formed parts of Bengal (West or East) be not placed under the Governor of Bengal. Let us consider their case.

Bengalis in Border Districts.

It is stated in the Bengal Census Report for 1901, p. 315, that

"in the portions of Purnea and Malda which lie to the east of the Mahananda river, the language in common use is Bengali, and not Hindi. South of the Ganges, in the Sonthal Parganas, Bengali is current, in the whole of the eastern and southern portions of the Sonthal Parganas, in the Dhalbhum Pargana of Singhbhum, in the greater part of Manbhum and in about half of the State of Scrakela. It also, according to the Census, projects to some distance into the district of Hazaribagh."

Now hitherto, though these places may have been included in North Bihar and Chota Nagpur, they were all under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Hence the Bengalis resident therein were not cut off

from their other Bengali brethren. For this reason, by a re-adjustment of boundaries, all these places should be placed under the Governor of Bengal.

Let us quote again from the same Census Report—

"The Oriya of North Balasore shows signs of being Begalised, and as we approach the boundary between that District and Midnapore, we find at length almost a new dialect. It is not, however, a true dialect. It is a mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali and of corrupt Oriya. A man will begin a sentence in Oriya, drop into Bengali in its middle, and go back to Oriya at its end. The vocabulary freely borrows from Bengali."

Added to this the character employed in writing it is usually the Bengali.

As this area, though included in Orissa, has hitherto been ruled by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the residents were not cut off from their brethren of Bengal. So here also a redistribution of areas is necessary.

Let us now turn our eyes to the north-eastern borders of Bengal proper. We find in the Report on the Census of Assam, 1901, that

"The two main indigenous languages of the Province are Bengali, which is spoken by 48 per cent. of the population, and Assamese, which has been returned by 22 per cent. Bengali is the common vernacular of the Surma Valley, where it is spoken by 61 per cent. of the inhabitants of the Cochar plains, and 92 per cent. of those in Sylhet. In Goalpara, too, it is the language of the people and has been returned by 69 per cent. of the persons censused there;....."

It will thus be found that these three districts are really parts of Bengal. It was only in 1874 that they were incorporated with the Chief Commissionership of Assam. Again, from 1905 they have formed one administrative unit with East Bengal. Now to sever their newly-revived political connection with their Bengali brethren would be felt by them as a just grievance. The Bengali-speaking districts were added to Assam to give the latter sufficient revenue for administrative purposes. This object may as well be gained by a subsidy from the Imperial Government until Assam proper is sufficiently developed to be able to meet her own expenses.

A Solid Bengali Province.

But whatever may happen with the border districts mentioned in the foregoing note, within the province to be henceforward administratively styled "Bengal," there is

going to be only one indigenous language prevalent throughout the country. One land, one language, one literature, one script and one law,—if under these five great unifying influences, Hindu and Musalman, Buddhist and Christian and Brahmo cannot live together like one people, as they really are, then they would prove that they are greater fools than any that exist on earth. As for our border brothers, they are also to march with us to a common goal, and we ought all to see that in all movements which have not to do with merely administrative details, we act together as one people.

Appearances may be against it, but it is our firm conviction that if ever the Hindu-Musalman problem be solved in India,—and solved it must be if we are to exist as a nation,—it will be solved first in Bengal.

Babu Syama Charan Ganguli wrote in our last November number :—

"The idea that community of language, with territorial contiguity or proximity, is the right basis of national unity, has created in Europe political aspirations which have brought about the unification of Italy and of Germany, and which, under the names of Pan-Germanism and Irredentism threaten to disturb the existing territorial distributions in that continent. Under the influence of these aspirations, the German-speaking portion of Austria-Hungary gravitates towards Germany, and the Italian Tyrol and Trieste, and also Corsica and Nice, though in a less pronounced way, gravitate towards Italy. Those Germans and Italians who are averse to such territorial changes being brought about by force of arms may yet cherish the hope that they will ultimately be brought about by the progress of liberal opinion and be based on plebiscites of the peoples concerned. The idea of community of language being a right basis of political federation has now gone even beyond the conditions of contiguity or proximity of territory. High-type men of English race in Europe, America, Australasia and South Africa have begun to look forward to the day when the English-speaking race all over the world would be politically *federated* together. When Lord Charles Beresford at a public meeting in America some years ago declared his belief in the ultimate union of the English-speaking world, the audience rose to their feet. The trend of the human mind now is thus towards a political union where there is already a moral union resting on unity of speech, this unity of speech facilitating interchange of ideas and sentiments just as diversity of speech bars it."

The greater portion of Bengal and the Bengali people having attained external union based on unity of speech, it is incumbent on the Bengalis to show by their inner unity of aim and method that they have deserved this great advantage.

The genesis of the administrative changes.

In the Government of India's Despatch to Lord Crewe on the administrative changes announced by the King-Emperor at Delhi, it is said :—

"A settlement to be satisfactory and conclusive must (1) provide convenient administrative units, (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Bengalis, (3) duly safeguard the interests of the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, and generally conciliate Mahomedan sentiment, and (4) be so clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation.

When under Lord Minto, Lord Morley's "Reform Scheme" was promulgated, strenuous efforts were made to prove that the "Scheme" was the outcome neither of Moderate agitation, nor of Extremist "violence," nor of the two acting together, but of political generosity bred in the liberal atmosphere of Simla. That is the correct Anglo-Indian tradition. There is no harm if the British Government yields to agitation, &c., and is admitted to have done so in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland or in the Colonies; but in India you must never have the consolation, never the stimulating conviction that your self-assertion is of any earthly use to you; it is always a favour that you receive. Hence the anxiety to "negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation."

But whatever the genesis of the changes, let us on this solemn occasion bow down in all humility before the throne of the Most High and pray to Him to teach us wherein lies true strength and the way to conserve it. Let us not forget, too, in the midst of our rejoicings, all who have suffered, directly or indirectly, on account of the partition and for undoing the partition.

"Bengalis" & "Musalmans."

Throughout Lord Hardinge's and Lord Crewe's Despatches, the Hindu Bengalis are spoken of as "Bengalis" and the Musalman Bengalis as "Musalmans". If the Musalmans of Turkey, Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan are spoken of as Turks, Arabs, Persians and Afghans, and not as mere "Musalmans," we do not see why the Musalmans of Bengal or of India as a whole should be called simply "Musalmans." Do

they possess no habitat, no country, no race, no nationality? Are they a nondescript people, belonging to no race or nation? Or is it that if they be spoken of as Musalman Indians or Bengalis, or Indian or Bengali Musalmans, the implication would be that there is some common ground between them and the Hindu Indians or Bengalis?

The new province of Bihar.

Though according to Dr. Grierson the language of Bihar is more closely allied to Bengali than to Hindi, there is no doubt that that province possesses a language of its own. Therefore, as Bengalis have claimed to have a separate administration of their own, Biharis are perfectly justified in demanding a similar status. The cry of "Bihar for the Biharis" has been heard for some time there. Young Bihar has been feeling that Bihar's connection with Bengal has been detrimental to the interests of the children of the soil. So for Bihar to have a separate Lieutenant-Governor has been quite in the natural course of things. That some leading Biharis are believed to have been opposed to the separation from Bengal, is a matter that concerns the Biharis, not the Bengalis. We are glad the Biharis have got what they wanted. We shall be delighted if this leads to better feelings between Biharis and Bengalis than has been the case for some time past. We know the separation of Bihar will lead in course of time to narrow the Bengalis' field of employment and acquisition of wealth; but it is the birthright of a man to obtain opportunities of labour in his own mother-area, not in any other area to the exclusion of the children of that area. Besides, talent wins in the long run. Do not Marwaris and Peshawaris and Kabulis make money in Bengal! Do not Bengalis make money in the Panjab, in Oudh and Agra? Do not Madrasis find employment in Bengal and all along the Bengal-Nagpur Railway line? Let there be no jealousies therefore.

We only wish and hope that Biharis will not rest satisfied with only a few Government posts and pleaderships and the self-complacency that the cheap tricks of shallow journalism and platform oratory breed, but will strive to achieve something worthy of the land where Buddha preached and Chandra Gupta and Asoka reigned.

Chota Nagpur.

Chota Nagpur contains a population speaking Bengali, Hindi, Oriya and some non-Aryan languages. Bihar has no claim to the Bengali-speaking areas. These should go to Bengal. The areas where the non-Aryan tongues prevail may go either to Bengal or Bihar, but as they are generally those where Hindi also prevails, Bihar seems to have a better claim to them than Bengal. The Hindi-speaking areas are, of course, Bihar's. Of the Oriya-speaking tracts, we shall speak under Orissa.

Orissa.

In Lord Hardinge's Despatch we read :—

The Oriyas, like the Beharis, have little in common with the Bengalis, and we propose to leave Orissa and the Sambalpur district with Behar and Chota Nagpur. We believe that this arrangement will accord with popular sentiment in Orissa and will be welcome to Behar as presenting a seaboard to that province.

But the question is, have the Oriyas more in common with the Biharis than with Bengalis? We presume not. We believe the facts point quite the other way. Orissa is nearer to Bengal than Bihar; along one region the southern boundary of Bengal is the same as the northern boundary of Orissa. But Bihar and Orissa nowhere meet. Every educated Oriya can also, we believe, speak and read Bengali. But the same cannot be said with regard to Hindi. From the days of the Bengali Vaishnav prophet Chaitanya, Orissa has been peculiarly a sacred land for the Bengalis, and there has been constant interchange of religious thought and influence between Orissa and Bengal. The Oriyas find employment in Bengal in large numbers, but not in Bihar. The Bengal-Nagpur Railway has made the two regions much more accessible to each other than before. All these facts show that there is a closer connection between Bihar and Orissa. But it is said that the proposed subordination to Bihar (for union with a more populous province cannot but result in practical subordination to it) will accord with popular sentiment in Orissa. We do not know. There is a proverb that the fish that escapes being caught is very big; meaning that the unattained and therefore the unfamiliar has a certain charm. So it may be that the Oriyas may hope to find in the Bihari a

more convenient yoke-fellow than he has found in the Bengali. Experience will show. In any case, we Bengalis ought not to show any predilection which may be construed to mean a desire to swallow up a backward region. Let the Oriyas judge for themselves. Let them consider whether contact and competition with Bengalis or with Biharis, is more calculated to bring out the best that is in them. But as it is something like Hobson's choice, it does not matter what they think; whether they like it or not, they will have to accept the proposed arrangement.

Again, it is said that Orissa "will be welcome to Behar as presenting a sea-board to that province." Undoubtedly. But this sea-board is equally welcome to Bengal, and whether Bihar took advantage of it or Bengal, the resulting benefit in either case would accrue to Orissa. One thing, however, we must not omit to mention. There is already a rumour in the air that the idea is to create on the sea-board of Orissa something like a rival sea-port to Calcutta. In the Despatch the influence of Calcutta and Bengal has been referred to several times in terms which do not exactly betoken high appreciation of that influence. So there may be something in the rumour.

There is another reason, a political one, why it may have been thought advisable to tack Orissa on to Bihar. As Musalman interests have to be safeguarded and the Musalmans to be conciliated, the majority in which they would find themselves in the newly constituted Bengal, must not be destroyed. But Orissa is a Hindu province, over 97 percent. of the population being Hindu and only a little less than 2.5 percent. being Muhammadan. So if it were to be tacked on to Bengal, Musalmans would find themselves in a minority.

A High Court for Bihar.

There is another rumour in the air, namely, that Bihar will claim and get a separate High Court for herself. Here again the Bengali should not say anything from the pecuniary point of view of the Bengali lawyers. We can and should only say this, that a High Court situated in Patna will be highly inconvenient for Orissa and the southern and eastern regions of Chota

Nagpur, being more distant from them than Calcutta, and that two small High Courts in Calcutta and Patna will not be such great bulwarks against injustice as one strong Court in Calcutta, and that Calcutta is quite as accessible from the greater portion of the new province of Bihar as Patna. As for the pecuniary point of view of Bengali lawyers,—well, if some of them can make money in the U. P. and the Central Provinces, some of them will be able to make money in Bihar, too. And whether they be so able or not, the first and natural claim on the wealth of Bihar belongs to the Bihari, not to any outsider.

The influence of Calcutta and Bengal.

Let us bring together passages from Lord Hardinge's Despatch in which the influence of Calcutta and Bengal is referred to.

"On the other hand the peculiar political situation which has arisen in Bengal since the Partition makes it eminently desirable to withdraw the Government of India from its present provincial environment;".....

"In the first place the development of the Legislative Council has made the withdrawal of the Supreme Council and the Government of India from the influence of local opinion a matter of ever-increasing urgency. Secondly, events in Bengal are apt to react on the Viceroy and the Government of India to whom the responsibility for them is often wrongly attributed. The connection is bad for the Government of India, bad for the Bengal Government and unfair to the other provinces, whose representatives view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. Further, public opinion in Calcutta is by no means always the same as that which obtains elsewhere in India, and it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to its influence."

"The Bengalis might not, of course, be favourably disposed to the proposal if it stood alone, for it will entail the loss of some of the influence which they now exercise owing to the fact that Calcutta is the headquarters of the Government of India. But as we hope presently to show, they should be reconciled to the change by other features of our scheme which are specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment. In these circumstances we do not think that they would be so manifestly unreasonable as to oppose it and, if they did, might confidently expect that their opposition would raise no echo in the rest of India."

It will be observed that the influence of Calcutta and Bengal is spoken of as something from which it is necessary to escape. Why, we are not told explicitly.

Let us consider the opinion expressed in the first extract given above. Why is it necessary for the Government of India to withdraw from its present provincial environ-

ment? Have the Bengalis become so turbulent, or vociferous or politically active that the Viceroy cannot think calmly and dispassionately in their midst? If so, vocal and strong public opinion must be everywhere a nuisance, and the capital of every country should be situated in a hermitage far away from the noisy haunts of men. Or is it that the ruler of Bengal requires to be given a free hand to deal with the situation so that the Bengalis may be made to know their place? Or does the influence of Bengal go to weaken bureaucratic and autocratic methods and traditions? Or are the Bengalis so bad that life for four months in the year nominally in their midst is harmful and unbearable? Of course, if the influence of Calcutta and Bengal be deleterious, it should be avoided. But if it be not worse than that of any other province, it is no condemnation to say that it is different from that of other regions.

Really we have not been able to understand why Bengal must be avoided. Calcutta and Bengal opinion is local opinion, provincial opinion; but every opinion, every influence, must be local, must be provincial. Suppose Bombay were the capital. Would its opinion have been universal opinion, or would its opinion have been simply *opinion* without a local habitation and a name? Would it not have been different in some respects from the opinion of other places? But, of course, if there be a place which has no opinion, that would perhaps be the ideal capital. Is Delhi that place? Then indeed has Lord Hardinge made a very happy selection.

But is it good either for the rulers or the ruled if the Government do not feel the pressure of any strong opinion? The reply will perhaps be that it is not good, followed by a rejoinder that at Delhi the Viceroy will really feel the opinions of all provinces conveyed to him by newspapers, memorials, &c. Well, if that be so, why could he not do so during his four months' stay in Calcutta and his eight months' stay in Simla? The answer may be that Calcutta opinion was too insistent and vocal to allow other provincial opinions to have a hearing. But have not recent enactments reduced all opinion to the level of emasculated journalism, the human voice of remonstrance or protest being seldom heard

either in Calcutta or elsewhere? And suppose in the near future Delhi and its neighborhood were to have a strong public opinion? Will there be in that case again a trek to some other somnolent city? Or is it possible to adopt means to prevent the growth of public opinion in any area?

It is said that the representatives of the other provinces view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. This is a very serious statement. In the first place, is Bengal really predominant? If so, is it the Government of India that has made her predominant? That cannot be; for the Bengali has long ceased to be in the good books of the Anglo-Indians. Has the Viceroy's four months' stay in Calcutta made Bengal predominant? Why then has not His Excellency's stay for twice that period in Simla made the province where Simla is situated twice as predominant? In the second place, is the Viceroy's connection with Calcutta really unfair to the other provinces? Can the capital be situated everywhere, or can it be situated nowhere? Delhi itself and its neighborhood will be an Imperial Province. In the third place, the representatives of other provinces are said to be jealous of Bengal. If they be, they are neither large-hearted nor wise. But we are not willing to believe that they are. For, we can understand the meaning of a jealousy which seeks to possess the advantages of its rival; but to seek to deprive another of an advantage (if it be an advantage) simply in order that all may be at an equal disadvantage, that is pure lunacy. However, as many things exist in this world which ought not to exist, let us suppose that this jealousy has existed. We should simply rejoice to be assured that now this feeling would vanish. The destruction of this interprovincial jealousy is worth any sacrifice. The removal of the capital from Calcutta is a low price to pay for the restoration of feelings of fraternal equality between province and province. Now that Bengal has been humiliated, now that the glory of Calcutta has departed for ever, let the jealous (if any) exult and begin to like Bengal, let them cease to repine and grumble.

Why Bengal and Calcutta are what they are.

Throughout the despatches of Lords

Hardinge and Crewe there seems to be an underlying assumption that Bengal and Calcutta are what they are mainly owing to Calcutta being the capital of India for four months in the year. We have no desire to dispute that assumption. We would simply state what in our opinion are the factors that have contributed to the making of Bengal and Calcutta. They are: natural situation and physical features, with their advantages and drawbacks; geological formation and character of the soil; character of the people, with its good features, and had progressive efforts of the people; pre-British history of the province; British rule; Western education; British commercial enterprise; and, the Viceroy's stay in Calcutta as the Capital of India for four months in the year. This rough enumeration (in which the different factors may not be mutually exclusive according to the rules of logical division) will show that after the transference of the Capital to Delhi, all the factors at work will remain except the last. If that last alone has been the making of Calcutta, the cessation of its operation will be her marring; otherwise not. The new situation has not yet given us a sleepless hour. It may be that our bliss is due to ignorance; in that case we do not want to be wise. Our feeling is that if any adventitious circumstances made Bengal influential (if influential she be), it is good for Bengal to have an opportunity to know both her own native weakness and strength. Nothing gives strength so much as a knowledge of the reality, and self-help.

"Subject exclusively to its influence."

Lord Hardinge says in his despatch that "it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to" Calcutta's "influence." But it is not a fact that the Government of India has ever been subject *exclusively* to Calcutta influence, even during its four months' stay in Calcutta. But supposing it was so during that period, what of the remaining eight months? Did the echoes of Calcutta opinion reach Simla in such loud tones as to drown the voice of the rest of India? If so, what will prevent Calcutta opinion from thundering at the gates of Delhi, which is nearer than Simla? We think

Lord Hardinge has unconsciously and unintentionally exaggerated the importance and persistence of Calcutta opinion and influence.

The Commerce of Calcutta.

Some are of opinion that owing to the removal of the Capital to Delhi, Calcutta's trade will suffer; whilst others hold that it will undergo no serious diminution, and that that diminution, if any, will be converted into an increase in the course of a few years owing to the natural development of her commerce. The commerce of Calcutta is in the hands of Europeans, and we are neither Europeans, nor men of business. So we are as little competent to discuss the question as the proverbial ginger-seller is to discuss shipping. But we remember that when the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was asked by Lord Curzon whether the Partition of Bengal with the creation of a Capital at Dacca would affect the trade of Calcutta, that body said that it would not be affected and we find that the effort to divert some part of Calcutta's traffic to Chittagong has not been successful. So it seems to us now that the establishment of the Capital at Delhi will not seriously tell on the business of Calcutta, though at first we were disposed to think otherwise. For the Ganges remains, the tides remain, British rule remains, British enterprise remains, the Bengali people and Bengali middlemen and Bengali clerks remain, the vegetable and mineral resources and products of Bengal and its neighborhood and of Assam, such as coal, jute, rice, tea, remain. So Calcutta may after all manage to exist.

Provincial Autonomy.

It is said that the removal of the Capital to Delhi is the precursor of provincial autonomy. We should like to know what is precisely meant by this provincial autonomy. If it means that the *people* of every province through an elected majority of their representatives are to have an effective and controlling voice in legislation and administration, then it is welcome. But if it means that there are to be only the present nominal non-official majorities, and the provincial rulers and the bureaucracy are to have a freer hand than before in the

Government of the provinces, then we do not see any cause for rejoicing.

The permanency of British Rule.

The Viceroy says in his Dispatch :—

"The change would strike the imagination of the people of India as nothing else could do, would send a wave of enthusiasm throughout the country, and would be accepted by all as the assertion of an unflinching determination to maintain British Rule in India."

The establishment of the Capital at Delhi has indeed been very popular all over India, except with some Europeans and Indians living in Calcutta and Bengal. It has caught our fancy, too. But we do not see how Delhi is going to signalise the British determination to rule India for ever any more than Calcutta did. Why, did the British ever falter in that determination? And is Delhi to be the symbol of lasting rule? Let *The Indian Witness*, a Christian European journal, reply.

His five years will soon be over and all his interest in India will vanish as a dream, but to him will belong the distinction of having chosen the historic grave of Indian Empire as the new capital of India. May all the omens prove false in this case. It is evident Lord Hardinge is not at all superstitious. The haunting, taunting echoes from old Delhi have not in any way daunted him; or, it may be that the voice of the centuries has yet to reach his ears.

The move of the Government of India was clever, it was brilliant, it was marvellously well stage-acted, but whether it was genuine statesmanship remains to be seen. It was a blow at the first city in India delivered between wind and water. The unrelieved cynicism of the Government of India despatch will be interesting reading to Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea's successors. He himself is wild with joy at the thought that he has brought to earth Lord Curzon's edifice, and it was a great achievement, but he has succeeded at enormous cost. It is, of course, nothing to him that the majority of the clerks in the Government of India offices are Bengalis, and that they have now to choose exile or give up service in the Government of India. But those who have to make the difficult choice will not thank Mr. Banerjea. And their sons will be supplanted in imperial service by the more hardy residents of Northern India. Lord Curzon is execrated as the man who treated Bengal with contempt and disdain. We wonder how the Bengalis of the future will enjoy reading :

"Events in Bengal are apt to re-act on the Viceroy and the Government of India to whom the responsibility for them is often wrongly attributed. The connection is bad for the Government of India, bad for the Bengal Government, and unfair to the other provinces, whose representation view with great and increasing jealousy the predominance of Bengal. Further, public opinion in Calcutta is by no means always the same as that which obtains else-

where in India, and it is undesirable that the Government of India should be subject exclusively to its influence."

The influence of Calcutta must be curtailed, is the only meaning of such an outburst. Lord Curzon tried to accomplish this result, and became the bogie-man of Bengal. Lord Hardinge is in a fair way to be idolized by some who think themselves to be statesmen because he is likely to succeed in doing what Lord Curzon tried and failed to accomplish. "Consistency thou art a jewel."

As we have already dealt with the question of the influence of Calcutta which our contemporary raises, we need not discuss it again. If Lord Hardinge really wanted to curtail Bengali influence, the future historian will say, "he builded better than he knew;" for an inert region will now be roused. As for the Bengali clerks, they will certainly prefer "exile" with full stomachs to "home" with pangs of hunger, as hundreds are doing in the U. P. and other regions. And the sons of these Imperial clerks will do well to seek other careers; already Bengali clerks had begun to be displaced by others. We do not think that God gave Bengalis the right to usurp clerkships in every province. Let Panjabis and Hindustanis have a taste of the joys and emoluments of clerkships; it is only proper that they should. We are never dissatisfied with what is a loss to us but is a gain to the inhabitants of some other province. We have just cause to be dissatisfied when the loss is a loss to all Indians, or when under the pretext of doing good to a section a blow is really aimed at national solidarity and popular advancement.

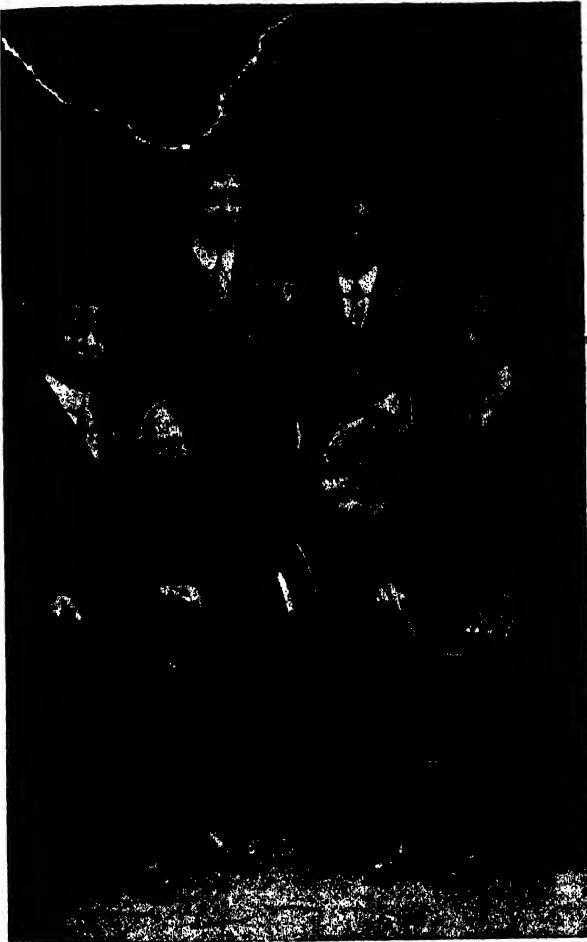
Durbar Boons.

Among the Durbar boons which will be appreciated is the grant of 50 lakhs for popular education. The amount is not large, considering the vast extent and population of India, but it will be a blessing if it foreshadows a policy of universal education.

Among the boons that have been missed are commissions for Indian soldiers, the grant of the right of volunteering to Indian citizens and the liberation of prisoners who have been guilty only of political offences.

The Indian National Congress as a Social Function.

One of the greatest Services that the Congress has rendered is the social



FOUR MALDAH STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

assemblage of distinguished men from distant provinces that it has brought about. This has promoted mutual knowledge and interchange of thoughts and feelings and the resultant friendship between men of distant parts. This is no mean advantage. Calcutta and Bengal must now value this advantage more than ever, as owing to the removal of the capital to Delhi, it will cease to be the regular yearly resort of many distinguished non-Bengalis.

Both self-laudation and self-condemnation are apt to be exaggerated. But we think we shall not be wrong in saying that there is some insularity, some provincial narrowness, some parochialism in the Bengali

character;—and it would be no defence or justification to assert that the same defect characterises others, too. *Our* duty is to combat this failing by every means in our power. And henceforth we should be more wide-awake in this respect than ever. Travel, knowledge of other vernaculars, the discussion in our journals of non-Bengali questions, widening the circle of friendship beyond the bounds of our province, are some of these means.

Maldah students in America.

For the first time in the history of Maldah, four students have gone to America for education at Wisconsin State University. Their names (from the left of the illustration) are Rajendra Narayan Chaudhuri, Khagen-dra Narayan Mitra, Nabin Chandra Das, Banerwar Das. They will study chemistry, pharmacy, agriculture, and engineering respectively. They received their education in the Bengal National College and were working as teachers in different National Schools. The late Babu Radhes Chandra Seth and Babus Bipin Bihari

Ghosh and Krishna Lal Chaudhuri were the prime movers in sending them abroad. They will be under the supervision of the Association for the Advancement of the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians.

Persia.

It is said that Persia has acceded to all the demands of Russia, and also that after a fight at Tabriz Russia has occupied all the Government offices and the Telegraph office. "The Times" has expressed the opinion that the independence of Persia is not worth the loss of a single English Grenadier. "The Times" forgets that it is published for the same nation to which

belonged Lord Byron, who fought for Greek independence, and the volunteers who joined Garibaldi to fight for Italian independence. But the cynic may say that *The Times* thinks that England had no interest in Greece or Italy and the Greeks and Italians are Christians and Europeans. However, it is a matter of great sorrow that the Anglo-Russian convention is perhaps going to be the precursor of the extinction of Persia as an independent country.

A Student trained in America.

We have received the following for publication:—

"Mr. Satyasan Sinha, a native of Calcutta, and a scholar of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of the Indians, was given the degree of Bachelor of science in Agriculture in June, 1911, by the University of Illinois. During one Semester of the last year of his attendance at the



SATYASARAN SINHA.

University of Illinois, he was registered in the Graduate school where he took a special course of research as a graduate student. He has specialized in Agronomy and has completed a thesis upon the subject of Maize Breeding. He took honors in several subjects in his examinations that he appeared at the Ontario Agri-

cultural College, which is the largest agricultural college in the British Empire."

Pandit Bishan Narain Dar's Presidential Address.

The address delivered by Pandit Bishan Narain Dar as President of the Twenty-sixth Indian National Congress is able and trenchant and is lucidly and vigorously expressed. In it he refers to, describes, recounts or discusses, as the case may be, the following topics and questions: India's losses, Lord Hardinge and the Congress. The Royal visit and the Durbar, Annulment of the partition, The change of capital, New Lieutenant-Governorship and Executive Council. Other Durbar boons such as the education grant, British achievements in India, The attitude of the Bureaucracy, Council Regulations, Communal Representation in Local Bodies, the Public Service Question, Hindu and Muslim Universities, the Elementary Education Bill, and other questions, such as the status of Indians in British colonies, the separation of executive and judicial functions and Police reform. His conclusion is sober yet enthusiastic. From it we make the following extract.

Enthusiasm is good, and idealism is good, and even crying for the moon is sometimes good; and I for one sympathise with those who are called visionaries and dreamers, for I know that in every active and reforming body there is always an extreme wing that is not without its uses in great human movements. I know that moderation sometimes means indifference and caution timidity, and I hold that India needs bold and enthusiastic characters—not men of pale hopes and middling expectations, but courageous natures, fanatics in the cause of their country—

"Whose breath is agitation,

And whose life a storm whereon they ride."

But enthusiasm and idealism cannot achieve impossibilities. Human nature is conservative and national progress is slow of foot. First the blade, then the ear, and after that the corn in the ear—this is the law of nature. Self-government, such as obtains in British colonies, is a noble ideal, and we are perfectly justified in keeping that before our eyes; but is it attainable to-day or to-morrow or even in the lifetime of the present generation? Consider where we stand in the scale of civilisation, when we have only 4 women and 18 men per thousand who are literate; when there are millions of our countrymen whom we look upon as "untouchables"; when we have about a hundred thousand widows of less than five years, and caste rules still forbid sea-voyage, and Mr. Basu's Special Marriage Bill is condemned as a dangerous innovation; when many Hindus do not sufficiently realise the fact that there are 65 million Mahomedans whose interests and feelings have to be cared

for and the Mahomedans are equally oblivious of the interests and feelings of 240 million Hindus—when this is the condition to which we have been brought by centuries of decay and degradation, to talk of a national government for India to-day is to make ourselves the laughing-stock of the civilised world. Agitate for political rights by all means, but do not forget that the true salvation of India lies in the amelioration of its social and moral conditions.

He has discussed in detail and with acuteness and frankness, the attitude of the bureaucracy, the council regulations, communal representation in local bodies and and the Public Service question. He has very correctly diagnosed that "The greatest wound in the heart of India was the partition of Bengal," and has in his own words and in those of Lord Hardinge enumerated the various evil results of this measure. He has truly said that "the cause of Bengal is the cause of all India and its triumph marks the triumph of the claims of justice over those of prestige."

"Bengal waged a brave struggle against a great army, and it has won a great victory. The victory is due to the justice and righteousness of our rulers, but it is also due to the heroic courage and self-sacrifice of those selfless and patriotic leaders who through all the storm that raged round them and the clouds of sorrow and suffering that darkened their path,

"Saw the distant gates of Eden gleam
And did not dream it was a dream."

Regarding the change of capital he says:—

"Calcutta will not lose its importance, for that lies in the wealth, culture and public spirit of its people who will retain their eminent position in future as befits their remarkable qualities, while a new life will spring up in the ancient and historic city of Delhi."

"Gentlemen, in mental and moral endowments the people of Upper India are not inferior to the people of any other Indian province; but the social and political conditions obtaining there have in a great measure tended to obstruct their progress, and some years will elapse before we can expect to see that public life there which we see in our Presidency towns. For some years, undoubtedly, the new capital will not be able to show that political activity for which Calcutta is justly famous, and its public opinion cannot perhaps carry anything like the same weight; but when it becomes the seat of the Supreme Government, and new institutions arise there, as in course of time they must, and men from the four quarters of the globe are drawn to it for business or pleasure, and it becomes the theatre of important political actions, a new spirit will arise among its inhabitants, which spreading beyond its limits will carry its contagion to the Punjab on the one side and the United Provinces on the other, and may, as the years roll by, be expected to send a vivifying thrill through the veins of the feudal system of the Indian States. A great future lies before Delhi, and through her influence, before the whole of Upper India, and

it is my firm belief that the cause of Indian nationalism which owes so much to the people of Bengal, will gain, not lose, by the establishment of conditions under which the Hindustanis and the Punjabis will be induced to shake off their sloth and enter with zest and vigour in the larger, wider, and more stirring life of the new times."

In our hope and imagination we joyfully share this vision of Mr. Dar, and wish that in times to come Delhi may never be sought to be deserted because of her public spirit, opinion and influence.

In the new lieutenant-governorship and executive council, he detects a happy augury for the grant of Executive Councils to the U. P. and Panjab, of a lieutenant-governor and council to the Central Provinces, and possibly of a Governor from England to the U. P., which is now going to be the largest province in India.

The address is long but not tedious. It will be read with interest and pleasure. There is no dull passage in it. It is informing throughout. We could have quoted many passages with advantage and had marked many; but time presses and limits of space stand in the way. Nor can we criticise some of the passages that we think call for discussion. Having said this much in praise of the address, we may be allowed to advert to some of its defects. It resembles a number of newspaper articles and paragraphs brought together in the form of a discourse; there is no common note, no underlying principle, running as a thread through all or most of them, no great idea pervading the whole of it to give it an organic unity. The second defect is that Mr. Dar has nothing to say regarding Indian economical and industrial problems. When we say this we do not demand that he should have usurped the functions of the president of the Industrial Conference. We only mean that the political aspects of the economical and industrial problems ought to be dwelt upon by the President of the Congress,—the more so as sometimes the President of the Industrial Conference cannot discuss these aspects freely. Without economic improvement our political enfranchisement is a dream. Hunger and ignorance are the greatest allies, of those who would like to see India for ever politically backward.

Connected with the Indian economical problems, is the question of the high prices of articles of food and the poverty of the masses, on which Mr. Dar has not had anything to say. Nor has he said anything on the terrible destruction of human lives by plague and famine. The question of sanitation has not come in for any share of his attention. We know a Presidential address is not an encyclopaedia; but as he has dealt with some questions of less moment, he should not have omitted these questions of vital concern to the people. The next defect is that Mr. Dar's address is for the most part critical; there is no constructive programme in it for the people, or even for the Government. What can we do ourselves? That is a question that we ought to ask and answer, and act accordingly. There is another thing that we ought to bestow serious thought upon. How can we really become one people? We who are called educated, we who are comparatively well-clad, often fashionably clothed, we who do not feel the pinch of hunger so sharply as our less fortunate sisters and brethren, we who wish to do good to them, uplift them, as the phrase goes,—how can we touch a responsive chord in their hearts, how can we make them accept us as their very own, how can we destroy our own conceit of superior education or gentility or good clothes, how can we destroy our aloofness? We do not want to stoop from the heights to help those below; we do not want even to seem to stoop. We want to stand shoulder to shoulder with them. Should not the president of a *National Congress* feel called upon to speak on some such topic? For *our* nation dwells in huts and hovels, and our message should reach these humble abodes of the lowly.

China.

The conference at Shanghai between the Imperialists and the Revolutionaries is still going on. Yuan-shi-Kai is sticking out for a constitutional monarchy, and the "rebels" for a republic. It is said that Yuan-shi-Kai may after all agree to become the first president of a federal republic.

Indians in Canada.

The Canadian Government has decided to permit the immigration of the wives and families of Indians, mostly Sikhs, who have settled to the number of four thousand in Western Canada.

We thank the Canadian Government for this concession to justice.

A Commission will be sent to the West to investigate the conditions and report to the Minister of the Interior before any relaxation of the continuous passage regulations is considered.

These continuous passage regulations are not only a hardship to Indian immigrants, but they are somewhat dishonest, there being no continuous steam navigation at present between India and Canada, and therefore they are unworthy of a great colony like Canada. They ought to be done away with.

Mr. S. P. Sinha on the Future of India.

According to a report published in *India*, the following passed between Mr. S. P. Sinha and an interviewer of the *Manchester Guardian*.

"Upon the whole it would be correct to say you are in favour of self-government?"

"That is somewhat vaguely put. I am decidedly in favour of my people being allowed an increasing share in the government of their own country—i.e., in co-operation and collaboration with the British Government. But I cannot conceive the idea of India governing herself, without the British being there as the paramount power—that is to say, within any time that I can foresee."

John Bright on India's Future.

In the course of an article on "The Centenary of John Bright" *India* writes:—

As regards the future of India, Bright surveyed it with that "clear gaze and good conscience" which Lord Morley bade King Edward reserve for a review of the labours of the past. Referring at a great public meeting in Manchester on December 11, 1877, to his scheme for the abolition of a central government and the substitution for it of five or six separate and independent Presidency administrations, he said:—

And thus, if the time should come—and it will come—I agree with Lord Lawrence that no man who examines the question can doubt that some time it must come—when the power of England, from some cause or other, is withdrawn from India, then each of these States would be able to sustain itself as compact as a self-governing community. You would have five or six States there, as you have five or six great States in Europe; but that would be a thousand times better than our being withdrawn from it now, when there is no coherence amongst those twenty nations.

"I believe," he continued, "that it is our duty not only to govern India well now for our own sakes and to satisfy our own consciences, but so to arrange its government and so to administer it that we should look forward to the time—which may be distant but may not be remote—when India will have to take up her own government and administer it in her own fashion." These sentiments were not so common in 1877 as they have since become. But they are based on the eternal and unchanging law of evolution; and it is beyond the power of the reactionary to interpose more than a temporary obstacle.

The Indian National Congress.

The Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress began its work on the 26th December last in a simply and tastefully decorated large pandal in Greer Square. The attendance was large, but not as large as was expected, as the long rows of empty benches in the visitors' galleries sadly testified. This shows that for some reason or other, which should be discovered, people have lost some of their enthusiasm for the Congress. This is greatly to be regretted; for, in the words of Babu

Bhupendranath Basu's stately address of welcome to the delegates, "there is no other institution in India which will help us to attain this end, to realise this ideal of an Indian nationality." Therefore strenuous efforts should be made to revive enthusiasm and enlist popular co-operation, by regularising its constitution, improving its methods of work, giving a new and constructive turn to its work, or by such other means as may be deemed necessary.

Babu Bhupendranath Basu's Address.

The greater portion of Babu Bhupendranath Basu's address of welcome was a beautifully worded and substantial production, with passages here and there full of fine feeling. The most important parts were those in which he described the aims, ideals and work of the Congress, showed that the expanded legislative councils could not render and had not rendered the Congress a superfluity, and proved that in spite of their various differences the people of India were a nascent nation and would become a fully-developed and organised nation in the future.

"I almost seem to hear," he said, "the inaudible and noiseless steps of time marching over the debris of jarring creeds and mouldering memories of war and feud on to the goal of our hopes and aspirations—a united Indian Nation. I see the shooting gleams of the rising sun and I feel that the soul of India, silent so long, will yet burst into music like the fabled Theban statue charming the world with its solemn and sacred symphony."

He said that, owing to the transfer of the capital to Delhi, he was "aware that blank despair has spread in many of our humble homes"; but we are not aware of any such thing, though it may have done so, as he thought, "in the palaces of the rich," who are owners of houses and land in Calcutta,



THE HON. BABU BHUPENDRANATH BASU.

But that also, we think, is due to exaggerated panic. But we agree with him when he says that even though there be loss

Let us have faith in ourselves, in our destiny and above all in Him who has heard our prayer and "who stills the raven's clamorous nest and decks the lily fair in flowery pride."

And such as Bengal will be, "cabinined, cribbed, confined," she will still be our inspiration, our faith and our love "fairer to us than the evening air, clad in the beauty of a thousand stars."

But ours will not be the only loss: the isolation of the Government of India apart from any centre of public opinion, surrounded only by pomp and ceremony, will be a loss to all India. It will not conduce to the strength or popularity of the Government, which

will come to be regarded as a secret conclave working in a new sextine chapel screened by long-stretching partitions of time and space and issuing its edicts through the cold pages of lifeless official publications.

But as the whole of India outside Bengal seems to hail Delhi as the new capital with unmixed pleasure, it is not for the Bengalis to lay stress on this "loss to all India." Let us hope that it is only a temporary loss, and that the presence of the Viceroy in their midst will galvanise Delhi and Upper India generally into new life and activity.

And that will be a consummation as welcome to Bengal as to any other part of India.



KARTIKEYA OR THE WAR-GOD.
From a water-color by the Late Surendranath Ganguly.

Two colour blocks by U. Ray and Sons.

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

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SHELLEY'S PERSONALITY

BY THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS, DELHI.

WHEN Shelley's private life is mentioned, most frequently it happens that the only things remembered about him are that he was sent down from Oxford for preaching atheism, and that he set the marriage law of England flagrantly at defiance. No one perhaps has suffered more from his own recklessness than Shelley. That there was very much in his conduct which cannot be extenuated is true, but it is equally true that in spite of his failures he was one of the noblest and most unselfish of men. It is to vindicate this side of his character that the present article is written; for Shelley, among all the English poets, comes nearest to the Indian mind in his intellectual idealism and his supreme imaginative power. It would be a distinct loss to India in her awakening if his character were misunderstood. He has also, as the prophet of a great revolution period, a distinct message for India in the revolution of thoughts and ideas which she is now experiencing. His poetry is too lofty, his ideals are too noble, for him to suffer under the lurking suspicion that his private life did not correspond with his public utterance.

Fortunately we have abundant contemporary testimony with regard to Shelley's habits and manner of living. The most vivid sketches have been handed down to us by men famous in literature and by his own personal friends. From these a fairly complete picture may be drawn of this

strange and fascinating character scarcely more earthly in many of his ways than his own sky-lark, of which he wrote—

"Higher still and higher

From the earth thou springest

Like a cloud of fire!

The blue deep thou wingest

And singing still dost soar and soaring
ever singest."

Professor J. A. Symonds, when starting to write a criticism of Shelley the poet, declares that he found it necessary to give his work the narrative rather than the essay form. For Shelley acted out what he thought and felt with a directness so unique, that his life was the key to his poetry itself. Great as was his poetic power, his life in spite of its terrible lapses was somehow greater still.

Never in all literary history did a stranger anomaly appear than the birth of Shelley in the home of a rich and worldly Tory Sussex squire towards the latter end of the eighteenth century in England. Both parents of the poet were common-place people, conventional English gentle-folk, with all the vast prejudices, the low ideals, the ingrained bigotry, that marked the period. One is reminded of the story of the ugly duckling appearing in the mother hen's brood, only here it is no ugly duckling but—

"A pard-like Spirit, beautiful and swift,
A Love in desolation masked,—a Power
Girt round with weakness."

as Shelley describes himself in one of his most pathetic passages of self-revelation.

But my object in this brief picture of the poet is not to tell the whole story of his life. It is rather, by means of illustrations from contemporary writers, to set forth his personality. Here is one illuminating description of his Oxford days :—

"His complexion was delicate and almost feminine and of the purest red and white. His features were unusually small and refined: his hair was long, and in fits of absence, and in the agonies (if I may use the word) of anxious thought, he often rubbed it fiercely with his hands, or passed his fingers quickly through his locks unconsciously, so that it was singularly wild and rough. His features were not symmetrical (the mouth perhaps excepted) yet the effect of the whole was extremely powerful. They breathed an animation, a fire, an enthusiasm, a vivid and preternatural intelligence that I never met with in any other countenance. Nor was the moral expression less beautiful than the intellectual; for there was a softness, a delicacy, a grace, a gentleness and especially (though this will surprise many) that air of profound religious veneration, that characterised the best paintings of the great Masters of Florence and Rome.....I never beheld eyes that devoured the pages of books more voraciously than his, nor can the tongue express the emotion that agitated him, when he approached for the first time a volume which he believed to be replete with the mystic philosophy of antiquity: his cheeks glowed, his whole frame trembled and his entire attention was immediately swallowed up in contemplation..... Often, in the evenings he would lie stretched upon the rug before a large fire, like a cat, and his head was exposed to such a fierce heat that I used to wonder how he could bear it. Sometimes I have interposed some shelter, but rarely with any permanent effect, for the sleeper usually contrived to turn himself and roll again into the spot where the fire glowed the brightest. He would lie buried in oblivion until ten o'clock, when he would suddenly start up, and rubbing his eyes with great violence and passing his fingers swiftly through his hair would begin to recite verses, either of his own composition or from the works of others, with a

rapidity and energy that were often quite painful....."

Such is the drawing of his character while he was at Oxford. It needs only to be added that as he grew older he spent less and less on his own personal needs. His dress became no less simple than his food. His favourite diet consisted of pulse or bread, which he ate dry, with a draught of water to end his frugal meal. When away from town he would always go out bare-headed, his wild hair tossed about by the wind. Heat and cold at their greatest intensity seemed to invigorate him most. He would sit, hatless, in Italy on the roof of his villa under a scorching sun, delighting in the fierce heat which poured down upon him. Equally he revelled in bathing in ice-cold water. The very extremes of temperature seemed to be the natural elements of his strange spirit. He seemed also to be quite unconscious, when the poetic mood seized him, of time, place, persons, seasons. He would fall into some poetic dream and remain to all outward sense unconscious for hours at a time and then wake up and write fast and furiously.

Soon after leaving Oxford, the disaster of his first marriage to Harriet Westbrook, the daughter of a coffee-house keeper, occurred. A letter published by W. M. Rossetti proves beyond any doubt that he was shamefully inveigled into it by the whole intriguing family. But this is not the place to go into the sordid story which ended with his repudiation of the marriage tie and Harriet's own suicide two years later. Volumes have been written about the rights and wrong of this painful chapter in his life. There can be little question that Shelley erred,—erred grievously, in his reckless impatience to be freed from an intolerable burden; but at the same time there is very much to show that in the whole shameful affair he was "more sinned against than sinning."

During this London period of his life we have a second wonderfully graphic picture by the essayist, Leigh Hunt,—a friend, who stood by him during all the calumnies that were brought against him and was with him almost at the end. He writes about his daily habits as follows :—"Shelley rose early in the morning, walked and read before breakfast, took that meal sparingly,

wrote and studied during the morning, walked and read again, dined on vegetables (for he took no meat or wine), conversed with his friends and usually finished the day with reading to his wife. His charity though liberal was not weak: He enquired personally into the circumstances of his petitioners, visited the sick in their beds... and kept a regular list of the industrious poor, whom he assisted with small sums to make up their accounts." An acute attack of ophthalmia, from which he twice suffered, was caught during his constant visits to the filthy homes of the London poor. Leigh Hunt himself tells the story, how he once found a poor woman ill and helpless on Hampstead Heath and carried her in his arms till he was ready to drop down with exhaustion and at last brought her to Leigh Hunt's own house in Hampstead to be tenderly cared for till she recovered. His generosity went so far that he was himself frequently in need of money. All his income, with the exception of the barest provision for his own wants, was spent on others. Himself the heir of the richest baronet in the whole of Sussex, he illustrated in practice the principles of equality and fraternity which were the refrain of so many of his poems.

A word may be added at this point with regard to his reputed 'atheism.' No charge could be more false, when Shelley's writings and life are regarded as a whole. Leigh Hunt says of him, "His want of faith in the *letter* and his exceeding faith in the *spirit* of Christianity formed a comment, the one on the other,—very formidable to those who choose to forget what Scripture itself observes on that point." His real hostility was not with religion, but against that ecclesiasticism and spiritual tyranny over conscience which he saw clothed in the dress of religion in his own generation. He had a profound reverence for the Person of Christ Himself, and entered deeply into the spirit of His teaching, as his act in helping the poor sick woman showed. Few deeds could come nearer to that of the Good Samaritan whom Christ pictured as His own ideal of charity.

Shelley's faith in a future life and personal immortality after death may be seen in the greatest of all English Elegies, *Adonais*.

There, after speaking of his dead brother poet—

"He is made one with Nature : there is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet
bird..."

He is a portion of the loveliness
Which once he made more lovely : he
doth bear

His part, while the One Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world."

Shelley is unsatisfied with the mere thought of the absorption of the human spirit into primæval nature forces. In the stanzas following he speaks of the indestructibility of the soul of man and its personal identity beyond the grave:—

"The splendours of the firmament of time
May be eclipsed, but are extinguished not.
Like stars to their appointed height they
climb,

And death is a low mist which cannot blot
The brightness it may veil, when lofty
thought

Lifts a young heart above its mortal lair
And love and life contend in it, for what
Shall be its earthly doom, the dead live

there,
And move like winds of light on dark and
stormy air."

He goes on to describe how the mighty dead, the singers of unfulfilled renown, rose from their thrones to greet the new poet at his coming among them,—

"Thou art become as one of us" they cry
'It was for thee yon kingless sphere has long
'Swung blind in unascended majesty
'Silent above, amid a heaven of song,

Assume thy winged throne, thou Vesper of
our throng!"

If it be argued that this after all is poetic imagery, magnificent but vague, we may turn to the conclusion of '*The Sensitive Plant*' where Shelley gives us a glimpse into his own belief concerning death,—

"I dare not guess : but in this life
Of error, ignorance and strife,
Where nothing is, but all things seem
And we, the shadows of a dream,—
It is a modest creed, and yet
Pleasant if one considers it,
To own that death itself must be,
Like all the rest, a *mockery*."

In those words there is more than a

mere poetic figure. There is not, it is true, the note of certainty; but there is at least a longing hope. The author is no atheist or materialist. He faces the great unknown with his 'modest creed', trusting that death after all may be but a shadow, like the rest,—a mockery, an illusion.

We have one more illustration to give of Shelley's personality, perhaps the most vivid of all. It is told us by an acquaintance who met him in the last year of his life and was at sea with him, but in another boat and unable to render assistance, at the time the poet met his death. Trelawney, the writer, was a striking figure himself. A bluff Cornishman, he had travelled in the wildest parts of the world, away from society and civilisation, face to face with nature under conditions, which called forth constant courage and endurance. He was a hater of all shams and affectations, and knew, as only those can know who are daily face to face with death, what true courage and manhood meant. He had a very poor opinion of Byron, with his theatrical airs and cynical moods, but for Shelley (whose feminine appearance might well have disgusted him at the outset) he had the deepest reverence. Shelley, he declared, was 'brave as a lion'; he was 'uncommonly awkward as a sailor,'—and Trelawney often had the laugh of him there, as in other ways; he was 'over sensitive, one who had seen no more of the waking day (i.e. the world's public life) than a girl at a boarding school.' But on the other hand 'true, gentle, tender, with the courage of a lion,' he was frank and out-spoken, like a well-conditioned boy, well-bred and considerate for others, because he was totally devoid of selfishness and vanity." "Even that cynic Byron", he writes, "acknowledged Shelley to be the best and ablest man he had ever known. I have seen them together in society and the contrast was as marked as their characters. Shelley, not thinking of himself, was as much at ease as in his own home, omitting no occasion of obliging those whom he came in contact with, readily conversing with all or any who addressed him, irrespective of age or rank, of dress or address...all who heard him felt the charm of his simple, earnest manner; while Byron knew him to be exempt from the egotism, the pedantry,

the coxcombr and, more than all, the rivalry of authorship."

But the greatest passage in Trelawney, so well known that I am almost afraid to quote it, runs as follows—it is the description of his first interview with Shelley, and must be quoted in full or not at all,—

"The Williamses received me in their earnest, cordial manner; we had a great deal to communicate to each other and were in loud and animated conversation, when I was rather put out by observing in the passage, near the open door, opposite to where I sat, a pair of glittering eyes steadily fixed on mine; it was too dark to make out whom they belonged to. With the acuteness of a woman, Mrs. Williams' eyes followed the direction of mine and going to the door way she laughingly said 'come in, Shelley, it's only our friend Trelawney just arrived.' Swiftly gliding in, blushing like a girl, a tall, thin, stripling held out both his hands: and although I could hardly believe, as I looked at his flushed, feminine and artless face, that it could be the poet, I returned his warm pressure. After the ordinary greetings and courtesies he sat down and listened. I was silent from astonishment; was it possible this mild, beardless boy could be the veritable monster at war with all the world?—Excommunicated by the Fathers of the Church, deprived of his civil rights by the fiat of a grim Lord Chancellor, discarded by every member of his family, and denounced by the rival sages of our literature as the founder of a Satanic School? I could not believe it: it must be a hoax. He was habited like a boy, in a black jacket and trousers, which he seemed to have outgrown, or else his tailor, as is the custom, had most shamefully stinted him in 'sizings'. Mrs. Williams saw my embarrassment and to relieve me asked Shelley what book he had in his hand? His face brightened and he answered quickly,—

"'Calderon's *Magico Prodigioso*.—I am translating some passages in it.'

"'Oh, read it to us.'

"Shoved off from the shore of commonplace incidents that could not interest him, and fairly launched on a theme that did, he instantly became oblivious of every thing but the book in his hand. The masterly manner in which he analysed the genius of

the author, his lucid interpretation of the story, and the ease with which he translated into our language the most subtle and imaginative passages of the Spanish poet, were marvellous, as was his command of the two languages. After this touch of quality I no longer doubted his identity; a dead silence ensued; looking up I asked,—

"Where is he?"

"Mrs. Williams' said 'Who? Shelley? Oh, he comes and goes like a spirit, no one knows when or where.'"

'He comes and goes like a spirit, no one knows when and where!' The words might almost be a summary of Shelley's whole life and character, and it is just this which makes the supreme difficulty either of describing his personality or passing on him our own moral judgment. 'He comes and goes like a spirit!' It is just this again that gives the unique quality to his poetry. His genius flashes forth in some perfect lyric and then it vanishes. It makes him after Shakespeare the one undisputed master of lyric poetry in the English language; at the same time it accounts for the comparative failure of many of his longer poems. 'He comes and goes like a spirit!' The words were also prophetic of his early death, though she who used them had no thought how near that death was. A few days passed and the spirit life of Shelley had reached the goal towards which it had so often strained. He had sung in his great elegy;

"That light whose smile kindles the Universe,
That beauty in which all things work

and move,
That benediction which the eclipsing curse
Of birth can quench not, that sustaining love
Which through the web of being blindly wove
By man and beast and earth and air and sea
Burns bright or dim, as each are mirrors of
The fire for which all thirst, now beams

on me
Consuming the last clouds of immortality.
The breath whose might I have invoked

in song
Descends on me: my spirit's bark is driven
Far from the shore, far from the trembling
throng,

Whose sails were never to the tempest given.
The massy earth and sphered skies are riven!
I am borne darkly fearfully afar;

Whilst, burning through the inmost veil
of Heaven,
The soul of Adonais, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal
are."

His last days were spent in meeting and making provision for the comfort of his old friend, Leigh Hunt. They had visited the Cathedral at Pisa together, and Leigh Hunt relates that while they were standing, with heads bowed, listening to the organ playing "he warmly assented to the opinion I expressed that a truly divine religion might yet be established on the earth, if charity were really made the principle of it, instead of faith." How greatly the first part of that opinion was the longing of Shelley's heart the poems he wrote and the acts he performed were witnesses. The disparagement of faith with which Leigh Hunt ended might have suited Shelley's earlier Oxford days, but towards the end of his short life we find him more and more finding in faith itself—faith in the unseen, faith in immortality, faith in God,—the strength and support of charity. A deeper yearning for the Divine Love is the key-note of his later poems, and this is mingled with a growing faith and trust in God.

The end came very suddenly. One of his many sailing excursions in his boat,—a treacherous calm,—a sudden tempest,—and when the clouds rolled away the boat was gone and Shelley had perished. They found him later with a volume of Keats' poems doubled backward. He had evidently been reading it at the moment the fatal storm descended. The soul of 'Adonais' had beckoned to him in that last hour of death, as he had prophesied.

Often in the last year he had spoken earnestly to his friends of the great mystery of death. 'I hope,' he had said, 'but my hopes are not unmixed with fear for what will befall this inestimable spirit when we appear to die'..."I am content", he told Trelawney, "to see no further into futurity than Plato and Bacon. My mind is tranquil. I have no fears and some hopes. In our gross material state our faculties are clouded; when Death removes our clay coverings the mystery will be solved." And the mystery was solved for him in that brief moment when he sank beneath the waves of the fathomless sea and perished.

When we remember that Shelley had only reached the age of thirty and that each year his great poetic powers were coming to the full, the mystery of his death—accidental, as we call it in our feeble human terms—becomes the more inscrutable. We cannot even explain the prodigal waste in Nature; the prodigal waste, as it appears to our mortal vision, of a soul such as Shelley's is far more inexplicable. Everything points to his own character becoming more steady and less impulsive if time had been given him to mature. Everything points to his spiritual genius working out the discords of his youth in some full harmony of mighty verse. But it was not to be; and he remains the wonder and the tragedy of English song.

The lesson of Shelley's life for this age is not so much one of warning and of prudence in the light of the great and notable errors he committed. It is rather the lesson of lofty daring which essays, in times of change, to aim at an ideal however seemingly impossible. Infinitely nobler was Shelley's recklessness even, as he stumbled forward toward the light, than a cold calculated prudence which never moves out of the groove of convention because of selfish fears and desires for bodily comfort.

"The high that proved too high, the heroic
for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose
itself in the sky
Are music sent up to God by the poet and
the bard.
Enough that He heard it once; we shall
hear it by and by.
And what is our failure here but a triumph's
evidence
For the fulness of the days? Have we
withered or agonised?
Why else was the pause prolonged but
that singing might issue thence?
Why rushed the discords in but that har-
mony might be prized?
Sorrow is hard to bear and doubt is slow
to clear
Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of
the weal and woe

But God has a few of us whom He whispers
in the ear.

The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis
we musicians know."

And 'God's musicians' are those who dare to make the great venture of faith, not those who grovel in the dust. God 'whispers in the ear' of heroic men, who give all they can to him with free and lavish hands.

"High heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely calculated less or more."

A great age calls for the chivalry of romantic daring, and Shelley, living in the greatest age of modern history, was more greatly daring than any other poet. We can study the spirit of the Revolution Period at its best, not in the theatrical pages of Byron, not in the grossly one-sided picture of Burke, not even in the half-sympathetic, half-cynical pages of Carlyle, but in the pure lyric of Shelley.

The Revolution and Renaissance in India have been saved from bloodshed and massacre, from the tumbrils and the guillotine. The danger lies not in that direction, but rather in the weakening of high ideals by brooding on the memories of the past,—
"To lend our hearts and spirits wholly
To the influence of mild-eyed melancholy;
To muse and brood and live again in
memory,

With those old faces of our infancy
Heaped over with a mound of grass,
Two handfuls of white dust, shut in an
urn of brass."

One of the best cordials for such drooping spirits is to read Shelley. He has the secret of perpetual youth and unconquerable hope. He sounds indeed at times notes of deepest gloom, but his buoyancy never forsakes him and he rises out of the shadows into the sunlight, daring to gaze upon the sun itself with undazzled eyes; he never lingers in the darkening caves of song brooding and despairing. The heart of young India is beating with the throb of new life: In Shelley it will find a singular response.

A NOTE ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH

BY THE LATE SISTER NIVEDITA.

[THERE have been already published many recollections of the late Sister Nivedita by all those who had the privilege of knowing her intimately and coming under her influence and inspiration. But perhaps the best tribute we can yet offer to the sacred memory of the revered Sister is a story of the life that has just closed after years of crushing toil for the good of this land of her adoption. The example which that life afforded of sincerity, earnestness, and self-sacrifice in the pursuit of its lofty ideals is rare in any age or clime. As unfolding to some extent the real spirit which animated the life and work of the saintly Sister, the following publication will, I hope, be of some interest. The communication was received by me a few years back and was not so long published on account of its somewhat personal character.—*Radhakumud Mookerji*.]

17 Bose Para Lane,
Bagh Bazar,

Calcutta, Feb. 4, [1906.]

My dear Radhakumud Babu,

My letter to you has grown very long, but it has been a great pleasure to write it. If you think other students would be helped by it, and that you ought therefore to print it, I hope that at least you will keep the manuscript, as written for yourself, and see that I have an opportunity of correcting the proofs.

Ever your earnest and sincere friend,
Nivedita of RK.-V.

1. In all that you do, be dominated by the moral aim. Remember that Truth, in its fullness, is revealed, not only through the intellect, but also through the heart, and the will. Never rest content, therefore, with a realisation which is purely mental. And never forget that every act of our lives is a necessary sacrifice to knowledge, that a

man who consciously chooses a mean or ignoble course *cannot* long continue to be a pioneer in the march of his fellows onwards. Only if we are always striving, in every way, for the highest that is attainable can we actually achieve anything at all in any path.

It has been said that "the great scientific discoveries are great social events." This is true of all advances in learning. We labour, even to win truth, not on behalf of self, but on behalf of man and the fruits of our labour are to be given to man, not selfishly enjoyed. Better a low attainment generously shared, than a high vision seen by oneself alone. Better, because more finally effective to the advance of knowledge. The result of the struggle of the individual in our generation ought to be the starting-point of the race in the next.

2. Never be contented with the ideas and the wisdom which are gathered in the study. We are bodies, as well as minds. We have other senses and other faculties, besides those of language. We have limbs, as well as brains. Use the body, use all the senses, use even the limbs, in the pursuit of truth. That which is learned, not only with the mind, by means of manuscripts and books, but also through the eyes and the touch, by travel and by work, is really known. Therefore, if you want to understand India, visit the great historic centres of each age. Turn over the earth and stroke the chiselled stones, with your own hands. Walk to the sight that you want to see, if possible, rather than ride. Ride rather than drive. *Stand* in the spot, where an event happened, even if no trace of its occurrence is still visible. If you desire to understand a religious idea, reproduce as perfectly as you can, in every detail, the daily life of the man to whom it came, or the race to which it was familiar. To understand the Buddhist *Bhikkhu*, go out

and beg. To understand Aurangzebe, sit in the mosque at Delhi, and pray there the prayers of the Mohammedan. Or, if social formations are your study, be sure to *work*, to *experiment*, as well as to learn. Verify each truth, test each idea, that comes to you. Whatever you seek, bend every faculty on its achievement. What you believe,—make yourself to it as dough kneaded by the baker, as clay worked by the potter, as the channel to the water of the river. Spurn ease. Never rest content. Make thought into sensation; sensation into experience; experience into knowledge. Let knowledge become character. Glory in suffering. By what your work costs you, you may know its possible value to the world.

3. Never forget the Future. "By means of the Past to understand the Present, *for the conquest of the Future*." Let this be your motto. Knowledge without a purpose is mere pedantry. Yet at the same time, the intrusion of self-interest upon the pursuit of knowledge, must be turned aside, as with the flaming sword. Purpose, moral purpose, others-regarding purpose, is the very antithesis of self-interest. Refuse to be drawn into personal, social or doctrinal disputes. Release the energy that belongs to these worlds, and let it find a higher function, in aiding you to your self-chosen goal.

4. And now comes the question of the scope of your work, the question of what you are actually to do. On two points I know you to be clear,—first, you are determined, whatever you do, through it to serve the Indian Nationality; and second, you know that to do this, you must make yourself a world-authority in that particular branch of work. On these two points, therefore, I do not need to dwell.

With regard to the actual field of labour, it has long, I think, been determined amongst us that India's assimilation of the modern spirit may be divided into three elements, which she has not only to grasp but also to democratise. These are: Modern Science; Indian History; and the World-Sense or Geography,—Synthetic Geography.

5. Now in whichever of these you choose your own task, most of your intellectual pleasure must come from the others. If you were a worker in Science, you might read a good deal of History, in interesting forms, as recreation. And so on. One of the modes

by which a line of high research becomes democratized is just this. The historical epoch, for instance, that is opened up by the scholar is immediately appropriated and clothed with flesh, by the novelist, the poet and the dramatist. Scott's novels have been one of the chief factors in the creation of the modern spirit. And you do not need to be told what poetry has done for the popularising of Buddhist research amongst the English-speaking peoples.

6. But whatever you do, plunge into it heart and soul. Believe that, in a sense, it alone,—this modern form of knowledge, young though it be,—is *true*. Carry into it no prepossessions, no prejudices. Do not try, through it, to prove that your ancestors understood all things, but manfully determine to add its mastery to the intellectual realm of your ancestor's descendants. I see this vice on all hands. People imagine that it is "national" to reply when told something new that ought to thrill them through and through, "Ah yes, I am familiar with that in Sanskrit, or from the *Mahabharata*, or from the sayings of such and such a *Sadhu*." And there their thought ends. This is pure idleness and irreverence. Such recognition kills thought, and coffins it: it offers it no home in which to dwell, no garden in which to grow! The man who would conquer new realms intellectually must never look back, except to find tools. The man who would see Truth face to face must first wash his eyes in dew, unused by human kind. Afterwards, when the task is done, when you come home laden with your spoils, you may perform the great sacrifice of reverence. You may tally this and that, amongst your own discoveries, with this and that amongst the utterances of the forefathers, and find, in an extasy of reconciliation, that you have gone by the same road as they, only calling the milestones by different names. But today set your face sternly towards the tabulation of *difference*, towards the new, the strange, the unproven, and undreamt. You will prove yourself the true son of your father, not by wearing garments of their fashions but by living their life, by fighting with their strength. Concentration and renunciation are the true *differentiae* of the Hindu mind, not certain subjects of study, or a pre-occupation with Sanskrit.

7. And now as to the subject itself. Already you have progressed in the direction of History and Indian Economics. It is to be supposed therefore that your work itself will be somewhere in this region. But side by side with your own specialism—in which you will faithfully do, with your trained habits, what Prof. Jadunath Sarkar calls “Spade-work”—do not forget to interest yourself in subjects as a whole. If you take up Geography, read History for recreation, but be a great geographer, like Reclus. If you take up History, do not forget to read Reclus’ Universal Geography, and every other synthetic work that you can find. The mind seeks energy by reposing in synthesis, or unity, and uses the energy so acquired, in analytical or specialistic fields. Again if Indian History be your work of research, read the finest European treatises on Western History. They may not always be valuable for their facts, but they are priceless for their method. Read Buckle and Lecky as well as Gibbon. And read the great Frenchmen if you can. It is said that Bossuet’s short work on the movement of History, written for a Dauphin of France, was the spark that set the soul of Napoleon on fire. I have not yet read it, but I hope to do so. I hope also to read Condorcet and Lamartine, and more than I have yet done of Michelet. About Comte, I feel unable to advise you. I believe fully that his has been the greatest mind ever devoted to History. But whether his treatment of the subject is as valuable as his conclusions, I am unable to tell you. For my own part, I have hitherto only been able to grasp a little bit at a time, and with regard to the thousands of questions that are in my mind, I can not even tell whether he has given definite answers to them or not. Yet the two books that I have lent you, by English positivists,—“*The Meaning of History*”—and “*The New Calendar of Great Men*,”—seem to me, though very popular, yet extremely profound. As I have already pointed out to you, the short essays with which each division of the latter book is introduced, and the connectedness of the treatment of each life with others, are to my mind worth their weight in gold.

In Indian History, such a point of view is conspicuous by its absence. Some writers are interested in Buddhist India (if indeed

we have any right to employ such a term) and some in various stages of Mahratta or Sikh or Indo-Islamic History, or what not. But who has caught the palpitation of the Indian heart-beat through one and all of these? It is India that makes Indian History glorious. It is India that makes the whole joy of the Indian places. I felt this, when I was at Rajgir, and saw so plainly, shining through the Buddhist period, the outline and colour of an earlier India still,—the India of the *Mahabharata*. And the other day amongst the ruins at Sanchi, when a lady who had been in Egypt turned and said to me, “If you think so much of 2000 years, what would you think of 4000?” I said “I care nothing for 2000! Even Sanchi is but a heap of stones. But this strength is in the Indian people still!”

Are you the man who can catch this truth, and justify it before the whole world by the mingling of stern scholarship, with poetic warmth? Better still, are you the man who can make India herself feel it? An Upanishad of the National History would make eternal foundations for the Indian nationality, in the Indian heart, the only world in which the nationality can be built enduringly. Or do you lean rather to the economic side of your studies? If so, do not allow yourself to become a mere specialist on statistics, and still more earnestly guard yourself against being the one person in the world who knows all that is to be known about India’s grievances, and knows nothing else. Every country and every community in the world has grievances, and grievances against certain definite other persons and communities also. To think of our mistakes and weaknesses as our grievances against another, is to postpone indefinitely the day of setting them right. The active, the aggressive, attitude is quite different. Accepting the past—and if you wish to be proud of some of your ancestors’ deeds, you must be calmly prepared to suffer for others. The law of opposites will hold here, as elsewhere!—the question is, what is to be done next? Even the science of economics may be made moral, may be made constructive. The doctrine that man always does what pays him, is vulgar nonsense. In fact the highest men are rather attracted to the opposite extreme, of doing always what does *not* pay.

Ruskin, Wicksteed and the Fabians, amongst English writers, may help one to a true viewpoint for economics, for these have felt the wholeness of human interests, through the specialism. For the technology of the subject, you must read many books. But the morality and wholesomeness of human love, in it, you will share with very few, and those nearly always representatives of some *cult* or other, which teaches the love and service, instead of the exploiting and extermination, of human beings, as the highest and most permanent joy of man. There is however a third subject which you might take up, and feed from both your studies, of Indian History and Indian Economics. I allude to *Sociology*, or the study of society. This term was the creation of Comte, but was popularised by Herbert Spencer, a very different person. Spencer and a host of other writers have gone into the subject, through the study of *Customs*, in which there can be little doubt that the history of society is chiefly written. Comte regarded it rather from the point of view of an organism having a meaning, a responsibility, and a destiny. He saw the whole spirituality of man in every human being of every human race! And many writers have attempted to work out theories of society, by comparing those of men with those of ants and bees and so on.

King of modern sociologists is perhaps Kropotkin, with his book on *Mutual Aid* published by Heinemann, in which he works out the idea that mutual aid, co-operation, self-organisation, have been much stronger factors than the competition of fellows, in the evolution of high forms of life and in the determining of success for the community.

Now this is surely a line of thought and research, which is *most* important to the question of Nationality. In my own opinion,

we are entering here on a new period, in which *Mutual Aid*, *Co-operation*, *Self-organisation* is to be the motto, and we want, not only determined workers, but also great leaders, equipped with all the knowledge that is to be had and, therefore capable of leading us in thought. Is it true that an industrial society represents the highest social formation? If so, is it equally true that it is always based upon an antecedent military? "From the military, through the active, to the industrial," some one said to me the other day. We stand here on the verge of great questions. Yet one thing would seem clear—only a people who are capable of industrialism, are capable of anything else. If the beginning determines the end, clearly the end also determines the beginning, the struggle to become fully industrialised is as high as the highest struggle that there is.

Even to write the History of India, even to set down clearly the problems which that history involves, I have long felt that we must first have experts in sociology,—men who can at a glance assign to a social group its possible age in prehistoric chronology. We want after that, and combined with it, those to whom the History of the early Asiatic Empires, Chaldean, Assyrian, Tartar, Pelasgian, Egyptian, Phoenician, is an open book. And, lastly, we want those who are competent to look out upon the future and determine towards what goal, by what line upon the trackless ocean, the great ship of national well-being is to be navigated.

Are you to be a solitary student? Or are you one of those most happy and most fruitful workers who can call about them fellow-captains and fellow-crewsmen to toil along the same lines and exchange the results of thought?

WILL WAR EVER END?

THE question with which we start and which we shall discuss does, indeed, provoke a smile, for it appears to all as purely academic and having no chance

of its being answered in the affirmative in the near or distant future. There are of course ample grounds for this view of the question. The most outstanding social

event in Europe in our own time has been the failure of the peace movement. It is true that there have been successive peace conferences at the Hague and no doubt there will be many more in the future but the fact remains that, we have so far seen only the baffling of peace advocates and an enormous increase of armaments in nearly every country in Europe.

Again, we cannot overlook the insistent fact that despite most solemn and sacred engagements at the Hague, the nations of Europe will cynically lay them aside and plunge into war whenever they will think that their interests are at stake or they can be improved by aggression or conquest. As evidence of this fact, we have only to recall the two most fearful and prolonged wars of our own time, namely, the South African War and the Russo-Japanese War. And we can strengthen this evidence by adding the case of the shameful and universally condemned war that is at present going on in Tripoli.

But there are other grounds as well for thinking that the question we have asked at the beginning is of a purely academic nature. It is known to everybody that hardly any serious attention is paid to the peace movement. It is true that ruling monarchs and responsible statesmen, not infrequently, give expression to the most ardent and anxious desire for peace but nevertheless the fact cannot be gainsaid that every year witnesses a progressive increase of discrepancy between what they say and what they do. Since the first peace conference at the Hague there has been a rapid and overwhelming increase of armaments in nearly every country in the West and with it an astonishing change of attitude of the popular mind. The ordinary peace advocate is looked upon with derision; his activities are taken as the harmless play of a faddist; the peace meetings at the Hague are beginning to be considered as pleasant social functions where statesmen of different countries meet and exchange pious opinions and when the German Emperor or the President of the United States makes a speech advocating peace, the average man thinks that the speech is made just because it is fashionable to talk of peace and he is not wrong because he finds the next day that the German Emperor

addressing his soldiers says, "We must keep our powder dry."

There is hardly any responsible politician or statesman in the West who does not know that he will be torn to pieces by his people if he is seriously minded to try and reduce the armaments of his own country. He knows that his effort will be futile and if he is sincere and honest he generally consoles himself with the reflection that he must wait till sane and rational views on war prevail among the nations of Europe. And if he is dishonest or a politician first and everything else afterwards, he knows that the easiest way of gaining popularity is to constantly harp on the necessity of increased armaments and describe in lurid colours the dire calamity which would befall his own country if more money is not spent in increasing the sinews of war. And it is a matter of common knowledge that great electoral contests are sometimes decided solely on the question of increase of armaments, and to the unscrupulous politician, a war panic is a powerful weapon, which he uses with considerable dexterity in order to gain power and popularity.

Perhaps it may also be said, with some degree of certainty, that the baffling of German Social Democrats, which is an outstanding event in Europe in our day, is due not so much to the inferiority of their own creed as to a fear in the popular mind in Germany that should the Social Democrats get the machinery of government in their hands they would reduce armaments and expose their country to danger and calamity. In England, the impression one gets is that the vast majority of the people will never give its vote in favour of a socialist government, because armaments would be reduced and the position of the empire would be made weaker.

This, then, is the situation by which the pacifist is confronted and at present his activities, such as they are, meet with absolute and dismal failure.

But failure and bewilderment may present as stern a demand for thought as the most successful movement and in some respects the demand has been well answered. A remarkable and epoch-making book by Norman Angell has set people to think that the time may not be far distant when we

might yet see the end of war. This little book (because its size is most modest) is now published under the name of "The Great Illusion", and it deserves to be read by millions of men, for it strikes a most original line of thought. The author leaves the ordinary argument of the peace advocate severely alone. He knows by bitter experience the futility of that argument. In 1903 he wrote a book on war dwelling on the moral aspect of the case and it fell absolutely flat. He has since become wiser and his "Great Illusion", hardly talks of peace or morality. Before we deal with Mr. Norman Angell's novel argument for peace, let us understand clearly why the ordinary argument of the pacifist so easily breaks down. What does the pacifist say? He says that it is quite true that the victorious party in a struggle for political predominance gains some material advantage over the party which is conquered but what we plead is that if the two parties were to devote to honest labour the time and energy devoted to preying upon each other, the permanent gain would more than offset the occasional booty. This, in a nutshell, is the argument of the peace advocate. It will be seen that it breaks down because of one fatal admission which it contains. The pacifist unhesitatingly accepts the proposition that some material advantage is gained by conquest. This admission is the weakest spot in his argument. If war does bring some material advantage then why blame it at all? Is it not common knowledge that in spheres other than those of international rivalry the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong? Industrialism, commercialism is as full of horrors and cruelties as war itself. A glance at the casualty statistics in railroading, fishing, mining, seamanship will bring a shudder as sharp as that which comes from a study of the most dreadful war news. Again, human nature being what it is, it is futile to expect that while it is possible to seize a tangible advantage by a man's strong right arm, that arm will remain idle or employ itself otherwise. What is the universal experience of human nature? When a man's self-interest or what he deems to be his self-interest is concerned, does he pay any heed to strict moral principles? With a few rare exceptions, he

never does it. And it may be said without any hesitation that hardly any great idea or movement is influenced by an appeal to justice or morality. Would any politician, who is not an impatient idealist, ever think of appealing in the name of justice or morality? Protectionism in England and trust-promotion in America are at present great and absorbing questions. But does any politician in either country seriously believe that any appeal in the name of electoral purity or strict morality to protectionists and trust-promoters that they should drop their respective movements, would not fall, naturally enough, on deaf ears? We need not labour this point any further. It must be quite apparent that too much insistence on morality has been the cause of the failure of the peace movement. The ideal of the pacifist has come to be regarded as a counsel of perfection which may very properly adorn a peroration but is hardly suitable for those who are engaged in directing the practical affairs of the world. In a word, the peace movement has been thoroughly discredited. The discredit of the peace movement has made people somewhat over-anxious to avoid discussing the possibilities of peace and the strength of Mr. Norman Angell's argument lies in the fact that it leaves peace severely alone. His whole argument put in a nutshell is this:—

"War conditions have changed. Nations have become so inter-dependent that it is an economic impossibility for one nation to seize or destroy the wealth of another or for one nation to enrich itself by the ruin of another."

He elaborates this argument, with admirable lucidity, directness of expression and a wealth of detail and it is no exaggeration to say that should his novel plea for peace receive a wide and universal acceptance, it would mark a tremendous revolution in thought.

Let us now see how the elaboration of his argument proceeds. He illustrates his argument mainly by taking the case of a war between England and Germany. Even of Frederic Harrison, than whom a more ardent and sincere peace advocate it is difficult to find, shrieks in terror at the appalling catastrophe which he foresees would take place in the event of England being beaten in a war with Germany. Mr. Norman Angell begins by trying to combat

this view and he demonstrates its incorrectness by an exposition of the political facts of Europe as they exist to-day. The propositions into which he splits up his main argument are these :—

(1) An extent of devastation, even approximating that which Mr. Harrison preshadows is a physical impossibility. No nation can in our day by military conquest permanently or for any considerable period destroy or greatly damage the trade of another, since trade depends upon the existence of natural wealth and a population capable of working it.

(2) In the case of a German invasion of England if there is a disturbance of capital and destruction of credit, German capital would, because of the internationalisation and delicate interdependence of European credit-built finance and industry, also disappear in large part and the chaos would only be put an end to by removing the cause which had produced it.

(3) The exaction of tribute from a conquered people has become an economic impossibility if they care to resist it.

(4) Damage could only be inflicted by an invader as a means of punishment costly to himself or as the result of an unselfish and expensive desire to inflict misery for the mere joy of inflicting it.

(5) It is a physical and economic impossibility to capture the external or carrying trade of a nation by military conquest. Nor can a conqueror destroy the competition of a conquered nation by annexing it; his competitors would still compete with him.

(6) The wealth, prosperity and well-being of a nation depend in no way upon its political power.

(7) No nation could gain any advantage by the conquest of the British Colonies and Great Britain could not suffer material damage by their loss.

These are the points which Mr. Angell discusses in order to prove the validity of his argument. It is not possible nor is it our purpose to give a complete summary of what he says. But we will place before the reader a few facts which will cause him to think and perhaps to revise some of his notions.

The prevailing notion that the wealth, prosperity and well-being of a nation

depend to a great extent upon its political power is wholly incorrect. Is the commercial prosperity of the smaller nations in Europe below that of the great nations? A study of facts and statistics discloses that the trade *per capita* of the small nations is in excess of the trade *per capita* of the great. Thus the 3 per cents. of powerless Belgium are quoted at 96 and the 3 per cents. of powerful Germany at 82; the 3½ per cents. of the Russian Empire which possesses an army of something like four million are quoted at 81, while the 3½ per cents. of Norway, which has hardly an army at all are quoted at 102. Again Norway has relatively to population a greater carrying trade than Great Britain, and Dutch, Swiss and Belgian merchants compete in all the markets of the world successfully with those of Germany and France. The idea that a conqueror can destroy the competition of a conquered nation is a complete delusion. For instance if Germany conquered Holland, German merchants would still have to meet the competition of Dutch merchants and on keener terms than originally, because the Dutch merchants would be within the German's customs lines.

It may be said that the small states owe their security to the various treaties guaranteeing their neutrality. But if this is true, what are we to say of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria? What are the facts of that shameful proceeding? In spite of the most solemn engagements entered into with the other European powers, Austria took advantage of the struggle for civilization in which the new Turkish Government was engaged to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it had given an absolute undertaking not to do. Therefore, it will be seen that treaties do not afford any protection to the small state. Its security lies in the fact that its conquest would bring no profit to the conqueror. The disillusionment with regard to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has already come. One paper says :—

"The annexation has cost us millions, was a great disturbance to our trade and it is impossible to point to one single benefit that has resulted."

People talk of the annihilation of Germany by England or *vice versa*. Let us consider for a moment what would actually

happen if either of these were to take place. If England could annihilate Germany, it would annihilate such an important section of its debtors as to create hopeless panic in London and such panic would so react on its own trade that it would be in no sort of condition to take the place which Germany had previously occupied in neutral markets, leaving aside the question that by such annihilation a market equal to that of Canada and South Africa would be destroyed. Similarly in the case of a German invasion of England, the chaos in Germany would be perhaps as great as that in England.

The reader will find in the book many facts and points like these and they are sure to stimulate his interest in the subject. Let us now consider what will happen if there is a wide and universal acceptance of Mr. Angell's argument for peace. Will war altogether cease? Will the building of Dreadnoughts be at once stopped? Will conscription and maintenance of huge armies be done away with? Will all disputes be henceforth settled by arbitration? These and various other questions come to our mind in perplexing disarray and while on the one hand there is a buoyant hope for the future in reading Mr. Angell's book there is on the other, a creeping fear that perhaps this novel and convincing argument may not suffice to bring about universal peace.

Of course, the foolish fear of a German

invasion of England or *vice versa* or the idea of conquering British Colonies will no doubt disappear. Also it may be confidently asserted that no war by one country upon another in Europe is at all likely to take place. But is it certain that no war outside Europe will take place? What argument and guarantee are there that the nations of Europe will not scramble and fight for territorial possessions in Asia and Africa! While it may be perfectly true that the loss of the British Colonies will not cause any material damage to Great Britain, it cannot be said that the loss of a Dependency like India will make no difference either. Mr. Angell does not touch these questions; he confines his argument strictly to the countries in Europe and the British Colonies and as regards these he succeeds admirably in convincing us that war is absolutely futile. But it is obvious that unless he enlarges the scope of his argument or deals otherwise with the fears and misgivings that naturally come to one's mind he will not get what he and the vast majority of men and women in every country wish for, namely Universal Peace.

Let us hope that the peace movement put upon a different and practical basis by Mr. Angell's novel argument will regain some measure of confidence and it will be shewn that not only is war futile in Europe but it is futile as well outside Europe.

DHIRENDER CHUNDER GHOSE.

V SISTER NIVEDITA

SISTER Nivedita and I both believed strongly in spiritual communion. It was but seldom that we could hope to meet one another, but we knew that spiritually we were never separated, and that whenever either of us realized the presence of God, the absent friend also became realized as present. This has been particularly the case lately; it was for me a preparation for realizing the new phase of being into which the Sister was so soon to pass. I cannot feel that I have lost her. And now that I gather up a few of the reminiscences

which I treasure of her, I feel that I am repaying a small part of the debt which I owe her. It is likely that others will claim the same privilege, but it is not probable that many ministers of the Anglican Church or professors of Christian theology will be among the number.

It was *The Web of Indian Life* which brought us spiritually together. The book fascinated me; I had never before seen India described from the inside. I wrote to her as warmly as I felt, at the same time drawing her attention to the criticisms

which some dry-as-dust professor had brought against her views of history. She replied in glowing terms, at the same time answering my inquiry as to the best sources of information for Hindu religion in its noblest form. She pointed me to the Bhagavad Gita and to the Lectures of the Swami Vivekananda. This produced a revolution in my view of the capacity of Hindu religion for adapting itself progressively to the spiritual needs of Indians, and for contributing elements of enormous value to the purification, enrichment, and re-interpretation of Christianity. As yet, this capacity of Hinduism for helping Western religion is not generally granted, nor is the eminence of Vivekananda as a forerunner of some greater helper of mankind at all widely recognized. Sister Nivedita knew this; she was the victim of no illusion. She was also well aware that I looked for help to the Aryan East, and especially to her and her Master, and this may have been the chief reason why she paid me in the dazzling coin of affection, reverence, and gratitude for the sympathy which I delighted to express to her.

It was not, of course, all at once that I came to this high reward. Personal acquaintance it was, that transformed our original somewhat vague goodwill into an imperishable friendship. Of this friendship I have many monuments in the shape of beautifully expressed and altogether charming letters. From this friendship-garland I select a passage which throws light on her mental picture of her *guru*. It is dated April 7th, 1910—

"I cannot say that the Swami desired to make a profound impression on any people. He always had the air of a messenger—as if his great interests were *behind* him, or as if he were *listening*, and telling what he heard. He had a royal sort of air, yet no ambition, apparently. As if perhaps he were too proud."

"Of course he was *not* versed in Christian exegesis. He was wonderfully apt in quoting the Bible,..... I think one may say that he doubted the historicity of the story, but worshipped the ideal revealed. Of course he felt that he *had* seen Christ—the Incarnation of the Divine Compassion—and lived with Him, in the person of his own Master."

"That is what one always comes back to..... One has seen with one's eyes, down here in this human world! The story told in the Gospels may not be true. But who knows? Were there perhaps a hundred Christs, all kaleidoscoped into one great Figure? It is far more likely than that there was never One."

"I never told you how, last year when my mother died, away in a little Yorkshire parish, we owed infinite things to our clergyman. He had been under your own father's influence at Oxford, and his mind seemed so broad, and at the same time so helpful and fine!"

I have added the last paragraph because it helps to show that by devoting herself to the highest interests of India Sister Nivedita did not think that she was cutting herself off from the higher life of the West. This indeed is obvious from her published writings, and it is also written large on every page of her letters to me. In the very first of those letters she begs me if I ever met a clergyman who did much to mould her in her early womanhood, to assure him that she was still true to conscience. She was also, when in Oxford, no less pleased to address gatherings of English girls than those of Indian undergraduates. Her favourite idea certainly was that the East and the West were not doomed to remain eternally apart, but that each should learn from the other. In the field of religion, however, she—of course—did not think that the Jews were the only experts deserving to be consulted by the West. How much she might have helped Western students of religion, by her writings!

It was in a time of trouble so great that I cannot speak of it here, that I learned to know the full beauty of Sister Nivedita's character. She was then in London as the guest of that kind friend who had, in early days, done so much for the Sister, and who passed away last winter in Cambridge (Massachusetts) tenderly nursed by Nivedita, —Mrs. Ole Bull. No sooner did she hear of my trouble than she offered an immediate visit. Before many days had elapsed, she was by my side. Her letters at this time are full of suggestive teaching with a view to "realization." It was now that I became possessed, through her kindness, of her two beautiful little books, *Love and Death* and *Kali the Mother*. It was, now, too, that, to comfort me, she intoned that impressive Indian chant which she had learned from her Master.

Naturally she loved India most; the descriptions given of it in *The Web* are inspired by love—the love of one who has taken a new mother-land. But her letters to me contain many references of warm affection to the old home. For instance,

take this from a letter written in mid-January, 1910—

"Soon the snow-drops and the spring-buds will all be out in England. And we can picture you, resting in the shadow of the eternities, whether in your Oxford study or in the sunlight patches in the parks. It is wonderful to be able to picture such corners of peace."

Peace is also the key-note of a scene from her Indian travels described by the Sister in this very year (May 23)—

"How I wish I could send you a little sense of the vastness and wild grandeur of these mountains! As we came along the way, through pine-woods, and often along roads shaded on two sides by deodar cedars, every now and then passing some temple or pilgrim shrines I thought of you, and wished so much that I could send you a vision of it! But after all, all peace is one, and your study in beautiful Oxford is one with all this ancient sanctity, inasmuch as both alike are but the abodes of aspiring meditating souls. The mountains so definitely associated with this thought in *name*, are really less so, perhaps, than your own cells."

In the same letter she let me into the course of her private studies. What she tells me, however, is of more than personal interest. She says,—

"I have been working lately on something like an analysis of the sources of Hindu mythology, and behind the Aryan Vedas I find the Animal Epos, and the Planetary Epos, and the Sacred Tree, and the Divine Mother, all early and perfectly detachable religious *motifs*. How interesting and how obvious it all is!"

Later on, she tells me about her Star-pictures, and the strong impression made by Tilak's book; she had been reading the Orion. Her studies led her from ancient India to ancient Arabia, and I had the pleasure of sending her a small book by a German scholar on that little known country. It was all the outcome of her fondness for symbolism.

"How can I thank you enough for your beautiful book?.....There were long years of my life when such a book as this was the only thing I craved. Then I thought these subjects were beyond me. I imagined that the mixture of sentiment and early prepossession would make them impossible to unravel. I found a foreign scripture relatively simple and uncoloured. And now I find that order and clearness may reign even here!"

"You make Christianity seem so really Asiatic! And

the Jew merely a distributor, to this day—an organizer of idea then, perhaps, as now of finance, but always one who ran up and down the world,—then in a caravan across deserts, now in long distance trains across Europe, scattering his view of the universe. If you have a doctrine to preach, I am inclined to think that you *must*, sooner or later find a Jew to translate it for you, and carry it into all the languages of the world."

An Asiatic, in distinction from a European Christianity, it was certainly my aim to discover, and though I could not go the same length as Mozoomdar in Indianizing the life of Jesus, I recognized the legitimacy of the attempt, from a non-critical point of view. The Sister's attitude towards that life was also non-critical, but I had the good fortune to secure her warm approval by the treatment which I gave to the "appearances" of Jesus after death. And now the same fascinating question is raised in her own case. Cannot the beloved dead appear again after this body has been laid aside?

Sister Nivedita was highly sympathetic. How tenderly she sought to comfort me in my great trouble! And how she loved to tell me of anything which would mitigate my loneliness. Both she and her kind and motherly friend, Mrs. Ole Bull, were delighted at the warmth of my appreciation of *The Master as I knew him*. Sister Nivedita described to me a touching scene in Mrs. Ole Bull's sick room, transformed for the nonce into a chapel. I too would fain commemorate these noble women, but it must be in my inner chapel.

These letters from which I have so copiously drawn are so gracefully expressed that the Sister's literary remains must be worth preservation in a printed form. I wonder whether she has also more to say on the Swami Vivekananda. She told me that she had some diaries of his which she wished to print.

She lived long enough, to see the new "passion" for Indian education which, as the Sister assured me, has grown up in the Indian people.

T. K. CHEYNE.

EDUCATION IN THE WEST: A SUGGESTION

THE question of higher education for Indian boys and girls is occupying the minds of many parents belonging to the upper classes. The days of contentment with a superficial culture are fast disappearing. The upper classes are realising the importance of refinement and knowledge. Especially is this the case with the landowners and manufacturers, who feel that they are being ousted from social leadership by the new educated middle-class, merely because they are boorish and incompetent. Many rich men of these influential sections of the community are willing to send their sons to Europe for education, in order that they may take their proper place in the new order of things in India. These landowners and manufacturers do not even desire to make education a stepping-stone to wealth, for their wealth is derived from other sources. They are independent of official favour and free from the worries and cares incidental to the daily struggle for bread. The poor or well-to-do middle-class student comes to England in order to prepare himself for the civil service, the educational service, medicine, engineering or other professions. His objective is bread, not culture. If he gets any culture, it is by the way. But those whom birth has placed in a fortunate position can devote themselves to real education, as they need not trouble about money. They need not acquire an Oxford or Cambridge degree. They can learn scientific agriculture and technical industry in order to develop their estates or improve their factories. So they are not bound to the ordinary routine of education by necessity. They can go wherever they can find the best opportunities for education combined with useful equipment for their future careers.

One great safety-valve for this class has been closed by the action of the Bar in England. Only graduates will henceforth be admitted to the Bar. This provision

will, in my opinion, do good to our country. Although its promulgators might have had quite different motives, they have really conferred a boon on India. The sons of rich zemindars and merchants will not come to waste their money and ruin their health and character in the modern Babylon on the Thames. They should now turn to commerce and agriculture, as is fit and natural, for they can thus carry on their business enterprises and increase their income from their landed property. Sons of landowners can use their money to enter business, if they do not wish to take up agriculture. Banking, insurance, manufactures and other profitable openings for rich men are waiting for Indian talent. Up till now, the younger sons of the landed gentry and the higher trading class were smothered in the Bar. They hankered after social position and some means of making money without energy and industry. Now that they are not permitted to become barristers, they should turn to business, which is their proper vocation.

Now business is not a monopoly of England or the English universities. The best schools of agriculture and technology are found in Germany and France, for France is an agricultural country, and Germany is the mother of science. England is far behind these two countries in educational development. I speak from personal experience of Oxford when I say that the English universities are the veriest cess-pools of moral and intellectual stagnation. So long as a man knows only Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, he admires them, but when he sees other universities of the world, he is disgusted with his alma mater. I hope Oxford will pardon me, for though she teaches us to love her, she teaches us to love truth better (or ought to). English universities live in the Middle Ages. Compulsory Greek, degrees in theology, chapels, Toryism, Mill's Political Economy, gowns, orations in Latin, aristocratic Rec-

tors and all other anachronisms flourish there, and there alone, in this twentieth century. They are not meant for intellectual development, but for the strangulation and decent interment of intellect. England is the laggard of nations in this respect. Wrapped in her shroud of self-complacency, as in a November fog, she is fast sinking to decay. A revival must come, if she is to live.

France and Germany are the two most advanced nations today in the whole civilized world. America is ahead of England, but still follows in the rear of France and Germany. In science, art, literature, social progress and moral vitality, the French and the Germans are to the English what the English are to the Italians. Life, abundant irrepressible life, is welling up in France and Germany, while English thinkers like H. G. Wells ask what the English youths do with their brains. We must look to France and Germany for good education and thorough technical training. England is almost Oriental in her backwardness. Those who have seen only England think much of her. But persons who have not confined themselves to the P. and O. route hold quite other views. The University of Paris is the central institution for education in the whole world. It draws students from Russia, Poland, Persia and China. The Japanese flock to Germany: very few come to England. The Egyptians go to France and Switzerland. These facts show that Oriental nations which are not bound to England by the tie of political subjection, do not care for her educational institutions. The choice of the Japanese ought to be decisive in this matter. For the Japanese knows a good thing when he sees it.

There is another great disadvantage in England and America. These countries are frightfully expensive, both for education and for daily expenses. In America, prices are very high, and it is impossible for a student to study at Harvard or Yale without an allowance of at least Rs. 300 a month. I am not speaking of ascetics, but of ordinary young men belonging to the upper classes of India. They cannot live like labourers or clergymen. And they should not do so, for such Spartan simplicity would injure their health and deprive them of the full benefit of their residence in the West.

The golden mean is the best. They should live just like other students, and need not make themselves conspicuous for shabbiness, niggardliness, or puritanism. A natural healthy mode of living in America requires at least Rs. 300 a month for a regular student at one of the great universities. In England, this sum can be reduced to Rs. 250; it cannot be brought down lower. But in France and Switzerland, life is much cheaper than in England or America. Many English families retire to Switzerland to economise, as a decent and comfortable existence can be enjoyed there at a smaller expense than in England. Hundreds of middle-class Englishmen of this type are found in Switzerland and along the Italian Riviera. Hence those who have a fixed sum of money to spend to the best advantage will find central Europe much more agreeable than England. Fees too are low at all French and Swiss universities. In England the educational institutions are intended to preserve the monopoly of culture and power enjoyed by the moneyed classes. But in France and Switzerland, they are for the benefit of the whole nation. Education is therefore cheaper there than in England. Germany is also cheaper than England, but the difference is not very great. Switzerland is one of the cheapest countries in Europe for all purposes. It is also the garden of the world.

Again, considerations of climate must deter Indian parents from sending their sons for education to England or the Eastern States of America. These countries are very cold, damp and windy. England has one of the worst climates in the world. No Englishman will deny it. In Eastern America, the extremes of heat and cold are so great that people die of tuberculosis and bronchitis in winter, and of sunstroke in summer. The range of temperature at Boston or Washington is—15° to 104, or somewhere near these figures. Now no Indian can imagine what a winter of such severity is like. He cannot even have an idea of a temperature of 10°. It is colder than his ice-cream. America has the climate of the North Pole in winter and the Soudan in summer. It is not safe for delicate persons of the richer classes to live for a long period in England or Eastern America. I know several young men who

have died of pleurisy and consumption, or taken the seeds of consumption in their constitution on their return to India. The proportion of 'barristers-at-law' who fall victims to this fell disease after their return home is remarkably large in some parts of the country. The effect of climate on weak health and intemperate habits accounts for this lamentable circumstance.

Paris is the intellectual centre of Europe, and the University of Paris is the most efficient university in the world. But I would not advise young men to go there for education, for Paris is noted for many things besides education. "Giddy Paris" is a byword among the nonconformists across the channel. It is too gay and glittering. The notions of students about the ethics of sex are not quite orthodox. The social atmosphere is enervating and unhealthy. "Le Quartier Latin" (the students' quarter) is as famous for its cafés and cabarets as for its libraries and laboratories. The average Parisian student is not a very admirable type of youthful humanity. Student-life is more or less Bohemian in character. A large city is not a suitable place for a modern university. Young Hindus would run a great risk of going astray altogether, if they were to study in Paris. Of course, education is cheap and excellent. Life is rich and picturesque. But one may have these blessings at the expense of moral qualities which are precious in youth. A well-disciplined and serious student can be trusted to take care of himself and avoid all dangers. But such students are very few, and youth is pleasure-loving. Paris is therefore not to be recommended to Indian students in their teens. Paris has ruined many men, and perhaps one Indian State too.

Taking one thing with another, I would recommend the University of Lausanne in Switzerland for the sons and daughters of the upper classes. Switzerland is noted for her good schools and colleges. The canton of Geneva spends one-third of its revenue on education. Lausanne is the centre of French-speaking Switzerland and the seat of a great University. Students from all countries congregate there. Fees are moderate, and all subjects of study are provided for. The climate of Switzerland is very salubrious. Nature too is at her best. The

social and political institutions of this wonderful little country are models for statesmen all over the world. Switzerland is the home of beauty, freedom and education. If a man loves a country not his own, it is always Switzerland. The moral atmosphere at the University of Lausanne is healthy and uplifting, for the Swiss combine French culture with antique simplicity. On the whole, Lausanne is the best place for Indian boys and girls. They may go farther and fare worse. For an all-round education at a low cost it is to be preferred even to the Scotch universities. An Indian student would profit immensely by a three years' course at this university.

There remains one difficulty, if it can be called a difficulty at all. The language is French. But Indian students should know that a person who has learned only one European language is not regarded as an "educated" man in the West. French is not difficult to learn. Six month's study in India would be sufficient to begin with. Practice in speaking can be acquired after arrival in Switzerland. There is a saying that a man who knows two languages is worth two men. Besides, no science can be studied with a knowledge of English alone. French or German must be learned. Many universities of America do not confer a degree in any subject without assuring themselves of the candidate's knowledge of French or German, or both. So these languages cannot be dispensed with anywhere. One of them is compulsory for the history examinations at Oxford. And many other English universities insist on similar tests. Hence it is no hardship for young men to learn French at home before coming over to Europe. It will help them immensely in their career. It will make them direct partners in civilisation instead of second-rate imitators of English writers and thinkers. For civilisation is not English but Continental. England only steals such crumbs of it as fall from the master's table in France and Germany. Civilisation is living, progressive, self-conscious on the Continent. It is dull, timid, ashamed of itself in slow-moving England. Lausanne is in the very heart of Europe, right in the centre of civilisation. London, Oxford and Edinburgh are the outlying suburbs of civilisation. To go to study at Lausanne

or Paris is like going on a pilgrimage to the Ganges: to live in London is like drinking Ganges water brought in jars by pilgrims. Let us slake our thirst for knowledge at the fountain-head. Why lose money and health to get second-hand mouldy civilisation at English universities?

For poor students, I would recommend the universities on the Western Coast of America at Berkely, Palo Alto, Seattle, etc. The earnest young man can earn his living by manual labour, and take his degree without sending home for money during his whole academic career.

This advice is not the result of any particular theories of education or culture. I am not a pedagogue. But it is disheartening to see Indian students going like a flock of sheep to the same stupid old universities, which are despised by all advanced thinkers. Why should they not seek for other better institutions? Why should they all make the English language a China-wall between India and the real living world of

civilisation? India will never advance very far towards modern ideals, if she remains a kind of dead barnacle attached to the unseaworthy vessel of English culture. English culture is only a modified variety of medieval barbarism, with its piety, its hypocrisy, its timidity, its conservatism, its immobility and its coarseness. India must not be content to look at civilisation only through English glasses. She would get a distorted view of it. India should go straight to civilisation, and help herself to it with both hands. Indian youths must not look to England for intellectual guidance, for England herself is in tutelage to France and Germany. What is the use of learning wisdom from the pupil and not from the master?

If this short article on the merits of Swiss Universities and especially of the University of Lausanne, leads some students to think of acting on the advice given in it, I shall deem myself amply rewarded.

HAR DAYAL.

THE SISTER NIVEDITA: HER INDIAN OUTLOOK

YEARs ago Sister Nivedita had written an essay entitled "Aggressive Hinduism" in the text of which she herself has incorporated her own position. Therein she expressed her understanding as to the needs for change. She stated the imperative need as to the restoration and re-empowering of India's faith in herself. Therein she speaks of the ways and means by which the renewed faith which was to come could be made active and widespread.

In this essay one realises that she was not a reactionary nor yet a reformer. It becomes clear that she was one possessed of the Indian soul making way for its re-birth into the modern world and that she had taken upon herself the task of preaching to the Hindus themselves and to the world at large the gospel of Indian idealism.

In a general sense she was both a reactionary and a reformer. In a particular sense she was neither. She was a reactionary in those elements of thought, tradition and

culture, the conservation of which meant the firmer establishment of Hindu life and experience as distinct from the life and experience of other races. She was a reformer in so far as she demanded that all those antiquated traditions and customs that stop the channels of progress through which an enlightened India must find ampler racial expression, be discontinued. She demanded that they be consigned to the world's rubbish heap.

Her life and her vision of India cannot be compressed within the narrow definitions implied by the terms reactionary or reformer. These designate the workers in local fields, who labour in minor ways and upon whose vision often gathers the blindness of hopeless fanaticism.

Accepted as their equal by leading sociologists of the West, she concerned herself, as do they, with nation-building. Her writings reveal her as a seer of the weld-

ing of different social units into a national entirety.

Her life dealt with the moulding of many forces of national energy into a unit of enlightened and definite purpose. As great as is the distinction between the maker of an historic era and the leader of a political faction, so great was the distance of the Sister Nivedita's purpose from the work of provincial reactionarism or reform.

Her mind was an open window through which her spirit gazed upon the Indian world; she regarded India, not in its details, but in its synthesis. She did not trouble herself about the undergrowth of custom and tradition that had accumulated throughout the ages, nor with the form whose development was incidental to particular time and environment. For her vision was changelessly fixed on essentials and upon the promotion of the whole purpose and psychology of the Indian mind.

Realizing that, of necessity, there arise in every nation, methods by which the thought of the nation is moulded into the currents of progress at given times, she also felt that gradually they become obsolete when that thought takes higher flight. She therefore directed her chief attention and message from them in particular, pointing out the great need of educating the Indian mind into perceiving the *national requirement* as an entirety. This, she knew, if brought about, would introduce the conception and scheme of a civic and public life into this land, hitherto concerned only with family and local communal life. It would broaden the social into the national horizon. It would enlarge the tribal or caste and family vision into the vision of a national co-operative life.

She pointed out the necessity of a clear consciousness of a national life whose struggle for expression into new moods and channels should be its main purpose. An ancient and palatial structure is the Indian historic experience. As in all old edifices, in many parts there is need of repair because of internal decay. Indeed there is danger of an entire collapse. How lamentable then, that there should be such violent disagreement over details! How glaringly and irritatingly stupid! She saw that it was like leaving a great treasury open to theft while one seeks for a trifle.

The Sister Nivedita possessed the temperament of the great architect in the reshaping of the Indian world. As a supervising architect, in whose mind the whole work of reconstruction is mapped out in large and general lines, she set herself to the study of the structure of Indian history and society. She had no time for those who fretted themselves and the people with details while they brought as yet, no definite conception to bear upon that which was to be rebuilt as a whole.

A thorough builder, she wisely ordered the pulling down of various minor parts. Here and there she herself worked mercilessly. In this she found herself criticized by many who claimed to be orthodox, but her answer to this was that orthodoxy was of the spirit and not of the form. Meeting with differences in her interpretation from both the reactionaries who wish to put all the bygone undergrowth and the modern extremists who desire to sweep away every tradition and custom and introduce in their place, foreign elements in every department of life, she fought her way to the presentation of her vision before the public by the sheer force of a commanding intellect and intense austerity of character.

And what a vision! Deep had she plunged the torrent of her thought into the history of the land and its life. For the time, she lost herself to the present. When she came from those depths of insight, it was with an irrepressible consciousness of the astonishing power of this land to give birth to new historic epochs. It had been said that the life of the country was at an ebb. She found it at its full flow.

Her purpose thereafter was that this ocean should be churned into high and leaping waves of racial purpose and activity, that over its smooth surface the tempest-winds of a new life should flow and beat the long historic silence into the loud refrain of a new civilization.

Energy and aggressiveness, an overwhelming masculine self-assertiveness must come to her, oldest among nations. 'Again must she bestir herself.' Again must she give rise to world-ideas and world-power. Other periods must come equal to, if not greater than those of Chandragupta, Asoka and Akbar.

The Sister Nivedita had touched the

fibres of the Indian consciousness. And as, of old, the Buddhist monk saw himself the shaper of empires, the maker of national destinies and the spiritual instructor of the nations, actually transporting to distant lands the Indian outlook on life—so again might the spirit of "Maha-Bharata,"

or Heroic India go forth, armed with the strength that India's civilization is a message to the world and her "Dharma" or sense of national righteousness, a power of resurrection, social and spiritual, to the peoples of the earth.

F. J. ALEXANDER.

PHULKARI WORK IN THE PUNJAB

VERY little is known about *phulkari* or *kashida* work outside the Punjab.

Yet it is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable arts of embroidery and deserves the admiration of all art-lovers and claims a very high and important place in Indian needlework.

It is difficult to find out how and when *phulkari* work probably originated; but it can be said with some certainty that it

art. Of these two the former is the older art. The shuttle must have followed the needle. And the weaver tried to imitate in his loom the result achieved by the embroiderer. A cursory inspection of some of the Indian embroideries will be found interesting and helpful to the reader in coming to the conclusion that woven patterns followed needlework. It may also be said that there is more individuality and freedom

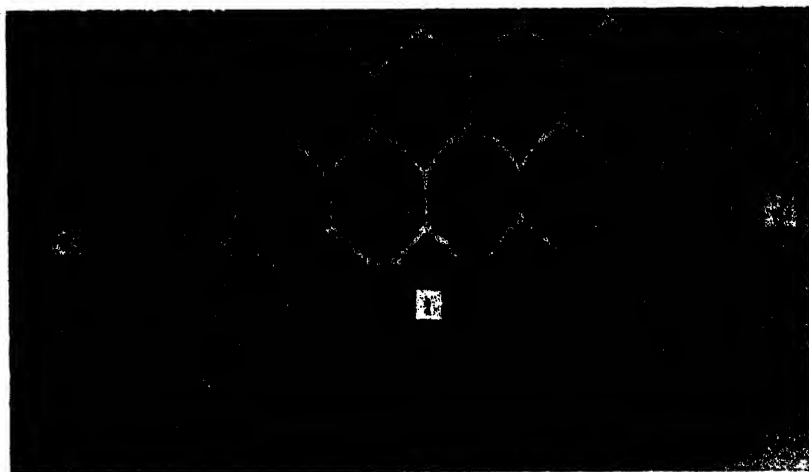


PLATE I.

might have originated in the huts of the rough Jats belonging to the districts in the northern and north western plains of the Punjab. For, even upto this time, this art still lives there almost unchanged and uncontaminated by exotic influence.

In its inception, embroidery is a cottage art in India, whereas loom work is an urban

in embroidered designs than in woven patterns.

It is curious that embroidery in India has got a very interesting association with the climatic conditions of the country. During my short experience, I have noted with considerable interest that as a rule highly coloured embroideries are to be found in



PLATE 2.

temperate tracts, and light-coloured or white embroideries in tropical parts. It is also noteworthy that people living in the plains are not so fond of embroideries as people living in the hills. This might be explained by the theory that in the hill districts, which have always a cool climate, people do not change and wash their clothes so often as people in the plains generally do. Embroideries do not stand washing and hence they do not suit people living in the plains. Throughout the mountainous districts of India embroidery in some form or other is nearly always found. And even some of the semi-barbarous aborigines bordering the limits of northern India show a strong appreciation of embroidery, which more or less retains the primitive characteristics of a pastoral art, showing simple and bold patterns in rich colours.

But *phulkari* work is not one of those which might be called either barbaric or primitive art. It is one of those arts which still retain their native originality both in design and form, and are to a great extent free from the depredations of European vandalism, which has been ruinous to so many of our arts. A finished piece of *phulkari* work is a glorious sight,—a treasure which every art-lover and one who respects art will be proud to possess.

The word '*phulkari*' literally means a

'flowered work', *phul* meaning a flower. The term is exclusively used with reference to this particular kind of needlework embroidery, peculiar to the Punjab. It is also known as *kashida* work.

Phulkari work may be divided into four different varieties, viz., the true *phulkari*, *bagh*, *chobe* and *shishadar phulkari*. In the true *phulkari* the ornamentations are generally scattered and a considerable portion of the ground cloth is shown between the *butees* or floral designs. (Plate I, Figs. 1 and 2; Plate II, Fig. 2). The patterns, though sometimes very intricate and closely set out, are seldom connected. The *butees* are distinctly sparse.

Bagh literally means a garden. This work is quite different from that of the real *phulkari*. It is an embroidered work of connected ornamentation. The whole surface of the ground cloth is covered up with a layer of silk stitches in regular and methodical parallel lines. (Plate II, Fig. 1 and Plate III, Fig. 1). Consequently the *bagh* work becomes so full of ornamentation that the embroidery itself ceases to be a decorative adjunct and becomes the cloth itself. The rough surface of the original cloth is entirely covered with a coating of floss silk which gives it a most beautiful effect. A finished piece of this work has the dazzling effect of *kinkhab* from a distance.

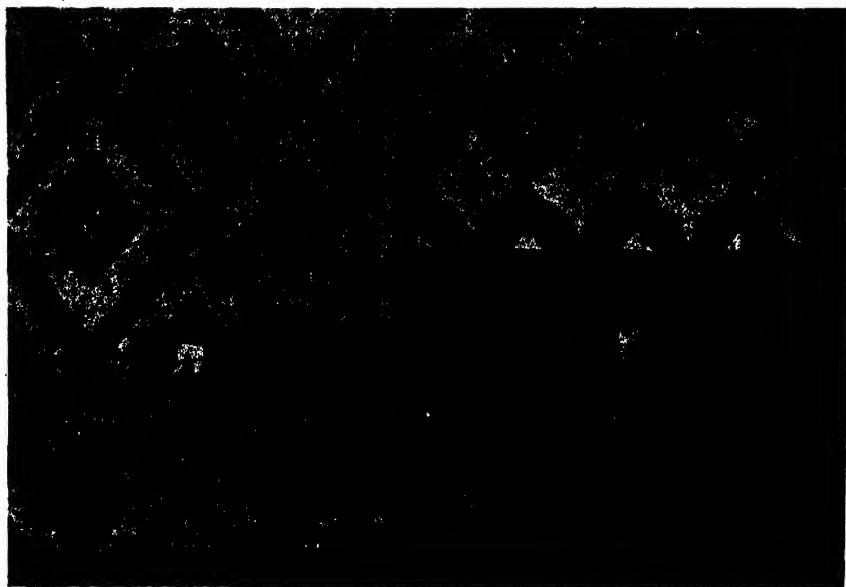


PLATE 3.

Chobes have patterns, either connected or scattered, embroidered only along the borders and the central portion of the cloth is left plain.

Shishadar phulkaris have small glass or mica mirrors stitched into the embroidery. These mirrors are very thin and are generally of a circular shape. They form the centre-pieces of *butees* (flowers) in the embroidery and are suspended in position by long button-hole stitches. This custom of using mirror pieces in embroidery, which gives it a very quaint and pretty effect, is met with not only in the Punjab but may be found also in Sind, Kathiawar and Berar.

The ground cloth used in the *phulkari* work is known as *khaddar*—a very coarse homespun texture. Deep Indian-red, black and white are the different shades that are mostly in use. The stitch employed is the simple darn stitch done entirely from the back. Unmistakable regularity and absolute accuracy are observed in working out the patterns by means of 'thread counting'—a process which is very uninteresting and tiresome. Every stitch is counted and the threads of the ground cloth through which the darn stitches run are also counted, so that

they may be uniform in length. To a novice this task of 'thread counting' may appear to be hopelessly uninteresting and laborious but to the *phulkari* worker it is always an easy and pleasant work which they do with wonderful alacrity.

No special frame or stretcher is required for *phulkari* work, as in the case of gold and silver embroidery work. The coarse ground cloth, an assortment of loose silk threads in round bundles, a few needles and a pair of scissors form all the implements of a *phulkari* worker. Cotton, instead of silk, was used when silk was not very common as now. Preliminary sketching is sometimes done by threads to avoid irregularity in size and shape of the different *butees* or flowers. The fabric of the ground cloth is utilised geometrically as either an inner decoration or a part of the finished pattern. (Plate I, Fig. 2 and Plate II, Fig. 2). Regular spaces are left bare in the ground cloth to form a part of the decoration. The fine dark lines crossing diagonally in the diamonds of Fig. 1, Plate III, are not stitches of dark coloured silk but are portions of the cloth carefully left out to give them an effect of worked stitches.

It is noteworthy that there is a consider-



A PHULKARI FROM THE PANJAB.



able difference between the Hindu and Muhammadan *phulkari* arts. The difference, which is quite apparent, seems to be almost sectarian in its feeling. The Hindus as a rule have Indian-red and white ground cloths; the Muhammadans care more for black cloth. The shades of the floss silk threads also differ. The Hindus mostly use white, bright orange, gold-yellow, deep brown-madder, deep purple, vermilion and crimson shades. Green is very seldom used. Whereas the Muhammadans generally use green, *gulânâr*—tint of pomegranate blossoms, lemon-yellow and sometimes white. Both the patterns as well as the general get up vary considerably. The Hindu work is usually characterised by patterns made up of regular curves and flowered designs. The Muhammadan work is generally full of regular geometrical figures which have a Saracenic origin. Plate IV is a specimen of such a *phulkari*. It is a pillow case done by a Muhammadan girl. The reader may compare it with Fig. 1, Plate I, which is a purely Hindu work, and the difference will be quite apparent. It is also interesting to note that in the Muhammadan work the stitches are always visible, being done on the same surface of the cloth and are not done from the back of the cloth like the Hindu work, as already explained.

The social life of some of the districts in the Punjab is very interestingly associated with the *phulkari* art. It is one of the most important functions to exhibit *phulkaris* both old and new, during a marriage. They take particular pride in hanging up these *phulkaris* on the walls. Such exhibitions are always quite interesting and make a most lovely show. There is also a custom of presenting a few *phulkari* pieces to the bride in marriage. Seven pieces of beautiful *phulkari*-worked *chaddars* or *orhnas* (veil cloth) are generally presented to the girl along with her dowry and trousseau.

A *phulkari* piece takes a long time from start to finish. There is a playful saying in this province that the seven pieces of *phulkaris* which are to be presented to the girl at her marriage must be begun as soon as the girl is born. This proverb, though exaggerated immensely, will, I believe, give some idea of the patience, industry and time required to make the *phulkaris*.

Though the *phulkaris* do not at all suit the field-life of the labouring classes, Jat

women are particularly fond of them. The leisure hours of a Jat woman are utilised in making *phulkaris* for her own use and for the use of others in the family. And any number of such finely worked *phulkaris* are to be seen in a gathering of common folk, in a local *mela* or *tamasha* or in a wayside railway station enclosure where the wretched third class passengers are huddled together.

In the towns and cities too, *phulkari* art is cultivated. Some of the big houses in the cities have elderly dependents doing this embroidery. In some towns it has been seen that Hindu and Sikh ladies and girls very often meet together during the day at some common meeting place where they do *phulkaris* under the supervision and guidance of a senior matron who is always willing to help her sisters, as she calls them, in doing some new and better patterns of *phulkari*. It is a beautiful sight to see them turning out the *phulkaris* with wonderful alacrity and absolute freedom. And careful though they are in counting the threads and stitches, they are always gay and indulge in every kind of happy humour which helps to keep them lively and make the tedious work a pleasure. Sometimes a girl will recite a poem or sing a song; an elderly lady will chant a hymn of praise of the Guru. Thus they will add stitch after stitch, either singing a couplet of Ghalib's *gazel* or reciting a *bachan* (saying) of one of the gurus. And thus they work day after day, week after week, with patient and cheerful industry, not for money's sake but for love's sake, till their labour is rewarded by the production of a beautiful piece of *phulkari*, a thing of beauty and of joy.

It is with considerable concern that I have to observe that the *phulkari* work in the Punjab instead of making progress is at present suffering a miserable decadence and may become extinct in the near future, if generous support and patronage be not forthcoming. Degeneration has already set in the *phulkari* art, contamination by exotic ideas has also crept in. Some of the modern *phulkaris* have European designs worked out; the original association of different shades of colour is also being lost. Sometimes the original stitch is missing and bad lengthy stitches are used. This mischief has been done by European customers

and Indians having acquired European tastes.

It remains to be seen whether anything effective will be done to prevent this fascinating and artistic industry from perishing. Taking the Punjab alone it may be said that there is a wide field for this art which may turn out a notable and profitable industry like the *pashmina* embroidery of Kashmir, which is so much patronised both by Indian and foreign markets. And if all the Indian princes of the Punjab alone were to patronise these poor *phulkari* workers, the art would get a fillip and very beautiful *phulkaris* would become available to the purchaser.

The arts of India are either becoming extinct or shamefully degraded for want of patronage and encouragement. And speaking of the *phulkari* art, it is to be noted with regret that its fate is worse than that of the other arts. For, it is now being looked upon as an art of the lowly who are but the hewers of wood and drawers of

water—a cottage industry which in the opinion of thoughtless people lacking the aesthetic sense is not worth encouraging. But is it necessary to remind our countrymen that the treasures handed down to us by our forbears should be maintained, developed and treated like a sacred trust? Art is one of the many legacies that have been bequeathed to us by our forefathers. Our inheritance must be uplifted and upheld, must be extended and developed. And then and then only we can leave behind us a rich legacy worthy of our posterity. But if we fail to recognise the intrinsic value and importance of our inheritance, if we neglect our own arts and let them perish of isolation, if we take a fancy for foreign arts, we shall bequeath to those who come after us monstrous hybrids of Europeanised ideals which will humiliate them in the eyes of other nations, which will point at them the finger of scorn and make mock of them.

SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

ART AND ETHICS

II.

THE CENSORSHIP OF ART.

THERE is no morality in a work of art : that is to say, when we call a work of art good or bad, our standard of reference is not, as it is when we speak of actions, ethical. For art is expression, and good art is good in proportion to its expressiveness ; not good or bad according to the nature of the psychic material with which it deals. Immorality only appears in a work of art when, ceasing to be perfectly and purely expressive, it appeals to some passion or prejudice of the beholder or hearer ; that is to say, in so far as it is not a work of art, but a luxury, an unnecessary gratification of the senses. A true work of art is always a necessity, and not a luxury, for it has been created in response to a categorical imperative ; and its appreciation as a stimulus to the perception of beauty, to aesthetic contemplation, is only com-

plete when the need for that especial experience is consciously or unconsciously an equally real necessity to the beholder.

That art can be thus necessary is demonstrable, if proof were needed, by the fact that the artist will sacrifice every material consideration rather than deny to the spirit its opportunity of expression ; and the need of others than the artist himself for art is shown, not by those wealthy patrons who regard and treat it as the upholstery of life, not by those who would make use of it to adorn a moral, nor by those who look to it for the satisfaction of curiosities, but by those who deny themselves sense enjoyments in order to compass the conditions necessary for some particular aesthetic experience.

The morality of a work of art does not depend upon its subject, but only upon the way that subject is treated, aesthetically or otherwise. Art is not good because the villain of the play is painted very black,

or the hero very white ; but it is good when the character of each is well expressed. Were it otherwise we should prefer Sunday-school stories to the works of genius. It is *we* only who can be good or bad according to the way in which we allow external stimuli to affect us.

Take, for example, the typical problem of the nude in art. Let us suppose a woman bathing at the edge of a river, imagine no possible spectator to be present. How shall we ascribe morality or immorality to the fact of her nakedness ? "The nakedness of woman is the handiwork of God !" Now suppose an approaching traveller. When is he more moral, when as an artist he looks upon the whole scene with frank delight, admiring equally the fairness of the woman with that of the birds and flowers, content to behold without possessing, or when as a natural man, knowing that he cannot look without desire, he turns away his eyes ? Who does not know from his own inner experience that these two points of view are possible, but mutually conflicting ? If the first attitude is the more difficult, that is only a proof of the superiority of art to false asceticism (plucking out the right eye).

Again suppose the same scene to be represented in a picture. To whom shall we ascribe the true understanding of morality—to him who declares that the work, and perhaps the artist himself, must be immoral because of the subject of the picture, or to him who indeed admits that the treatment of such a subject, or any subject, may be chaste or sensuous (*i. e.*, may be calculated to appeal either to our sense of pure beauty, or to our senses) but declares that no morality or immorality can be ascribed to a work in respect of its subject ? Strictly speaking, morality and immorality cannot be predicated of any physical objects, but only of movements of the will : shall we call the knife moral when it is used by the surgeon, and immoral when it is used by the murderer ? It is as impossible to predict what may be the effect of a work of art upon a person unknown to us as to say what use he may make of the knife. It is only by an ellipsis, perhaps sometimes justified for practical purposes, that we describe as moral or immoral a work which stimulates us to moral or immoral thought : even

so we can speak only for ourselves, and ourselves at one given moment of our life.

But we must always remember that a work which is calculated as a stimulus to moral or immoral thought is not, or not wholly, a work of art. There are many who claim to be artists, who in point of fact are merely pedagogues on the one hand, no better than writers of copybook maxims, or on the other, purveyors of wares intended to appeal, and often successfully appealing, to our passions and prejudices. Because of the number of those we must not lay the blame on art ! If such abound at any period or any place, this is the fault of the patrons who encourage the inartistic and neglect the artistic works. If the period be our own, it is society, and not art, which we have to correct.

Is all censorship of art then futile ? Probably yes, where real art is concerned. The object of a censorship in the interests of ethics (some censorships are exercised in other interests, as those of trade or politics) should then be to distinguish art from specious works claiming to be art, but not truly artistic. It is not, of course, necessary to prohibit the publication of works intended as a stimulus to moral action (unless perhaps their unctuous rectitude should be altogether too exasperating), but it is certainly desirable to discourage the publication of works whose only significance lies in their appeal to passion or prejudice. For example, during the late Boer war, one of the London dailies exhibited a poster representing a very magnificent lion holding two miserable boars under its forepaws and roaring with triumph, there were likewise innumerable music-hall references to the war, similar in character. Whatever one's view as to the ethics of the war itself, it is obvious that these pictorial and musical references were not artistic, but purely prejudiced appeals for popularity, morally degrading in tendency.

Yet how should such works be censored ? If we appoint any individual, he is liable to have his judgment affected by one prejudice or another. If we rely on public opinion, which not merely tolerates, but welcomes such works as those referred to, we shall get no better help. The only remedy for such offences lies in educating the

public to appreciate art, in which case they would recognize such exhibitions as offensive to good taste, or in educating the public to a higher standard of morality, in which case they would recognize them as unethical.

In the same way we are forced to admit that neither one individual, nor the community generally, is fit to be entrusted with the censorship of works of art in respect of sexual morality. All that we can wisely do is to leave it to the police to see that the actual law of the land is not infringed. If we desire more or less than this, our endeavour should be to effect a change in these laws.

It may be argued that even true works of art may, by reason of their subject, stimulate to immoral thought or action persons who do not regard them aesthetically, and that therefore such works should be suppressed. This is as if one should argue that, inasmuch children and incapable persons generally, are liable to cut themselves with knives, or because these implements may be deliberately misused,

therefore the whole community should altogether eschew their use. Such an argument needs no refutation. All that we must concede is the right of parents, guardians of the imbecile or of criminals, and the leaders of communities such as the Roman Catholic, whose adult members submit themselves to tutelage, to exercise, however clumsily, a protective censorship. Even these persons we shall not respect unless it is their constant endeavour to give their wards, except when these are incurable imbeciles, greater and greater freedom of personal judgment.

However this may be, we who are not children, and do not submit ourselves to tutelage, have an absolute right to demand that no one shall interfere with our choice of aesthetic experience, so long as in seeking this experience we do not infringe the law. This right is entirely analogous to that of freedom of religious belief and worship.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

GREATER INDIA

IN the light of modern sociological facts, we know that the spirit of competition among different nations can alone keep up life and vigour in a nation. Thus the continuance of rivalry among the modern nations of Europe is a very important factor in the national life of the West. Take away this spirit of rivalry, make one power supreme, and let it have no fear from the rest; the very sense of supremacy and security will undermine the spirit of constant vigilance with the disappearance of which, indolence, luxury and decay will set in. Under such conditions a nation becomes old and any slight attack leaves it a dead mass.

The above process has worked in India as well and has been the root-cause of our decay. The Hindus in very ancient times may or may not have been supreme morally and politically in the then known and populated parts of the earth. They may or may not have had any peoples left with

whom to compete. But we can be certain that centuries before the invasions of the Mohammedans they had shut themselves up within the four walls of India. They not only lost all touch with other peoples, but even lost all knowledge of them. They began to live in a peculiar sort of complete isolation. This spirit prevailed to such an extent among the leading class of Brahmans that injunctions were devised to stop the people from going out of India. The crossing of the ocean became a sin and led to excommunication. The wonder is that the common people not only tolerated this but were happy with it—that is an indication that the old spirit was gone. As a natural consequence of such conditions, the spirited classes began to fight among themselves for trifling causes and fell an easy prey to petty jealousies at home. They quarrelled among themselves, fought and died for vanity rather than follow any noble or high aspiration in their lives. The

degradation was abundantly displayed in the ruling princes of India when they came in contact with the Mohammedan invaders or soon after with the nations of the West. The remnants of that spirit still govern the courts of our princes. This state of things can be remedied only by bringing India into touch with the outside world and thus uniting its peoples in common ambitions for the national destiny. No Indian can be a true citizen unless he has seen the world abroad. The greater the number of Indians who go out of India, the greater will be the real progress made within the country.

Under British rule, various motives have led the people out of India. To the well-to-do and higher classes, foreign education is the great impetus. Following their example many young men belonging to the middle class but not possessing sufficient means have gone out to Japan or America and have worked their way managing to receive education in various branches. But this class of young men does not form permanent colonies abroad.

The second class which has gone out and is of greater importance, is that of the poor emigrants who have left the thickly populated parts of the country to find work outside and thus better their prospects in life. Very few people in India realise the importance of this process of emigration. It would be difficult for many of my readers to imagine that hundreds of well-to-do families, Hindu in every sense of the word, are found in regions as distant as South America and Oceania. It is they who in their humble way form what I call Greater India outside the limits of our motherland. Having had some personal experience in these distant lands, I propose to give a very rough outline of this new phase of development of our people.

This colonisation of the Indians can be divided into three main sections.

The first is round the Indian Ocean on the coast of Africa. In this division first comes East Africa. About a week from Bombay, is a small coast town, Lamu. It is important as an old trading town. It has some Hindu firms which date back to the time of the Moorish traders. They are from the Bombay coast. There has, however, been no new additions to them. Two days

from Lamu we have a very important town, Mombassa. The interior of it presents all the features of an Indian town. It enjoys a very beautiful situation with a moderately warm climate. It seems to be the growing commercial centre for East Africa. The major part of the merchants and government employees are Indians. The town has not a large white population. Large tracts of land were given to the English at a nominal price, but the place and the climate does not seem to suit the white people. The Indians too could buy lands cheap. The currency is Indian. The Railway line, 600 miles inland, from Mombassa to Lake Victoria Nianza was constructed chiefly with Punjabee labour; and consequently a good number of the Punjabees are employed on it. Three hundred miles inland from Mombassa, is another growing town, Nairobi. It is a very pretty town. The population consists of the Railway employees and the merchants who are mostly from the Punjab.

The second day from Mombassa brings one to Zanzibar. This town enjoys native rule, but is under British protection. The trading population in the town is mainly Indian, both Hindu and Mohammedan, who went out there from Bombay a long time ago. Again we have Indian traders in the German and Portuguese East Africa. By the way, it were the Indian mariners in Mozambique who showed Vasco-da-gama, the way to India.

We can not pass from here without noticing the island of Mauritius. In this island, out of a population of between three and four hundred thousand, nearly half are Indians. A section of them is rich and influential and some Mohammedans own sugar factories. A dialect of French is the spoken language, though Hindi is current among the Indians. Doctor Manilal, M.A., Bar-at-law, settled some years ago at Port Louis, the principal town in the island.

The next part of this section consists of the different States of United South Africa, i.e., Cape Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal, including the Portuguese possession of Delagoa Bay. The long and persistent struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is a familiar thing and the name of Mr. Gandhi adds real sweetness to it.

In Cape Colony, several thousands of

Hindus from Madras have settled in Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberly. They are earning a good livelihood in the fruit trade and other kinds of labour. But there are very few traders and not a single man of education among them. They speak their own language. An educated Madrasi with some capital will find a good opportunity of establishing himself among them. At Cape Town itself there is no Indian population excepting half-a-dozen merchants; though the Malayan Mohammedans form a considerable part of the population. When I was in South Africa, in the Transvaal, the towns of Johannesburg and Pretoria with their suburbs contained nearly ten thousand Indians. Excepting a few rich merchants, they carried on the fruit trade or earned their living as hawkers. The white population, however, was unusually jealous of them. I am afraid their number is very much reduced now. In Natal the Indians form the back-bone of the Colony. Most of the industries, agriculture, factories and mines, are worked by them. They form more than half the population of the Colony, reaching nearly a hundred thousand. There is a class of merchants in the towns of Durban, Maritzburg, Ladysmith and Dundee. The immigrants are from Madras and the United Provinces and the trading class has followed from Madras and Bombay. Though working under prejudices and disadvantages, the community on the whole is progressing. In 1906, the first Madrasi Hindu boy accompanied me to London for the study of law. He must have gone back by this time. Without any political rights and the advantage of state-education, they have a large field for development if they help themselves or receive help from their better educated countrymen from India. Mr. Doorosawmy Pillay of Durban was a very important figure.

One point to be remembered is that the Christian Missionaries have not done much work of "conversion" among them, as compared with what they have accomplished in our second division, i.e., in South America.

The second section of colonisation, is in the West Indies and South America. In this part of the world, British Guiana ranks first. It is a very large country with large undeveloped resources. This is perhaps the

only British Colony where the Indians have got all political privileges. About half the population, i.e., a hundred and fifty thousand in number, is composed of Indians. The emigration to this part began as early as the exodus to South Africa. It date from 1834. So we find the Indians living here to the third and even to the fourth generation. The peculiarity about this section is that all the population consist of such persons as have come under contract as labourers or their descendants. It was rarely that a person came from India otherwise. This is a strange contrast with South Africa where a number of merchant emigrants have gone, though it takes less time to come over to this part. Coming *via* Europe it takes a month to reach Guiana or any other part of the West Indies; while the voyage to South Africa usually occupies more time.

In British Guiana, the people under contract generally work on sugar plantations. When free, they engage in agriculture trade or some other occupation. It is quite surprising how some Indians could amass wealth, having come as labourers and without a knowledge of the English language. One man, Bindraban Maharaj, came as a labourer under contract and on finishing his contract started as a money-lender. He died a short time ago, while I was there. On his death he left forty thousand dollars in the Bank, besides the cash or jewellery he left with his family, and a vast amount of assets. He had his dealings with all classes, both white and black. There are others who have risen to become estate owners and merchants. Bhawani Pershad Maharaj is a leading property holder in George Town, and Bihari Saw of Henrietta, a leading merchant among the Hindus. Both came under contract and now they own thousands of dollars, the fortune of the former approximating a hundred thousand. Rice-cultivation was introduced into British Guiana by the Indians and some of them now are in a position to own rice-factories. Mr. Veerasawmy Mudaliar is another rich Hindu land-owner in George Town. His son is studying for the bar in England and making a name in the cricket world there.

The Hindus here are suffering from a great disadvantage. The education of children is compulsory by law. And almost all the

schools are in the hands of Christian Missionaries, and are aided by the State. A large number of the youths of the new generation is thus being converted to Christianity. Among the Christian converts there are some very important persons. Practically speaking the educated class has gone over to Christianity, and a gulf of religion is created between the two sections of the educated and their uneducated compatriots. The result is that though there are men of position like Dr. Wharton, they could not get any influence in politics because the mass of the Indian population is not at their back. A very important recent arrival is Dr. Ram Narain Sharma. In a few months he has acquired a leading position among the Hindus. He is acting as Secretary of the Hindu School started to educate the Hindu children without teaching Christianity. He is doing very well in his work and no doubt he has set a noble example to other Indian youths who possess the qualifications to go abroad and work for their people as well as for themselves.

Next to British Guiana comes Trinidad. In this island the Indian population occupies a similar position, with the difference that they are far better in their worldly circumstances. Their number exceeds one hundred thousand. The defect however is that in strange contrast with George Town of Guiana which contains a large number of Indian merchants, no Indian merchant could be found in Port of Spain, the principal town of Trinidad. I could find only one young man, Ram Persad, who has opened an Indian hotel in Chacon Street. In the country, however, there are villages which contain a purely Indian population. In some cases these villages look very pretty, running along the road with Indian houses with little gardens and some small cultivated fields on either side. In Tanapuna a well-to-do youngman named Sagar holds good views. In the country districts practise two young Indian barristers, both having gone over to Christianity on account of early training. In the District of San-Fernando, several Hindus own big coco estates. There are three whose estates can be valued at more than a hundred thousand dollars. Kalanal Sing was a leading man among them. He died only recently. Lal Singh is another well-known

merchant. Trinidad is in great need of a man of the type of Dr. Ramnarain. In the beginning he might meet with some difficulty, but gradually he is sure to get on.

Next we come to the Dutch Guiana, known as Surinam, Paramaribo being its capital. Surinam contains about 40 thousand Indians, some of whom are traders and land-owners. A large number of them works on plantations. The treatment accorded to them by the Dutch, is very good. They are admitted to the Government Service. Special schools are provided for their children in which the Hindi language is taught. Sital Persad Maharaj, the chief Interpreter there, has a great influence. His son whom I had the pleasure to meet, is perhaps the only Indian employed as an officer in the Navy. Lachlman Singh is an Indian merchant in the town.

Jamaica, though a large island, contains not more than ten thousand Indians, who will be gradually swallowed up by Christianity, if they are not taken care of.

The third section comprises the colonies in the Pacific ocean. We start with California, which has a few thousand Sikh labourers, some of whom are trying to become farmers. They are not of much importance because their wives are not with them and further immigration has been prohibited.

Then comes British Columbia, which also contains a few thousand Sikhs, mostly labourers on the fields. Only a few have their wives with them. The Government of Canada too has practically stopped further immigration from India. At one time the Government wanted to transport them all to Honduras; they were fortunately helped by Sardar Teja Singh and other patriotic gentlemen. They have got a splendid Sikh Temple and a large property attached to it in Vancouver. There is a vast amount of land in Canada and it needs labour badly; but there exists a strong prejudice against Asiatic labour. The Indians have not lost all hope of overcoming this prejudice; and only recently Dr. Sunder Singh and three other gentlemen have been sent to represent the Indian case to the Dominion Government and request permission for Indian immigration in the Colony. The Fiji Islands come next; which

have got a population of about 70 thousand Indians. The Straits Settlements is also an important centre of colonisation, where a large number of Madras immigrants have settled, just as they have done in Ceylon and Burma. It can be expected that men of education and means from Madras would follow their brethren to these parts.

The labouring immigrants may not appear very important at first sight; but there is a great future in store for them. The proof of this lies in the present progress which the negro race has made in North and South America. The negroes were brought in slavery. They were little better than savages. At present in the West Indies, they have got an independent state of their own (Haiti). In some they are looking for independence. In the rest they are trying to advance on the lines of modern civilisation.

The abolition of slavery in 1832 created a demand for free labour. This demand led to the immigration of the Indians in these distant parts of the African and the American continents. The Hindus have not come as savages or slaves. They bring, on the other hand, their hereditary intelligence, skill and habits of economy. They have immediate prospects of becoming free men. A glance at their present condition shows that they have been advancing very steadily and their future generations may improve in a remarkable manner. As individuals they have much broader views and a greater scope for their ambition. Sometimes it is necessary to give them a little encouragement, and it would be much more elevating if that comes from Hindu young men instead of from Christian missionaries. In conclusion, I appeal to all young men in India to go abroad in ever-increasing numbers. There is no national progress without foreign travel. Sea-sickness is the best national tonic. And it is our duty to help, enlighten and encourage our brethren across the seas. Greater India has arisen without noise of drum or trumpet, under the palm-trees of tropical America and on the snow-girt plains of Canada. It is time to take stock of our position and think in terms of a universal Hindu consciousness. The children of these colonists should be educated along national lines. They should

be taught Hindu history, and Hindu institutions should be established and preserved wherever the Hindus live. The Ramayana and the Gita should follow the footsteps of Hindu emigrants. We can thus save our young men abroad from absorption in the Christian community. They are converted to Christianity only for social reasons and not for the sake of their souls. The development of the social machinery of Hinduism in their midst is the great remedy for this evil.

Enterprising young men should learn some lucrative art or industry before venturing out in the broad world. Medicine, pharmacy, carpentry, bricklaying, signpainting, watch making and the arts of the goldsmith and ironsmith, are all useful avocations that will enable a person to earn his livelihood anywhere. A small amount of capital will also set up the owner in retail trade in any town. But it is folly to go abroad without some capital and business experience or the knowledge of some useful skilled industry or some medical or legal qualifications. A simple degree from an Indian university or the more common credentials of a "failed F. A." will not feed any one in the colonies.

A good constitution too is a necessary part of the equipment of the young man who is restless at home. He must not fall ill immediately after arrival and must be able to endure some hardship and privation in the early period of his sojourn abroad.

Clever physicians and surgeons or Barristers have the best chance everywhere, if they bring a little money to set up a decent establishment at first. Medicine is the universal passport to success.

So the call of Greater India comes to our stay-at-home youths. The pearl is placed on the heads of monarchs, only when it leaves its little shell in the darkness of the ocean depths. Even so young men of India should go abroad to seek wealth, experience and an honorable life, combined with opportunities of serving their countrymen.

If Greater India attracts some of our "unemployed" and able youths, I shall deem my labour amply rewarded.

BHAI PARMANAND.

INDIAN INDENTURE SYSTEM IN THE COLONIES

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MAURITIUS.)

Put an end to it in any shape or form.

WHOEVER has gone to the colonies, without official or personal bias, to see the working of the system of indentured Indian labour, must admit that official reports conceal more than they reveal and that red-tape language conceals human thoughts more than ordinary language. And yet for those who want to read between the lines, evidence is not wanting to show that the system of Indian indentured labour is a civilized form of slavery, of which it is the modern substitute in fact, in most, if not all, colonies.

Sir Charles Bruce in *The Broad Stone of Empire*, says that in the colonies where the white people are unable to do physical work on account of a tropical climate, etc., there could be no exploitation without the labour of coloured people. In some colonies after the emancipation of negro slaves, with whose labour the plantations had been worked, the negroes could not be persuaded to do agricultural labour as free men, having been brought up to look upon such work as being fit only for slaves. In others the native races were too uncivilized to do, or to be induced to do, regular agricultural work, their wants being few and these easily supplied. It was under these circumstances that Mauritius, Natal, Trinidad, Jamaica, British Guiana and other colonies started the system known as indentured Indian immigration to supply labour for their industries.

There have been many separate official enquiries, commissions, royal or otherwise, official visits, etc., from time to time to obtain information regarding the condition of Indian coolies in the various British and foreign colonies, which have flourished mainly, I may say wholly, upon cheap Indian labour. This can be seen from the most recent official report on the subject, published in 1910 as a blue-book (Cd.

5192)—I mean the Report of the Departmental Committee (Lord Sanderson was Chairman) on emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. Mauritius seems to have taken the lead in forging the system of law governing indentured labour, which, with some changes, obtains in all these colonies. This sugar colony imported about 7,000 Indians between 1834 and 1837. In the latter year Mr. Fowell Buxton, Lord Brougham and others denounced the system of indentured labour as being slavery in disguise. The result was an official enquiry which ended in a report in 1840. Three members of the Committee were altogether opposed to further emigration; but the fourth member, Sir J. P. Grant, wrote strongly in favour of the system, only suggesting a number of precautions to remove some abuses. Strange to say, a motion supporting the majority report was lost in Parliament on the 26th of July, 1842. So this system of exploiting the colonies at the expense of the caste-feelings, chastity, honour, self-respect, youth, health and in some cases, even the lives of Indian men and women, continues in full swing to this day.

Some idea can be gained of the number of the unfortunate victims of this system, from the following tables—though they do not furnish recent statistics.

EMIGRANTS FROM 1842 TO 1870.

Mauritius	...	...	351,401
British Guiana	...	...	79,691
Trinidad	...	...	42,519
Jamaica	...	...	15,169
Other West Indian Islands	...	...	7,021
Natal	...	...	6,448
French Colonies	...	...	31,346

Note.—Emigration to Fiji opened in 1885.

According to the returns for 1907, the number of persons of Indian nationality in the various colonies were as follows:—

British Guiana	...	...	127,000
Trinidad	...	...	103,000
Jamaica	...	...	13,000
Mauritius	...	...	264,000

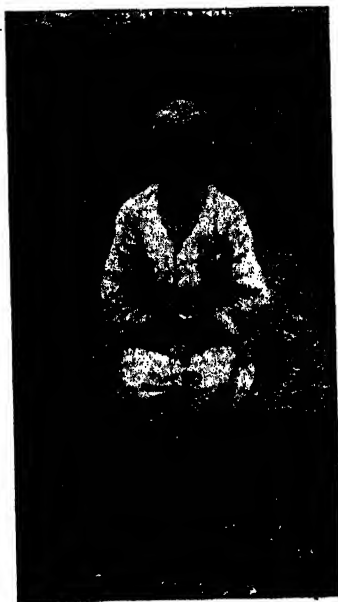
Natal	...	...	115,000
Fiji	...	...	31,000

In 1851, Mauritius, whose sons generally aim at being qualified as "*Malin*" rather than be described as simple folks, straight or honest (and are, by the way, proud of the first adjective only) obtained the consent of the Government of India to keep their coolie slaves even after the stipulated five years by refusing to give return passages to those men and women who were yet young or strong enough for exploitation.

All the Crown Colonies grant return passages to their Indian victims, not at the end of five years, as is generally supposed, but after a further indenture of five years or more and not without some difficulties; whilst Mauritius is unique in *granting* free return passages to those only who are too old, sick, infirm or decrepit to work for the pseudo-French or Semi-white nobles, who benefit by the sugar industry. These men and women return to India and live on the hospitality of their friends or relatives or beg and starve in the streets of Calcutta or other cities containing coolie-recruiting depôts, after their youth, health, and social and moral purity have been converted into rupees by the planters of Mauritius. Fresh information regarding the brutal treatment of Indian labourers in Mauritius led to the suspension of emigration from India in 1856-57, after which it was re-opened, when the Indian Government felt satisfied that Mauritius had mended some of her ways. Till 1867, the "*malin*" planters of Mauritius went on passing laws "to acquire complete control over the labour market by means of regulations and administrative measures which aimed at compelling the coolie to re-engage himself on the expiry of his indenture and were less and less favourable to freedom." This is the language of the official report; but people who have lived in Mauritius will tell you that this period was pure and unmitigated slavery, characteristically described by old immigrants as "*le temps margo*" or "times bitter as the vegetable *karela*."

Now the Government of India had been sleeping all this time, but on the initiative of a noble European M. de Plevitz, whose name I must not omit, and Sir Arthur Gordon, now Lord Stanmore, the then

Governor of Mauritius, a Royal Commission came to Mauritius to enquire into the condition of Indian labourers in 1872. I may mention in passing that M. de Plevitz was assaulted and thrashed by the "*malin*" planters of the colony and there is a floating tradition in the colony, that one Mr. Rajaratnam Mudaliar, a gentleman from Madras holding an appointment in Mauritius either as interpreter or teacher of Tamil, who had instigated a petition recounting the grievances of Indian labourers, was persecuted into retiring from the colony. But whatever be the sufferings of Messrs. de Plevitz and



LOOK AT THE KNEE-GAP.

The little boy Rampertab Soomaroo was brutally beaten by Mr. Conne on the 4th of August, 1911 because he warned the labourers of Z'ile d'Ambre Estate in Mauritius against complaining of bad and reduced rations (rice) if they did not want to be shot down on the estate.

Rajaratnam, true it is, that the Commission issued an elaborate report, in which the grievances of indentured Indian labourers were substantiated, with the result that the police restrictions upon the movements of Indians away from their estates, etc., were done away with, the powers of the protector were enlarged, and English or Anglo-Indian magistrates were appointed to administer the labour law, which had been



INDIAN SLAVES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE ON CORONATION DAY.

These indentured laborers of Z'île d'Ambre Estate in Mauritius were obliged to work on His Majesty King George V.'s Coronation Day, though the Government had ordered a holiday on all Sugar estates and factories. They were prosecuted criminally on various charges because they sent a petition to the King protesting against such and other general ill-treatment.

hitherto administered by local men, about one of whom, the official report said, "the administration of justice in the district of Savanne was the administration of injustice." Without obtaining the consent of the Government of India the Mauritius Government has now almost completely substituted Mauritian magistrates (interested directly or indirectly in the sugar industry) for the English stipendiary magistrates.

In 1894, Mr. Muir Mackenzie, an Indian Civilian, visited Mauritius *en passant* after studying the condition of Indian labourers in the neighbouring French colony of Reunion, commonly known as Bourbon. Though Mr. Muir Mackenzie's report is generally favourable to the planters of Mauritius, he could not fail to notice that the "double cut" or a deduction of two

days' wages for each day of absence was a great evil. If an Indian labourer was overworked, beaten and ill-treated for 15 days and if he took ill and the estate hospital said there was nothing the matter with him, the poor man had to absent himself from work for, may be, the next 15 days. Under "the double cut" law he would have no wages at the end of the month, but only rations all the time. Many labourers were thus able to just keep body and soul together on their rations, getting no wages at all for 15 days' work. This great grievance had been noticed as far back as 1894 and yet the "malin" planters of Mauritius somehow or other managed to continue this institution of slavery till 1909 and even then strenuously opposed the Government measure to remedy this evil. Their efforts,

tion of each student for a year; but so long as the University can render such signal service to the commonwealth, the money expended for education is well invested.



PROF. BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

Who believes that America and India will be drawn closer together into a bond of international brotherhood in the near future.

Dr. Shambaugh himself is very modest in speaking of the big things which he has already accomplished in life. He is the editor of the "Iowa Journal of History and Politics," the Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Member of the Board of Editors of the "American Historical Review", Editor of the "Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association", and, as a part of his practical interest in the progress of the world at large, he is now supervising the preparation of a thesis on the "English methods of Administration in India". If the visitor look around Dr. Shambaugh's office he will find that the books on history and political science which Professor Shambaugh has written and edited fill nearly three shelves of a large book-case. Books, however, are not the things that he prizes

most. He seems to count his greatest success when he has been able to make life worth while for others. His exuberance and enthusiasm are infectious. He pours himself into his subject with such a rush as to make it impossible for any one not to react. He is as busy as busy can be, yet ever ready to lend a hand. There doubtless are other professors like him in other colleges of the University, but I have taken him as a notable type of those great men who have made Iowa what it is.

The University embraces a College of Medicine, two Schools for Nurses, a College of Applied Science, a School of Education, a College of Liberal Arts, a School of Political and Social Science and Commerce, a College of Pharmacy, a College of Dentistry, a College of Law, a Graduate College, and a College of Fine Arts. The glory and strength of Iowa lies in its professional colleges. The Medical College is among the best in the land. The College of Applied Science is in the front rank. It teaches such branches of engineering as electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, civil engineering, and structural engineering. The School of Education sends out every year from seventy-five to a hundred teachers for the best High Schools, Normal Schools, Colleges and Universities, including several of those in foreign countries. These men and women are trained to be something more than mere professional teachers; they are the leaders of advanced educational thought. The Graduate College represents the capstone of all the colleges. To be a member of this College one should have received his bachelor's degree. The Graduate College offers unlimited opportunities for advanced study and research in almost every field of human knowledge. This College confers upon successful candidates the degrees of M. A., M. S., and Ph. D.

The student who goes to Oxford University does not have a large number of subjects to choose from. He selects a course, which in reality is prescribed for him, from a few limited groups of studies—*Literae Humaniores*, Mathematics, Science, English and Modern History. There the field is so circumscribed that one can exhaust the entire course of instruction in ten or twelve years. In great American Univer-

sities, like Iowa's for example, it would require several hundred years to finish the entire body of instruction. The vast range of the subjects covered by the Iowa University may be faintly guessed from the fact that it offers over three hundred electives in the departments of Archeology, Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Education, English (including Public Speaking), Fine Arts, Geology, German, Greek, History, Latin, Mathematics, Philosophy, Physics, Political Science, Political Economy, Religious Education, Romance Languages (that is French, Italian and Spanish), Sanskrit, Scandinavian, Sociology, and Zoology.

On an average, it takes a student from India who has a training equivalent to that of the English High School, four years to get his first degree. However, I have known Indian students who took their B. A. degrees in three years.

The instruction is given principally through lectures; but the students are required to supplement the lectures by independent study and investigation. To this end the University has one General and twenty-two Departmental Libraries open to the students from eight in the morning till ten at night every day during the week. Then there are also fifty laboratories for students of every science. The characteristic University spirit is thoroughly displayed by the Zoological Museum in the Hall of Natural Science. For the last twenty years the University has sent zoological expeditions to collect specimens from such far-off places as Bahama Islands, Alaska, the Arctic Coast, Siberia, Cuba, the Bay of Naples, the Hawaiian Islands. The mounting of these specimens is done by the students under a competent teacher. A Bengali student, who is specializing in taxidermy, has been doing very creditable work along this line. Besides the Zoological Museum, there are nine other departmental museums.

The State University of Iowa in its effort for intellectual development of the students does not underestimate the value of physical training. It maintains a well equipped gymnasium as an organised department of the University work, and requires all students to take physical exercise. As a rule all male students report for military duty to the Commandant at

the Armory. The instruction in this department is mostly practical. It includes infantry drill, guard duty, running up signals, and target practice. The interest of the Indian students in the military tactics has always been most intense.

It is almost unnecessary to call attention to the fact that Iowa, like all other State Universities, emphasizes the need for "full and complete education" of both sexes. The welfare and comfort of the women students are specially looked after by the Dean of Women. She acts as a mother to the young women whenever they need her advice. The relation between the two sexes is normal, and wholesome. I never heard a man complain of the loss of the peace of his mind because of the presence of the young ladies in the class. There are, of course, men who can never claim much acquaintance with the feminine members of the University. They are what you may call "uniques". The normal student, however, who has social proclivities, finds abundant opportunity for their indulgence in walks through the beautiful woods, rowing on the Iowa River, picnics on the hill-sides, skating by frosty moonlight on the frozen river, formal calls, balls, and other forms of healthy amusement.

What chance has a man in a crowd of two or three thousand students for personal development, for coming in close touch with his professors? is a question that may suggest itself to a prospective Iowan. The University, in order to make instruction more personal, has put a limit to the number of students in its classes. This year for every twenty-five fresh men in English there has been organised a separate class. Iowa has also introduced a new idea to bring the students closer to the teachers by appointing a Faculty Adviser for practically every student. The Adviser is a sort of "big brother". He looks after the general welfare of the student; he gives him friendly advice when he falls behind in his studies. But woe to those who persistently disregard his "advice" and fail to buckle down to their books, for surely they will be "allowed" to drop from the college-roll before long!

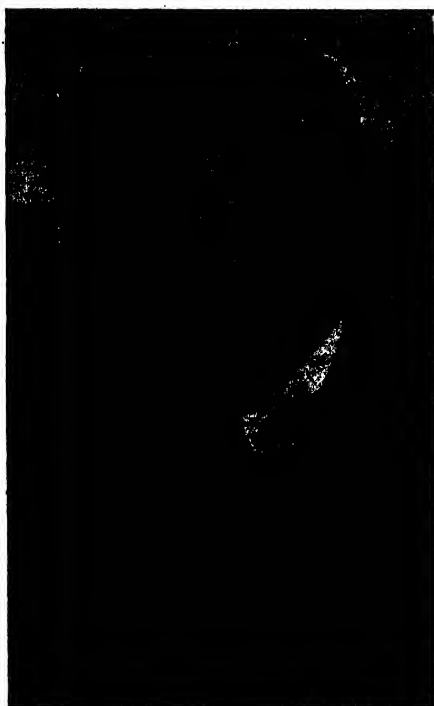
The cost of living at Iowa ranges from six hundred to nine hundred rupees a school year. Generally the students lodge in one

place and take their meals at restaurants or boarding clubs. Some of these clubs are run by students on a co-operative basis, and the price of board is appreciably lower than in places under private management. At some boarding houses both men and women are admitted, while others exclude women. It is a good idea to get into a place where there are both men and women boarders—the meals here are likely to be more respectable and table manners distinctly superior. The average rate for board in a private boarding club is about ten rupees a week. Those who patronize inexpensive restaurants live even more cheaply. They can get three good square meals a day at the restaurant for seven rupees a week. Some of the Hindu students who have tried to cook their own meals are known to have done it for as low as five rupees a week. The average room rent is from twelve to sixteen rupees a month. The best way to cut down the rent is to get an American room-mate. He will not only pay half the rent, but will assist the Indian student in many ways in getting accustomed to new surroundings.

True to its democratic tradition Iowa has never been meant only for those who have a large bank account. The Registrar for the University and the Dean of Women are authority for the statement that nearly fifty per cent. of the men and from five to ten per cent. of the women students are self-supporting. However, it should be well understood that the University has nothing whatever to do with finding employment for the students. They must look for themselves. They work as waiters, dish washers, barbers, book-keepers, stenographers, salesmen, tutors. The skilled man naturally gets the pick of the jobs. He can make at least ten annas an hour. Last year an Indian student was in the habit of charging twelve annas an hour for tutoring in Chemistry. Let no one forget that those who earn their support carry a double burden, perform a double task. It involves the expenditure of such extra time and energy that it may lead to broken health and possibly to intellectual failure. And while the Indian students are likely to get some work that may help pay part of their expenses, they should think twice before they come to America

expecting to earn all their way through college.

"What do you like best about this University?" I asked a number of representative students. "It is the University atmosphere—the students and the teachers who make it", was the unanimous reply. The students here really put their hearts into their college work; they make study a part of real life. There exists what one has called a "unity of loyalty". An Iowan is loyal to his University, loyal to his state, and loyal to his country. His college spirit is inseparable from his national patriotism; but the Iowan



PRESIDENT JOHN G. BOWMAN

Who predicts that Indian National Universities will exchange professors with the great American Universities, as they do now with those of Germany and England.

is made after the image of his teacher. Patient, thoughtful, generous, this teacher exercises a wonderfully beneficent influence over the lives of the students. How often have the foreign students seen a professor go far out of his way to give them some

help? How often have they felt that kindness is his daily creed? To be sure, every time a professor meets a student he does not say, "charmed, I am glad to see you"; but he has a large heart throbbing with human sympathy.

The destinies of Iowa's great University are now being guided by Mr. John G. Bowman, the new President. It is a sheer stimulus to hear him talk of India and its educational possibilities. He is a man with a broad vision and with a deep sympathy for all that concerns student's welfare. Although he has been in office less than three months, he has already inaugurated reforms which at once mark him as a man with rare creative and administrative energy. Among other things he has organized the Iowa Union—an institution where the polyglot members of the University can meet socially to develop a united college sentiment. He has also plans under way to build a system of dormitories for both men and women. Under such a clear-headed leadership the future of Iowa is assured.

The University occupies at present thirty buildings on a fifty-acre campus in the heart of Iowa City. It is located about two hundred and thirty miles west of Chicago. The reason why the Indian students who look for the kind of education that Iowa offers should prefer this institution, is that the people in this part of the country have great kindness in their hearts.

Moreover, the cost of living here is much smaller than either in the East or West.

There is a section of Anglo-Indian press in India which has been doing its worst for the past few years to discredit the work of the Indian students abroad. These papers for the most part are as mendacious as they are ignorant. Professor E. D. Starbuck, of the Department of Philosophy, who has special opportunities to observe the Indian students in his official capacity as the Faculty Adviser of the foreign students, takes a direct issue with these papers. He says: "One of the best assets of the University of Iowa in preserving its morale and in helping it to maintain a world view of things is the presence here of foreign students. This is especially true on account of the high type of manhood that we get from abroad. Second to none among these is the group of Hindu students. They have invariably been choice personalities who are the embodiment of the beautiful old culture that lies back of them. As adviser for foreign students and in other ways, I have come to know their work somewhat intimately. It has been without exception of high order. It promises well for the future of the nations when men of this stamp can come, and while being true to their own national life, can assimilate the best elements in our own civilization and appropriate it to the furtherance of their own."

SUDHINDRA BOSE.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

CHAPTER XII.

THE ILLNESS OF SHAH JAHAN, 1657.

IN December, 1656, the public health of Delhi became so bad that Shah Jahan with his Court proceeded to the bank of the Ganges at Garh Mukteshwar, a place noted for its game. In less than a month he returned to the capital; but as the epidemic continued he again left it (February, 1657) and went to Mukhlispur on the Jumna, nearly a hundred miles north of

Delhi. The cool climate of this place, at the foot of the Sirmur hills and yet within easy reach of the capital by boat, had led him to choose it as his summer retreat, and he had adorned it with fine palaces for himself and his eldest son, and given it the glorious name of Faizabad.*

Here a grand Court ceremony was held.†

* Waris, 118b, 119a, 121a and b, (Mukhlispur described), 122a (palaces described).

† Kambu, 1b.

Shah Jahan's reign : He just completed three decades of his reign and began the 31st year on 7th March. In the official annals of the Mughal Emperors written by their command, every period of ten years (called a *dawwar*) was taken together and a volume devoted to it. Three such decades formed an epoch (*qarn*),* which was regarded as a sort of perfect and auspicious number. Shah Jahan had completed one such epoch and begun another. The occasion was, therefore, one of peculiar importance and solemnity.

The reign had been as prosperous as it had been long. The 'wealth of Ind' under this Great Mughal dazzled its glories ; the eyes of foreign visitors,

and on gala days ambassadors from Bukhara and Persia, Turkey and Arabia, as well as travellers from France and Italy, gazed with wonder at the Peacock Throne and the Kohinoor and other jewels which cast a luminous halo round the Emperor's person. The white marble edifices which he loved to build were as costly as they were chaste in design. The nobles of the empire eclipsed the kings of other lands in wealth and pomp. Save for two failures of his arms outside the natural frontiers of India, the Imperial prestige stood higher than ever before. The bounds of the "protected empire" had been stretched further than in any preceding reign. Within the country itself a profound happiness of the people.

peace reigned. The peasantry were carefully cherished ; harsh and exacting governors were in many cases dismissed on the complaint of the people. Wealth and prosperity increased on all hands. As a panegyrist sang :—

"The people were light of heart as the
Emperor bore the heavy burden
(of looking after them) ;
Disorder fell into a deep sleep
through his wakefulness."†

A kind and yet wise master, Shah Jahan had gathered round himself a band of very able officers, and made his Court the centre of the wit and wisdom of the land.

But some ominous shadows had already

* Inayat Khan's *Shah Jahan namah* (as quoted in Elliot, vii. 74.). Waris, 12.

† India Office Library, Pers. Ms. No. 1344, folio 7b.

been cast on this bright prospect and with the passage of time they were deepening. One by one the great ministers and generals who had contributed to the glory of the reign were being removed by the pitiless hand of Death. The three best known officers and dearest personal friends of Shah Jahan died within the last five years : Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang on 4th January, 1652, Sadullah Khan, the Abul Fazl of his age, on 7th April, 1656, and Ali Mardan Khan, the premier peer, on 16th April, 1657.* And, as the giants of old passed away, the Emperor found no worthy successors to them among the new faces and younger men about him.† He had already completed 67 lunar years,‡ and the life of warfare and hardship that he had gone through in his father's latter years, followed by the long ease of his own tranquil reign, had undermined his body, and he already felt the hand of age. What would happen after him ? That was

the question now present in all minds. Often and often succession. had he talked with his confidants about the future,§ and that future was most gloomy.

Shah Jahan had four sons. All of them were past youth, and all had gained experience as governors of provinces and commanders of armies. But there was no brotherly love among them, though the three younger princes,—Shuja, Aurangzib and Murad Bakhsh, were usually drawn together by a common jealousy of the eldest, Dara Shukoh, their father's favourite and intended heir. The ill-feeling between Dara and Aurangzib in particular was so bitter and had continued growing bitterer for so many years past, that it was the talk of the whole empire, and peace had been maintained between them only by keeping Aurangzib far away from the Court and his eldest brother.|| Everyone foreboded

* Waris, 57b, 108a ; Kambu, 1b, *M. U.* ii, 436.

† *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, No. 48.

‡ 25th January, 1657, was his 68th lunar birth-day, (Waris, 120b), while his 66th solar year began 15 days earlier (Waris, 119b).

§ *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, No. 54.

|| Hamiduddin's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, tr. by me as *Anecdotes of Aurangzib* § 2 and 5, Masum, 66, Kambu, 8b, 444b, 171b, 174b, Aqil Khan, 10.

that the succession to Shah Jahan's throne would be disputed, and that a universal and complicated civil war would deluge all parts of India with blood, as soon as he would close his eyes or even earlier.

Shah Jahan had given clear indications that he wished to leave the crown to Dara. As this prince was the eldest of the

four sons by the same mother, the choice was not an act of unjust partiality, but simply followed the law of nature which gives the eldest born authority and precedence above the younger ones. In order to train him in the administration of the empire and to smooth the transfer of the supreme authority to him, the Emperor had kept Dara by his side for many years past. The viceroyalty of rich and long-settled provinces like Allahabad, the Punjab, and Multan, had been conferred on him, but he was allowed to stay at his father's Court and govern them by deputies. At the same time the Emperor bestowed on him rank and privileges which raised him to an almost royal position, midway between the Emperor and the other princes. Dara now enjoyed the high title of *Shah-i-buland-iqbal*, (King of Lofty Fortune), the unprecedented

his power and rank of a Commander of influence at Forty Thousand Horse, and Court, an income which many a king might have envied. When he attended Court he was allowed to sit near the Emperor on a gold chair only a little lower than the throne.* Dara's sons got military ranks as high as those of the Emperor's younger sons, and his officers were frequently ennobled by the Emperor.† Dependent kings, tributary princes, offenders under the Imperial wrath, aspirants to office or title, all sought or begged Dara's mediation before they could approach the Emperor. Government officials and new recipients of titles, after having had audience of the Emperor, were sent by him

to pay their respects to the Crown Prince.* Much of the administration was latterly conducted at Dara's direction in the Emperor's presence, or even by Dara alone with permission to use the Emperor's name and seal. In short everything was done to make the public familiar with the idea that he was their future sovereign and to make the transfer of the Crown to him on Shah Jahan's death easy.

Dara was just turned of forty-two years.

his religious views. He had taken after his great-grandfather Akbar.

In his thirst for pantheistic philosophy he had studied † the Talmud and the New Testament, the writings of the Muslim Sufis, and the Hindu Vedanta. The easy government of Allahabad had assisted his natural inclination, and with the help of a band of *pandits* he had made a Persian version of the *Upanishads*. The title of *Majma-ul-Baharain* ("the Mingling of Two Oceans") which he gave to another of his works, as well as his prefatory remarks, ‡ prove that his aim was to find a meeting

* Waris, 85a (Ismail Hut presents a remarkable horse to Dara), 91b, 116a (Srinagar Rajah makes Dara his mediator), 87b, 97b (Dara procures a pardon).

† This account of Dara's philosophical studies is based on the extracts from the prefaces of his works as given by Rieu in his *British Museum Catalogue*. Dara wrote in Persian (1) *Sirr-ul-Asrar*, a translation of 50 of the *Upanishads*, completed on 1 July, 1657. (2) *Majma-ul-Baharain*, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. (3) *Dialogue with Baba Lal* (really recorded by Chandrabhan). (4) *Safinat-ul-Awliya* or lives of Muslim saints, completed on 11 Jan., 1640. (5) *Sakinat-ul-Awliya* or the life of Mian Mir, completed 1052 A. H. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th are in the Khuda Bakhsh Library. See also *Faiyas-ul-Gawarin*, 377-388, for Dara's correspondence with Shaikhs Muhibullah and Dilruba.

‡ He writes that although he had perused the Pentateuch, the Gospels, the Psalms and other sacred books, he had nowhere found the doctrine of *Tauhid* or Pantheism explicitly taught but in the *Vedas*, and more especially in the *Upanishads*, which contain their essence. As Benares, the great seat of Hindu learning was under his rule, he called together the most learned pandits of that place, and with their assistance wrote himself the translation of the *Upanishads* (Rieu, i, 54 quoting preface to *Sirr-ul-Asrar*). Elsewhere he states that he had embraced the doctrine of the Sufis, and having ascertained in his intercourse with Hindu Fakirs that their divergence from the former was merely verbal, he had written the *Majma-ul-Baharain* with the object of reconciling the two systems (Rieu, ii, 828, quoting Dara's preface).

* Waris, 96a, (golden chair and title of Shah given to Dara, 3rd February, 1655), 97a, 120a, (Dara's pay was 14 *hrores* of rupees, January, 1657), 123b, (*mansabs* of all the princes). Kambu 6a (Dara promoted to a command of 50,000 horse, 14th September), 7b (Dara promoted to a command of 60,000 horse, with a pay of above 2 *hrores*, 20th December), 8b, Masum, 6b.

† Waris, 96a, 116a.

point for Hinduism and Islam in those universal truths which form the common basis of all true religions and which fanatics are too apt to ignore in their zeal for the mere externals of faith. Alike from the Hindu *yogi* Lal-dās and the Muslim *faqir* Sarmad, he had imbibed his eclectic philosophy, and at the feet of both he had sat as an attentive pupil. But he was no apostate from Islam. He had compiled a biography of Muslim saints, and he had been initiated as a disciple of the Muslim saint Mian Mir, which no *kafir* could have been. * The saintly Jahanara also speaks of Dara as her spiritual preceptor. The manifesto in which Aurangzib as the champion of Islamic orthodoxy denounces Dara for heresy, ascribes to him no idolatrous practice or denial of Muham-

Charge of
heresy brought
against Dara.

mad's prophetic mission,
but only the following
faults: (i) Consorting with

Brahmans, *yogis* and *sanyasis*,—considering them as perfect spiritual guides and 'knowers of God',—regarding the *Veda* as a divine book, and spending his days in translating and studying it.

(ii) Wearing rings and jewels inscribed with the word *Prabhu* ("lord") in Hindi letters.†

(iii) Discarding prayers, the fast during the month of Ramzan, and other canonical ceremonies of Islam, as necessary only in the case of the spiritually undeveloped,—while he believed himself to be a man possessed of a perfect knowledge of God.‡

* During his stay in Kashmir, 1050 A. H., Dara had become a disciple of the great Sufi, Mulla Shah (who died in 1072).....Dara received the initiation to the Qadiri order in 1049 from an eminent master, Muhammad Shah Lisanullah, one of the disciples of Mian Mir. He erected a sumptuous dome over Mian Mir's tomb outside Lahore. Jahanara wrote the *Munis-ul-arwah*, a life of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti, into whose order she was initiated as a disciple, *murida* (Rieu, i, 54, 358 & 357). Dara used to add to his signature the titles *Qadiri* and *Hanifi*, which is not consistent with a profession of heresy.

† *Prabhu* is simply a Sanskrit word meaning "one able to punish and to bless", "the supreme lord". It is not the name of any *idol*, but an epithet of the Deity, as innocent of any connection with polytheism as the Arabic term *Rabb-ul-alamin* ("Lord of the Universe") applied to God in the *Quran*.

‡ *Alamgirnamah*, 34 and 35. Some other charges of heresy, such as the drinking of beer made from sugar, were brought against Dara by Aurangzib, if we can believe Masum (71a).

Dara's own wards in introducing to the reader his theological works, clearly prove that he never discarded the essential dogmas of Islam; he only displayed the eclecticism of the Sufis, a recognised school of Islamic believers. If he showed contempt for the external rites of religion he only shared the standpoint of many noble thinkers of all churches, such as John Milton. However, his coquetry with Hindu philosophy made it impossible for him, even if he had the inclination, to pose as the champion of orthodox and exclusive Islam, or to proclaim a holy war against all who were beyond the fold of the faith.

Then, again, his father's excessive love did him a distinct harm. He was always kept at Court and never, except at the third siege of Qandahar, sent to conduct

Character of
Dara.

campaigns or administer provinces. Thus he never acquired experience in the arts of war and government; he never learnt to judge men by the crucial test of danger and difficulty; and he lost touch with the active army. Hence he was rendered unfit for that war of succession which among the Mughals served as a practical test for the survival of the fittest. Basking in the sunshine of his father's favour and flattered by an entire empire, Dara had acquired some vices unworthy of a philosopher and fatal to an aspirant to the throne. Aurangzib in later life spoke of Dara as proud, insolent to the nobles, and ungovernable in temper and speech.* But while rejecting this testimony of his mortal enemy, we may at least believe that his unrivalled wealth and influence were not likely to develop moderation, self-restraint, or foresight in him; while the fulsome flattery which he received from all must have aggravated the natural pride and arrogance of an heir to the throne of Delhi. The detailed account of his siege of Qandahar, written by an admirer, shows him in the odious light of an incompetent braggart, almost insane with conceit,

* *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, Nos. 5, 47, 53. *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, § 3 and 4. In the *Adab* (260b) Aurangzib writes to Shah Jahan that Dara's only qualifications for winning his father's favour were "flattery, smoothness of tongue, and much laughing, while in carrying out any business entrusted by his father his heart was not in conformity with his tongue."

capricious and childish in the management of affairs. His history during the war of succession clearly proves that, with all the wealth and influence he had enjoyed for years, he could secure very few devoted followers or efficient lieutenants. Evidently he was no judge of character. Men of ability and self-respect must have kept away from such a vain and injudicious master, while the mercenary self-seekers of the army and Court must have recognised that in following him against the astute and experienced Aurangzib they would be only backing the losing side. Dara was a loving husband, a doting father, and a devoted son; but as a ruler of men in troubled times he must have been a failure. Long continued prosperity had unnerved his character and made him incapable of planning wisely, daring boldly, and achieving strenuously,—or if, need be, of wresting victory from the jaws of defeat by desperate effort or heroic endurance. The darling of the Court was utterly out of his element in the Camp. The centre of a circle of flattering nobles and ministers knew not how to make a number of generals obey one masterly will and act in harmony and concert. Military organisation and tactical combination were beyond his power. And he had never learnt by practice how to guide the varying tides of a battle with the coolness and judgment of a true general. This novice in the art of war was destined to meet a practised veteran as his rival for the throne.*

However dark the future might look, for the present things were going on well with Shah Jahan. The usual Court festivals were celebrated as they came round. The victory over Bijapur led to the playing of joyous music, and the granting of rewards and titles. † Marriages took place among his grand children. He held *darbars* with his usual magnificence, and received or sent off generals and viceroys, ambassadors and scholars.

From Mukhlispur Shah Jahan had returned to Delhi at the end of April, 1657.

Here, on 6th September, he suddenly fell ill of stranguary and constipation.* For one week the royal physicians toiled in vain. The malady went on increasing; his lower limbs swelled, his palate and tongue grew very dry, and at times symptoms of fever appeared. During all this period the patient took no food or nourishment, and the medicines produced no effect on him. His weakness was extreme and his pain intense, though borne with heroic fortitude.

The daily *darbar* was stopped; the Emperor even ceased to show his face to the public from the balcony as was his wont every morning; the courtiers were denied access to his sick-bed, which only Dara and a few trusted officers watched. Immediately the wildest rumours spread through the empire: Shah Jahan was dead, and Dara was keeping the fact a secret till he had ensured his own succession!

After a week the doctors at last got control over the malady. Soup of mint and manna did him great good, and he felt some relief. But the needs of empire are imperative. So, on 14th September the patient dragged himself to the window of his bed-room (*khwabgah*) and showed his face to the anxious public standing outside, to prove that he was still alive! Large sums were given away in charity, prisoners were released, and Dara was covered with rewards and honours for his filial care.

But the improvement in the Emperor's condition had been slight; he had still to be carefully treated and nursed; and his weakness continued. It was more than a month (15th October) before he again appeared at the window in view of the public, though papers were taken to his chamber ostensibly to be read out for his orders, and royal letters were still issued in his name and stamped with his seal. The acute stage of the disease had passed, no doubt. But his death was now regarded as only a question of time. He knew it, and appointed Dara as his successor in the presence of the nobles. Then, with his mind freed from earthly cares, he went to

* Kambu, 9a, 10a, 15a; *Alamgirnamah*, 99; Aqil Khan, 33.

† Kambu, 5b.

* For the history of the illness, Kambu, 6a, 7a; *Alamgirnamah*, 27, 80-81. Masum, 296-306; Isardas, 7b-9a.

Agra to die there* quietly in sight of the tomb of the wife he had loved so well.

A change of air had also been advised by the doctors. He is removed to Agra.

On 18th October Shah Jahan left Delhi and moved by easy stages to Agra. Samighat, on the Jumna, six miles above Agra Fort, was reached on 5th November, and here he waited for an auspicious day. The journey had completely restored him to health and he now discarded drugs as unnecessary. On the 26th, the day chosen by the astrologers, he made a royal progress from Bahadurpura, down the Jumna, in a State barge, the people thronging both banks for miles and miles to gaze on their beloved and long-lost ruler. Shouts of prayer and blessings for him filled the air. In this way he entered Agra city and put up in Dara's mansion on the river-bank. After nine days he entered his sumptuous palace in the Fort and there held a *darbar*. At Agra he lived for the next five months. To Agra he returned after a short and futile effort to return to Delhi (April), and from Agra Fort he was destined never again to issue in life.

During Shah Jahan's illness Dara constantly watched by his bedside; but he also stopped the visit of others to the sick-chamber. Only three or four officers of the highest trust and the Court physicians had access to the Emperor. "Dara tended and

Dara's devotion nursed his father beyond to his father in the utmost limit of possibility. his illness.

But he showed no indecent haste to seize the crown. All urgent orders were issued by him, but in the Emperor's name.† He exercised supreme authority and transacted the affairs of State at his own will, but merely as his father's agent. The transfer of power to his own hands, he hoped, would be easy, and he might wait for his father's death without any harm to the work of the State. He had so long occupied in the public eye the place at the right hand of the Emperor that he naturally expected that his exercise of authority on behalf of his invalid father would be accepted without question.

When Shah Jahan's illness first took a

favourable turn (14th September), he heaped on Dara promotion and rewards worth 2½ lakhs of rupees, and again on 20th December presented him with one crore of rupees besides jewellery valued at 34 lakhs, in recognition of his filial piety and tender nursing during the Emperor's illness. Dara's rank was raised to that of a Commander of Sixty Thousand Horse, and his eldest two sons were promoted Commanders of 15,000 and 10,000 troopers respectively.*

After the first week of illness Shah Jahan, as we have already seen, felt some relief, but no hope of recovery. So he piously set

himself to prepare for the next world. Calling to his presence some confidential courtiers and the chief officers of the State, he made his last will before

them, and ordered them to obey Dara henceforth in everything, at all times, and in every place, as their sovereign. To Dara as his successor he gave the advice to seek to please God, to treat the public well, and to care for the peasantry and the army.† Dara now had the supreme power in his hand, though he did not assume the crown but continued to issue orders in his father's name. The history of the next eight months is the history of his attempt to strengthen his position,—an attempt often thwarted by the necessity of taking Shah Jahan's consent in important matters, and also by his own faults of judgment. His policy lacked that strength and singleness of purpose which it might have gained if he had been the absolute master of the realm, or if Shah Jahan, in full possession of his physical powers, had dictated every step himself.

First of all he could no longer retain He attempts to Mir Jumla, the confident strengthen his and partisan of his rival own position. Aurangzib, as Prime Minister of the Empire. Towards the end of September he was removed from the wazirship, and his son, Muhammad Amin, who had been acting as his vicar at Delhi, was forbidden entrance to the office. Orders were also sent to Mir Jumla, Mahabat Khan, and other Imperial officers to return from

* Kambu, 85.

† Kambu, 76.

* Kambu, 6a, 76.

† Kambu, 86.

the Deccan* to the Court with the reinforcements that they had led to Aurangzib's army for the Bijapur war.

In the case of Mir Jumla the order of recall was not peremptory; he was first of all to secure the surrender of Parainda fort from the Bijapuris. But Mahabat Khan and Rao Satar Sal were commanded to come away immediately with the Muhammadan and Rajput troops respectively of the supplementary force; and this they did without waiting to take leave of Aurangzib. They returned to Agra and had audience of the Emperor on 20th December.†

Meantime Dara's partisans and followers received from the Emperor promotions and high administrative offices, and even the province of Bihar was given to him in addition to the Punjab and Multan. Dara also set about acquiring new friends: Khaliullah Khan was promoted and appointed *Subahdar* of Delhi; Qasim Khan was tempted with the viceroyalty of Guzerat from which it was decided to remove Murad.‡

By the middle of November Shah Jahan was completely recovered, and important matters which had hitherto been kept from him, could no longer be withheld. Dara, therefore, told him how Shuja had crowned himself and was advancing from Bengal. Shah Jahan consented to an army being sent against him, under the leadership of Rajah Jai Singh. But as only a prince could cope with a prince, Dara's eldest son Sulaiman Shukoh was joined in the command.

This force, 22,000 strong, left Agra on 30th November, and encountered Shuja near Benares on 14th February, 1658, as we shall see. Dara's most trusted friends and best generals were sent to support his son, and thus he greatly weakened himself at Agra.§

Meantime equally alarming news had arrived from Guzerat. There Murad had murdered his *diwan* Ali Naqi (early in October), looted Surat city (early in Novem-

ber), and finally crowned himself (5th December). At first Dara sent him a letter purporting to proceed from the Emperor, transferring him from Guzerat to Berar. Dara thereby hoped to set one foe against another, as Berar was included in Aurangzib's viceroyalty. Murad saw through the plan, laughed the order to scorn, and neither moved from Guzerat nor acted against Aurangzib.* As yet Aurangzib had done no overt act of disloyalty or preparation for war. But "Dara feared him most." He learnt that Aurangzib had allied himself with Murad and Shuja, and at the same time was secretly intriguing with the nobles of the Court and the officers of the army. Strong letters were, therefore, sent out in the Emperor's name recalling Mir Jumla and the remaining generals from the Deccan (early in December), and on 18th and 26th December two armies were despatched to Malwa, the first to oppose the advance of Aurangzib from the South and the second to march into Guzerat and oust Murad from the province, or, if necessary, to stay in Malwa and co-operate with the first force.†

The leadership of these two armies had gone abegging. Noble after noble had been offered the posts, but had declined, saying that they were ready to fight to the last drop of their blood under the Emperor or Dara in person, but could not of themselves presume to resist to the bitter end a prince of the imperial blood. The rash Rathor Chief Jaswant alone had consented to fight Aurangzib and even promised to bring him back a prisoner.‡ So, he was sent (18 Dec.) to Ujjain as governor of Malwa, *vice* Shaista Khan, whose presence so near Aurangzib gave Dara ground of fear. Such a great noble and near kinsman of the Emperor could not be safely left close to the rebel frontier as his adhesion to the two younger princes would have greatly increased their strength and influence. Shaista Khan had served with Aurangzib in the Golkonda and Bijapur wars and there was a brisk and friendly

* Kambu, 6b, 10a; *Alamgirnamah*, 29.

† Kambu, 5b, 6b, 10b, 8a; Aqil Khan, 16.

‡ Kambu, 6b, 11a; *Faiyas-ul-qawanin*, 413, 414.

§ Kambu, 9a and b; *Alamgirnamah*, 31; Khafi Khan, 5; Masum, 32b-40b.

* Kambu, 10a and b, 11a; *Faiyas-ul-qawanin*, 414, 420.

† Kambu, 10a; *Alamgirnamah*, 29, 34; Aqil Khan, 20 & 21.

‡ Isar-das, 18b.

correspondence between the two. Murad had even planned to dash into Malwa, seize Shaista Khan, and force him to join his side! So Shaista Khan was recalled to the capital, where he secretly served Aurangzib's cause.* Qasim Khan was induced to accept the command of the second army by being created governor of Guzerat in the place of Murad.

While giving leave to the three armies sent from Agra, Shah Jahan had besought their generals to spare the lives of his younger sons, to try at first to send them back to their provinces by fair words if possible, otherwise by a demonstration of force, and not, except in extreme need, resort to a deadly battle.†

In January 1658, the news of further developments reached Agra. Aurangzib had arrested Mir Jumla, who was coming to Delhi in obedience to Imperial orders, and seized his wealth, troops, and artillery. The Prince, no doubt, wrote a lying letter to the Emperor saying that he had arrested Mir Jumla for treasonable intrigue with Bijapur and neglect of the Imperial business;‡ but Dara knew the true reason. Murad had captured Surat Fort, and the preparations of the two brothers to advance into Hindustan could not be kept concealed any longer. Aurangzib's Vanguard began its northward march from Aurangabad on 25th January. At last all the three younger princes had rebelled; they had dropped the mask, or, in the language of the Persian annalists, "the curtain had been removed from the face of the affair."

At Dara's instigation the Emperor threw into prison Isa Beg, the court agent of Aurangzib, and attached his property. But after a time he felt ashamed of such persecution, released the innocent man, and let him go to his master, whom he joined at Burhanpur early in March.§

* Kambu, 114, *Alamgirnāmā*, 114; Aqil Khan, 21; *Faiyās-ul-qawānīn*, 426. For Aurangzib's friendly correspondence with Shaista Khan, see *Adab*, 102a—113a.

† Masum, 455; Aqil Khan, 21; Kambu, 114.

‡ *Alamgirnāmā*, 84; Khafi Khan, ii, 9; *Adab*, 95a, 67 b. Aqil Khan 19, 20, 22.

§ *Alamgirnāmā*, 35 and 39; Aqil Khan, 18 and 23.

Shah Jahan's severe illness and withdrawal from the public gaze had at once created a popular belief that he was dead. Dara guarded the sick-bed day and night; none

Dara tries to but one or two ministers in cut off news of his confidence had access Shah Jahan. to the Emperor. Even the people of Delhi, therefore, had reason to suspect that Shah Jahan was no more. The rumour spread to the farthest provinces with the proverbial speed of ill news. The evil was aggravated by Dara's injudicious action. To smooth the path of his own accession, he set men to watch the ferries and stop all letters and messengers going to his brothers in Bengal, Guzerat, and the Deccan. He also kept their court agents under watch lest they should send any report to their masters.*

But this only wrought greater mischief.

Alarm, suspicion, and confusion throughout the Empire. Ignorance and uncertainty are more dangerous than the knowledge of truth. The princes and people in the distant provinces, with their regular news-letters from the Court suddenly stopped, naturally concluded that the worst had already come to pass. What letters they got indirectly only confirmed the belief. While their official news-writers and court-agents at the capital were being guarded by Dara, other people of the city contrived to smuggle letters out to the princes, offering their devotion and reporting the gossip of the market-place about the condition of Shah Jahan, which was a compound of truth and falsehood.† It was clearly the interest of such men, who from their low position had no access to the inner circle of the Court, to send misrepresentations likely to fan the ambition of the younger princes. Above all, the princess Raushanrai intrigued vigorously for Aurangzib from within the harem and guarded his interests‡ as against Dara's.

Shah Jahan being given up as dead, all the confusion and disorder of a Mughal succession broke out, and the evil was intensified by the expectation of a four-sided duel between his sons, each with the army

* *Alamgirnāmā*, 28; Kambu, 88; *Faiyās-ul-qawānīn*, 418; Masum, 30a and b.

† Kambu, 88.

‡ *Alamgirnāmā*, 368.

and resources of a province at his back. Everywhere lawless men caused tumults, the *ryots* refused to pay the revenue, the zamindars disobeyed the local governors or tried to rob and conquer their rivals; foreign powers, especially in the north-east, violated the frontiers and made inroads into the Imperial territory. Wicked men of every class took advantage of the political trouble to raise their heads, and thereby added to the disorder. The local authorities were paralysed by uncertainty and anxiety about the future, and law and order suddenly disappeared in many places.* Such is the curse of autocracy: when the one central authority, from which all have been accustomed to receive their orders and to which they had ever taught themselves to look up for guidance, ceases to exist, all the officers become bewildered and helpless like children.

The younger princes in their provinces got ready to contest the throne. Shuja and Murad crowned themselves. Aurangzib played a cool and waiting game, while carefully increasing his resources and army. Even when Shah Jahan began to show his face to the public again, the mischief did not cease. It was openly said all over the empire that Shah Jahan was really dead, and that a slave who bore some resemblance to him, disguised in the Imperial robes, personated him on the high palace balcony, and received the *salams* of the public standing below.† Letters in Shah Jahan's hand and seal were issued to the princes and the nobles, but they did not remove the suspicion. Murad echoed the sentiments of others when he asserted that these letters were really written by Dara, an expert imitator of Shah Jahan's hand, and that the late Emperor's seal was necessarily in the possession of his successor.‡ Even those who did not go so far,

thought with Aurangzib that Shah Jahan was either dead or a helpless invalid entirely under Dara's control, so that he had practically vacated the throne. Some even asserted that Dara had wickedly flung his helpless father into prison and was doing him to death.* The three younger brothers, therefore, very plausibly asserted in their letters to the Emperor that their loving minds had been unsettled and march on by these alarming rumours, and they were marching on Agra to see their father with their own eyes and satisfy themselves as to his real condition. Thereafter (they promised) they would return peacefully to their provinces or loyally do whatever their father would personally command them. Their marching on Agra was no sign of rebellion. Had they not hastened thither from their head quarters without waiting for permission, when they heard of Jahanara being burnt? And was not Shah Jahan's present illness a more serious affair and a greater cause of anxiety to them? Thus argued Murad in one of his letters.†

When the agents of Aurangzib and Murad at the Imperial Court wrote to their masters that the Emperor had fully recovered, Murad frankly refused to accept such letters as genuine. For, Dara had previously imprisoned these agents and their houses were still watched by his men; they could not communicate the truth, but had to write to the dictation of Dara's secretary. Hence their letters contained only what Dara wished his brothers to believe. Nothing (Murad argued) would disclose the truth except a march on Agra and an interview with the Emperor himself.‡ Seeing is believing.

Events moved apace. On 30th March, 1658, Aurangzib set out from Burhanpur, crossed the Narmada on 3rd April, joined Murad on the 14th and attacked the Imperial army the next day. The period of intrigue and diplomacy now ends, and the appeal to the arbitrament of the sword begins.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

same style of hand, as the signatures of the two in some Persian Mss. of the Khuda Bakhsh Library show.

* Isardas, *op. cit.*; *Adab*, 300b.

† *Faiz-ul-gawamin*, 425.

‡ *Faiz-ul-gawamin*, 415; Masum, 44a and b.

* *Alamgirnamah*, 27 and 28; Kambu, 86. Masum, 30b. The Rajah of Kuch Bihar raided Northern Bengal and Kamrup, while an Assamese army occupied Kamrup including Gauhati. (*Faiz-ul-gawamin*, 6 and 7). *Adab*, 94a. The official history *Alamgirnamah* and Aurangzib's letters to Shah Jahan in the *Adab* speak of the disorder in the country caused by "Dara's usurpation."

† Masum, 32a and b.

‡ *Faiz-ul-gawamin*, 415, 425, 429. As a matter of fact both Shah Jahan and Dara wrote in the

THE REVOLT OF WOMAN IN THE WEST

IT is hardly possible to convey the true position of Woman in the West to Eastern readers, if one ignores entirely the amazing rebellion that is permeating her life. The writer of an article on the subject in a recent issue of this magazine, states "that woman's condition in all countries is sad servitude." True. And why? "A half grown man is of course a tyrant. And so it has come about that the rule of man in the world has for many centuries meant the serfdom of woman." (Love's Coming of Age." Ed. Carpenter. Swan Sonnenschein and Co.). The same idea seems to occur to the writer of "Woman in the West." He speaks of man, as "the same gross brutal egoist everywhere," and couples with "the disdainful indifferent man-brute" the "stunted, weak, timid, dependent, and ignorant slave-woman." Since this state of tyranny and serfdom are complementary, what is left for woman but rebellion? In England, such rebellion is evident not only in the vast class of women that do not come under the head of upper and lower class, but in these classes themselves. There are factory girls and titled ladies in England to-day, who are moulding a grander life for women of the future; and consequently for men and children. These women have endured the tyranny of the piano and the tyranny of starvation, to say nothing of that of man. But in the fact that they have rebelled, lies the superiority in their position to that of Woman in the East. Such comparisons would be likely to induce petty feelings, were it not for the fact that the progress of the one is the progress of the other. The passionate fight for Woman's freedom in the West will most surely be echoed in the East. Men and women having become equals and comrades, Eastern married life will be relieved of the dead weight that too often characterises it now; and the speed of social progress will be doubled.

It may be asked, against what has

Woman revolted? First and foremost, she has revolted against her economic dependence on man, and against marriage as a profession. To earn her own living presented the only alternative. Many unhappily married women have undertaken any work that offered, rather than exist in a state which to them was nothing less than legalised prostitution. Some, passing through the fires of suffering and experience, gained a clear sighted view of the situation, and set about the task of elucidating their ideas, and infecting others with them. Consequently, today for a large class of women, the choice of a profession is quite naturally undertaken by the parents and by the girls themselves. Such a change in the outlook of womanhood has led to other developments. In many families girls are receiving as good an education as boys. Any special talent that shows itself is being fostered and trained, and the result has been a plentiful crop of women artists, writers, and musicians. Other girls whose parents show opposition to the tendency, break into open rebellion, and strike out on independent lines for themselves. It may not be that every girl that has made a bid for freedom, has consciously done so at first as a protest against the economic dependence on man. Those of artistic temperament, for instance, may have done so in search of a fuller life, far removed from the petty exclusive atmosphere of the home. Whatever the original motive, the result is always the same—a slackening of the idea of the unquestioning subjection of woman to man. Openings for women as Sanitary Inspectors, Factory Inspectors, Medical Inspectors, Municipal Health Visitors, and many others of social tendency, have served to develop a social consciousness which was not possible in the cramped life of the home. The result of such an awakening has aroused in woman a moral passion for the wrongs of her sex. Many evils in the domestic life of the working classes cry aloud for woman's intervention,

Female doctors and lawyers have sprung into existence, and above all, the female political agitator. The woman who has developed along these lines is creating a new type of womanhood, a type more nearly approaching the heroic. Her subjection can never again enter into the marriage relationship. It follows that the conventional "lady" disappears. Henceforth the atmosphere of the drawing-room is suffocating, with its enervating luxuriousness and the empty life for which it stands. A feature of English modern architecture is worth noting here. Instead of the two rooms usually set aside for dining-room and drawing-room, one room only, of generous and dignified proportions, is designed. In middle class houses it is called the "common-room," and in the cottages it is called the "living-room." The latter contains a cooking stove, thereby combining the "back kitchen" and the "front parlour". The "front parlour" is a reflection of the drawing-room, but it is never used, and reeks of musty respectability; while the "back kitchen" where the family really lives is a poky little place, overcrowded, unhealthy, and provocative of much ill temper. The aforesaid modifications in domestic architecture indicate clearly that in women's province a new domestic order is appearing.

"Yet it must never be forgotten that nothing short of large social changes, stretching far beyond the sphere of women only, can bring about the complete emancipation of the latter. Not till our whole commercial system, with its barter of human labour and human love for gain, is done away, and not till a whole new code of ideals and customs of life have come in, will women really be free. They must remember that their cause is also the cause of the oppressed laborer over the whole earth, and the laborer has to remember that his cause is theirs."

"The freedom of Woman must ultimately rest on the communism of society—which alone can give her support during the period of motherhood, without forcing her into dependence on the arbitrary will of one man. While the present effort of women towards earning their own economic independence is a healthy sign and a necessary feature of the times, it is evident that it alone will not entirely solve the problem, since it is just during the difficult years of motherhood, when support is most needed, that the woman is least capable of earning it for herself."

—"Love's Coming of Age." E. C.

It is deemed by many, that woman is losing her womanliness by independence, freedom and self-assertion. The question

arises—What is womanliness? Is it realised in "graceful incapacity," or in the many other soft, weak, and clinging attributes, so priceless as a foil to man's manliness? Is it well that her body should be pinched and squeezed into unnatural shapes to suit a fleeting, flimsy, and foolish fashion? That her skin should be unhealthy and white, and her muscles flabby? Let us decently bury such a type of womanhood, duly observing conventional rites, lest her ghost arises to remind us of what once had been. Rather true womanliness lies in a free-moving, strong, well proportioned and healthy body, with a corresponding mind—fit for the Mothers of the Race. On the subject of Woman, Walt Whitman writes:—

"They are not one jot less than I am,
They are tanned in the face by shining suns
and blowing winds,
Their flesh has the old divine suppleness
and strength,
They know how to swim, row, ride, wrestle,
shoot, run, strike, retreat,
advance, resist, defend themselves.
They are ultimate in their own right—
they are calm, clear, well-
possessed of themselves."

Many women prominent in the emancipation of the West, have a decidedly masculine type of mind, and are somewhat lacking in the maternal instinct. This fact leads shallow critics astray. That such a type exists, is of the utmost value to the purely feminine, who by nature being more frail than men, and possessing the intuitive faculty rather than the reasoning, find themselves in a helpless position. Thus the purest attributes of her sex, have served as the impetus to man's tyranny, and have led to her subjection in all their relations.

"Sometimes it seems possible that a new sex is on the make—like the feminine neuter of Ants and Bees—not adapted for child-bearing, but with a marvellous and perfect instinct of social service, indispensable for the maintenance of the common life. Certainly most of those who are freeing themselves—often with serious struggles—from the "lady" Chrysalis, are fired with an ardent social enthusiasm; and if they may personally differ in some respects from the average of their sex, it is certain that their efforts will result in a tremendous improvement in the general position of their more commonplace sisters."

—"Love's Coming of Age." E. C.

That Woman in the West is in a sad plight, no-one would deny, but salvation is at hand. "Who would be free, himself must break the chains." Most true is this

talents means anything, it means that we are to cultivate all those gifts which lie dormant within us. If Shakespeare had been content to lead an idle life, the matchless magnificence of his thoughts would never have been set down for the benefit of posterity. If Christ had done his bare work in the carpenter's shop, the most shining example of manly perfection and the splendid prospect of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, culminating in the hope of the life beyond, would not have been handed down to us. Wherever we note the results of a great life we see that it was caused by ceaseless effort, strenuous living, and endless self-culture. Each of us has his gift. If you have a poem in your mind write it down, however feebly. Perfection is the result only of drudgery, and that is the reason of the saying; "Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains."

Consider the evolution of Nature—how slow it is, measured by our standards of time. In the field we see the tillage, then the sowing, then the sprouting of the seed, followed by the shooting of the stem, the bud, and, finally, the full bloom of the flower.

GRADUAL PROGRESS.

All through Nature there is this same gradual progression. Can we hope to develop our powers more rapidly, and should we not learn from this and be well content to make our gradual progress? We cannot see the flowers grow, nor can we see our own intellectual progression. Day by day, as we study and work we are moving forward. God made the earth of countless atoms. He covered it with numberless green things and many-hued details of shrub, bloom and tree. The sea is colourless if you take a little in your hand. But as you look at all these millions and millions of infinitesimal particles you see the earth in all its beauty, and the sea in all its grandeur. So it is with our daily life. We toil and drudge, we bear the burden and heat of the day, we are weary and depressed, and when a new day dawns we see the fruits of our labour in some completed and satisfying work. As the Psalmist says:

"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall

doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing in sheaves with him."

The only condition for coming again with joy is that you take your seed and go forth.

THE DIGNITY OF LIFE.

Though before the eyes of omnipotent Providence we must seem small and insignificant, we each have our part in the great scheme of the Universe, and it is expected of us that we bear our part worthily. The ideal of life is a gradual evolution towards perfection. All our trials and struggles are part of that evolution, and, remembering this, we cannot lose heart. To ourselves, however, our own life is the paramount thing. A French poet said: "My life is but a little thing; but it is—my life." Whether our life is big or little depends upon ourselves. If we desire to make it big, fruitful and complete, our desire must result in effort. However small our life may be, it is necessary to the scheme of the universe or we should not be living at all. If we only regard our daily work as necessary to the whole living race and the races to come (as it surely is), no task can be ignoble and no endeavour unfruitful.

Before we can command success we must be competent and we must be confident in that competence. That is self-reliance. If you have not yet read Emerson's essay on self-reliance, I advise you to do so. In time of doubt and difficulty it is like the voice of a strong friend cheering you. "Let a man, then, know his worth and keep things under his feet," he says.

"Let him not peep or steal, or skulk up or down with the air of a charity boy, a bastard, or an interloper, in the world which exists for him. . . . Insist on yourself; never imitate. Your own gift you can present every moment with the cumulative force of a whole life's cultivation; but of the adopted talent of another you have only an extemporaneous, half-possession. That which each can do best, none but his Maker can teach him. . . . Where is the master who could have taught Shakespeare? . . . Do that which is assigned thee, and thou canst not hope too much or dare too much."

And again,

"To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart, is true for all men—that is genius. Speak your latent conviction, and it shall be the universal sense; for always the inmost becomes the outmost, and our first thought is rendered back to us by the trampets of the Last

Judgment. Familiar as the voice of the mind is to each, the highest merit we ascribe to Moses, Plato and Milton is that they set at naught books and traditions, and spoke not what men, but what they thought. A man should learn to detect and watch that gleam of light which flashes across his mind from within, more than the lustre of the firmament of bards and sages. Yet he dismisses without notice his thought, because it is his. In every work of genius we recognise our own rejected thoughts: they come back to us with a certain alienated majesty. Great works of art have no more affecting lesson for us than this. They teach us to abide by our spontaneous impression with good humoured inflexibility, the most when the whole cry of voices is on the other side. Else to-morrow a stranger will say with masterly good sense, precisely what we have thought and felt all the time, and we shall be forced to take with shame our own opinion from another."

I will take one more stirring passage from this essay, because it hints so plainly at the Divine Providence that in times of inspiration we feel working within us.

A CONFIDENT ATTITUDE.

"Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the Divine Providence has found for you; the society of your contemporaries, the connection of events. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age, betraying their perception that the Eternal was stirring at the heart, working through their hands, predominating in all their being. And we are now, men, and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent destiny; and not pinched in corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but redeemers and benefactors, pious aspirants to be noble clay plastic under the Almighty effort, let us advance and advance on Chaos and the Dark."

Does this passage not inspire us in our lowliest and humblest work? Is it not a grand destiny to form a part in a great scheme planned by an all-wise Providence, working out His will, subordinate to it, but necessary to its perfection? And should we not in our smallest work, strive to make our labours worthy of the noble fabric which we are permitted to weave? If we are to make a real success of our lives, we must develop and use the talents with which the Creator has endowed us.

TRAINING THE MIND.

We come, then, to the question of the methods by which we are to do our best work and how we are to fit ourselves to fill our allotted place in life. The athlete trains himself for the strain of the race. In an athletic contest the body is sharply tried. The heart and lungs are called upon to do a vast amount of extra work, but by careful

training, the runner gradually brings his organs to such a state of perfection that he is able to withstand easily the extra strain that is put upon him.

In the remorseless competition of our modern business life a similar strain is put upon the mental capacity. Have you ever thought of training your mind to meet it? Few men think of it, but those who do are stronger for it. The mind is a mysterious element which we are unable to fathom. It governs the body, and as we know, it is so potent that it even shapes the body. People judge other people by their faces. That is to say, they discern in a man's face the impress of his mind. An imbecile has a vacant expression. A keen mind produces a keen looking face.

I remember discussing a financial magnate with another man. The magnate in question, I pointed out, has a very indolent air, and at a casual glance looks very stupid. "Yes," said my friend, "but when you catch him looking at you, you are struck by the fact that he has a very intelligent eye."

A sage once remarked, "No clever man ever had a lack-lustre eye." I doubt if any very bad man has a serene face. Certainly he would not have a clear gaze. Such things are the external manifestations of the mind. The hypnotist exercises his influence through his eyes. The human voice, as shown by the orator, has its effect in producing emotions in the listener. The very expression plays its part, as a sympathetic look can take the place of volumes of words. All these things are directly influenced by the mind, and the stronger your mind is the more forcibly will you impress your will and your personality upon the people with whom you come in contact.

Start right away upon the preliminary training of the intellect, because its force in daily life depends upon the power with which you can exercise it, and that power can only be developed by careful study. First of all, you should strengthen your intellect by reading good literature, and whenever you come across a fine passage you should memorise it.

It was said of Macaulay that if every copy of Milton's "Paradise Lost" were accidentally destroyed, he could replace it from his memory down to each comma. He trained his wonderful memory in the follow-

ing way:—When he was reading a book, he would stop at the end of each page and endeavour to recollect what that page was about. He did this so carefully that gradually he trained himself to such a pitch that by merely reading a passage, a page or a poem, or even an article, he could repeat it word for word.

A CULTIVATED MEMORY.

If you will follow this practice you will find that your memory will be wonderfully strengthened. More than this, you will lay up in your mind a vast store of literary treasure that will reflect itself in your speech and writing, and influence your thought in the most desirable manner. Take the best literary models and commit the passages to memory. John Bright, one of the most famous orators that ever lived, took the Bible for his model, and became so familiar with its style that his speeches reflecting that style were remarkable for the purity, grace and splendour of their diction. The example of Demosthenes, whose name will ever live as an orator, is a shining light to the struggling man. He had an impediment in his speech, of which he cured himself by putting pebbles in his mouth and declaiming on the seashore. If you have a talent, you can develop it even if you possess some physical or mental disqualification. How much less should you be discouraged if you have no such drawback?

HOW TO MEMORISE.

Start training your memory with poetry, and learn it by reading it out loud. If you read it merely, you have only the eye to help you recall it. If you speak it, the sound of the words helps you to remember them. Blank verse is more difficult to memorise, but by choosing good models you acquire a nobility of diction and thought at the time that you are further strengthening your mind. Moreover, you will learn how to express your thoughts, both in words and writing, tersely and succinctly. Prose is harder still to learn, but when you can learn it easily, you will know that you have a cultivated memory that will serve you well by enabling you to remember what you read, what you hear, and what you see. Your mind will be active and receptive. You

will observe keenly, and you will be better fitted for success in every way.

Don't try to do too much at the start. Give ten minutes a day at first. Master a small poem, even if it takes you several days. In that way you won't get tired of your exercises, and as you go on, you will learn more in the time you allow yourself. I would recommend Addison's "Spectator" for your prose memorising, Shakespeare's sonnets for your poetry. Dr. Ginsburg, the eminent Hebrew scholar, once described the "Spectator," in my hearing, as the finest prose writing in the language. I will give you one passage from it to memorise. The subject is "Superstition."

"I know but one way of fortifying my soul against those gloomy presages and terrors of mind, and that is, by securing to myself the friendship and protection of that Being Who disposes of events, and governs futurity. He sees, at one view, the whole thread of my existence, not only that part of it which I have already passed through, but that which runs forward into all the depths of eternity. When I lay me down to sleep, I recommend myself to His care; when I awake, I give myself up to His direction. Amidst all the evils that threaten me, I will look up to Him for help, and question not but He will either avert them, or turn them to my advantage. Though I know neither the time nor the manner of the death I am to die, I am not at all solicitous about it; because I am sure that He knows them both, and that He will not fail to comfort and support me under them."

Reading the "Spectator" lately, I came across a quotation from "Paradise Lost," which gives an excellent example for memorising:

Not think, though men were none,
That heav'n would want spectators, God want praise:
Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep;
All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
Both day and night. How often from the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to other's note,
Singing their great Creator? Oft in bands,
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
With heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds,
In full harmonic number join'd, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to heav'n.

THE NEED OF THOUGHT.

Now it is essential to mind training that you do not learn without thinking. If you are content merely to memorise the finest passages of our literature you are making a lumber room of your mind and nothing more. You must understand what you read. I would recommend you to read "Sesame

and Lilies," by Ruskin, and you will understand what I mean.

So much for the theory of elementary mind culture. It is worth your while to practise it. The strengthening of your memory is the first step towards the cultivation of your mind which will have far-reaching effects upon your will power and upon your

whole life. Your life is yours to make or mar. You have inherited a glorious gift. It is your duty to use it well, and in fulfilling that duty be sure you will gain your reward in increased capacity for getting the utmost out of all that life has to offer.

KEITH J. THOMAS.

EUROPEAN SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT JEWELS

BY LOUISA THOMSON-PRICE.

OF the many articles used for personal adornment, jewels have always been those which, from the remotest ages, have most fascinated humanity. Such fascination is not always due to vanity. Jewels appeal to both sexes, not only for their flash and glimmer and gleam, for their dazzling fire or their translucent beauty, but because, apart from their relative scarcity and the value which arises from the labour of obtaining them, there seems to have been ever in the minds of men a curious belief that some elusive mystery is attached to gems.

All kinds of superstitions and legends have been wreathed around them, and according to Professor Ridgeway, who is an authority upon, and a collector of, precious stones, the ancients adorned themselves with finger-rings, earrings, bracelets, necklets, and brooches, not from any æsthetic sense, but from a belief in the magical power of the gems. He says that the Greeks and Asiatics used stones, beads, and crystals primarily as amulets, and cut devices on them to enhance their magical power. When a primitive people first find gold they value it only for its supposed magic, and wear nuggets of it strung with beads. Even in these days of civilisation there are people who entertain a superstitious regard for special stones of peculiar shape or colour, and carry them about as charms.

It is supposed that some precious stones possess an influence which is analogous to electricity and magnetism. Some are even credited with healing powers, and others

are said to have a special affinity for particular persons. Probably from this superstition arose the idea of "birth-stones," by which each month is supposed to be under the influence of a precious stone, and by which a person born in certain month is advised to wear a particular stone assumed to influence his particular month. By this theory the garnet should be worn by her whose birthday is in January, for that stone is believed to engender friendship, sympathy, and constancy.

Those born in February should wear the amethyst, to obtain sincerity and freedom from care and strife. The bloodstone (March) is believed to bestow wisdom and courage, and the diamond (April) innocence and preservation from sorrow. The birth-stone of May is an emerald, indicating married bliss. The agate (June) involves the gifts of health and long life; the ruby (July) happiness and peace; while the moonstone (August), if always worn, is alleged to secure the wearer against spinsterhood. The sapphire (September) is said to cure mental diseases; the opal (October) to supply hope and an antidote to grief and sorrow; the topaz (November) fidelity in love, and the turquoise (December) success in enterprises.

There is a fashion in gems as in garments. At one time the ruby is to the fore, at another time the emerald. Then comes a craze for pearls, to be succeeded, perhaps, by an almost unanimous desire on the part of the feminine world for some insignificant stone like coral. Curiously enough, the

fashion for wearing coral is continually recurring, perhaps because it is credited with imparting luck to its possessor.

Queen Alexandra's favourite gem is the amethyst, and although a comparatively inexpensive stone, this Royal preference must cause it to become widely in favour. Its price has naturally gone up during recent years, and good specimens of the stone are now sometimes set in conjunction with diamonds. The amethyst is generally of a violet or purple-violet colour, and is very transparent, and many people will recall the facts of its popularity—how successfully it was introduced to public favour again some years ago by Messrs. J. W. Benson, Ltd., the well-known jewellers on Ludgate Hill, London, E.C., who I noticed the other day were still showing some delightful amethyst designs in pendants, necklets, brooches, and so forth. Of course the hues of different amethysts are as various as are the tints of purple. The stone is also found colourless, and it may be made perfectly so by subjecting it to fire. It then so nearly resembles the diamond that its want of hardness seems the only way of distinguishing it. The finest specimens of amethysts are brought from India, Ceylon, and Brazil, but the stone is also found in other parts.

The Princess of Wales loves pearls, so also does the present Duchess of Marlborough. Another Society woman who has a deep affection for pearls is Princess Henry of Pless. Her collection of pearls is said to be worth £100,000. There are, perhaps, no gems more beautiful. Their classic form, purity of colouring, and the romance which attaches to them—even the dangers which accompany their recovery from the heart of the sea—are elements which add to their value and have made them appreciated and admired in all ages and in all climes.

The most famous pearls are those of the East. At the Ceylon fishery, like the Indian ones on the Madras side of the Strait of Manar, pearl fishing is only allowed at irregular intervals. The worth of a pearl is in proportion to its magnitude, round form, polish, and clear lustre. Sometimes, but very rarely, a pearl is found as large as a nutmeg.

The most valuable pearls at the present time are those which are perfectly round. Next to these in value come the button-

shaped pearls, and then the drop or pear-shaped ones. Perfectly round pearls, over 25 grains in weight, are exceedingly scarce, and are considered to be very safe and profitable investments. Pearls of great beauty, size, and brilliancy will always command extravagant prices. Black pearls are very rare; the largest and finest of these come from Lower California, the central point being La Paz.

Pearls are more easily imitated than any other jewels, and the great value of pure specimens of the genuine gem has led to all kinds of inventions for manufacturing false pearls. A jeweller can easily detect an imitation pearl, but the lay observer can more readily be deceived. Imitations are usually lighter than real pearls, and are generally brittle, although some are made solid, from fish scales, and do not break so easily; while the holes, which in the real pearl are drilled very small, and have a sharp edge, are much larger in false ones and have a blunt edge.

The ruby is the most precious of all stones, and few women can aspire to a collection of this magnificent gem. Lady Crewe, however, is the possessor of some marvellous rubies, of rare pure carmine colour, which blaze with the most exquisite and unrivalled tints.

A ruby, perfect both in colour and transparency, is much less common than a good diamond, and when of the weight of three or four carats, is even more valuable than that gem. Although rubies are usually red, there are violet, pink, and purple rubies. The most valuable of all are the pigeon-blood rubies. Those over a carat in weight are worth from £20 to £100 per carat, and no stone increases so much in value in proportion to the size. The Burmese Government sent two rubies to London in 1875, one of which, reduced by re-cutting to $32\frac{1}{16}$ carats, was sold for £10,000; the other, of $38\frac{9}{16}$ carats, was sold for £20,000.

A peculiarity about the ruby is that, when rubbed, it becomes electrical, and remains so for some time. One of the superstitions attaching to the oriental ruby is that it presages to the wearer, by frequent change and darkening of its colour, that some inevitable loss or misfortune is at hand, and in proportion to the greatness of the

coming evil, it assumes a greater or less degree of darkness or opacity. An infallible test to distinguish the ruby from the garnet is to hold each so as to reflect the light directly. The garnet, however pure and lustrous, will appear black and opaque, while the ruby retains its transparency and true colour. The finest rubies—those having the colour of pigeons' blood—come from Upper Burmah, near Mogok, north of Mandalay.

Lady Londesborough's favourite jewel is the emerald. This beautiful stone, which is the symbol of spring, hope, immortality, and victory, would, no doubt, be widely worn were it less expensive. Emeralds were, at one time very plentiful, but they are becoming remarkably scarce, and now rank next in value to the oriental ruby and sapphire. A very perfect emerald of 6 carats has been sold for £1,000.

The Countess of Mayo has an Indian cup and saucer of rare beauty. The bowl of the spoon belonging to the cup is cut out of a single emerald as large as a bean. No precious stone is more liable to defect than the emerald; an emerald without a flaw is a proverb for an unattainable perfection.

The turquoise is the favourite gem of the Empress Eugénie. Princess Henry of Pless, too, has a love for this stone; she possesses a State crown set with diamonds and turquoises of most exquisite quality. Its mystic powers are supposed to transcend those of any other jewel. In ancient days it was credited with being able to strengthen the eyes, cheer the soul of the wearer, and to take upon itself the consequences of any fall he might have—by cracking itself, for instance, and saving the fracture of a bone. It grew paler as the wearer sickened, and lost its colour entirely at the death of its owner; but recovered when placed on the finger of a new and healthy possessor. Suspended by a string, within a glass cup, it told the hours by the exact number of strokes against the side. It was also asserted that the gem varied its colours with the hours of the day, so that an observer could use it as a sun-dial.

The beautiful blue colour of the turquoise makes it an exceedingly becoming gem for blondes. Unfortunately, it is a stone which is apt to lose its colour, becoming green with age or through grease accumulat-

ing upon it. Turquoises are very porous, and readily discoloured by liquids. When green spots have not penetrated very far into the stone the colour can sometimes be restored by allowing the turquoise to remain in a solution of equal parts of alcohol and ammonia, or embedding it for a time in fuller's earth moistened with alcohol and water.

Among all the precious stones the diamond will always hold its own. It is the one stone which is eternally in fashion. The Duchess of Westminster owns some magnificent diamonds, and her tiara, necklets, and other diamond ornaments are strikingly beautiful when they appear in conjunction with the black gowns which she so frequently wears.

The Duchess of Sutherland has a preference for diamonds over all other stones, and she has some exquisite ornaments set with pure crystals of dazzling brilliancy.

The occult attractions of the diamond are many. The ancients believed it had the power of giving victory to him who carried it bound on his left arm, whatever the number of his enemies. It also was supposed to put to flight panics and pestilences.

Now-a-days it may be said that practically the whole of our vast supply of diamonds comes from South Africa, Indian and Brazil diamonds, though not extinct, being commercially (except as regards the stones used in engineering, glass-cutting, etc.) things of the past. Nevertheless, what we have gained in quantity we have lost in quality. Thus the South African diamond, however pure the substance or "matter" may be—and wonderfully pure it sometimes undoubtedly is—despite all the modern improvement in cutting cannot approach either the limpid whiteness of the Indian or the dazzling "fire" of the Brazilian stones. Exactly why this is so is by no means an easy problem to solve, but as the "fire" depends (the cutting, of course, being correct) on the refractive and dispersive powers of the crystal itself, it may be assumed that the more perfect the crystal the more brilliant the "fire."

A stone which is coming into its own again as a favourite among Society women, is the opal. Pliny, describing this gem, said: "It has the gentler fire of the ruby, the brilliant purple of the amethyst, and

the sea-green of the emerald, all shining together in an incredible union." The fairest opal of modern times was the one belonging to the Empress Josephine. It was called "The Burning of Troy," from the innumerable red flames apparently emitted from its surface.

The superstition which credits the opal with bringing disaster upon its wearer seems to fall into abeyance now and again, and when this happens it becomes suddenly popular. At the present moment West-End jewellers are doing a large trade in opals.

The black opal seems to be the stone of the moment, and is greatly used in the nouveau-art jewellery so much in vogue. If blue lighted opals are used they are set in dull beaten silver. The wonderful Mexican fire opals show to best advantage in red gold. A peculiar lighting effect is ob-

tained by backing a fire opal with a sapphire, the costly stone being hidden beneath the comparatively inexpensive one. The result is a queer mingling, not obtained in any other way. It is like the flame of burning driftwood.

The sapphire like the diamond, is always a favourite, and seems to be worn independently of fashion. It is a particular favourite with the Lady Voilet Elliot; but now-a-days many Society women are wearing antique jewellery. London possesses innumerable shops in which antiques—both real and recently manufactured—can be found and one may choose from an infinite variety of quaint and curious ornaments from an old paste pendant or brooch, an Indian seal ring, or a carved cameo. In fact it may safely be said that if you would be modern, you must search for the antique.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION IN THE DAYS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

AT the present time many English statesmen and politicians declare themselves more in favour of education through the medium of the Indian vernaculars than through that of English. But no encouragement was held out to the cultivation of these vernaculars so long as the East India Company were the rulers of the country. Speaking of Shivaji, the late Revd. Dr. John Wilson of Bombay wrote:—

"There can not be a doubt that the vernacular literature which had sprung up in the province to which he belonged, during the two centuries which preceded him, nursed the spirit of Hinduism in himself and his contemporaries, and was one of the main causes of their hatred of, and successful rebellion against the Muhammadan power which he was instrumental in heading."

A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* for October 1857 (page 322), quoting the above, said:—

"Will it [the vernacular literature] exercise any influence adverse to the British Government? Time will show."

It is evident that Dr. Duff and other Anglicists of those days were afraid of the

growth of any vernacular literature in this country, for it might exercise some influence adverse to the British Government.

Macaulay was well versed in the history of his own country. It would seem that he came out to India to do what had been so successfully done in Ireland. It is a historical fact that

The English Government passed Acts of Parliament without number to suppress utterly the Irish language,.....In Elizabeth's time even the King of Denmark was refused by the English Government the services of an Irishman to translate Irish MSS., lest that should injure English interests! Henry the Eighth required a knowledge of English as the *sine qua non* for a Church-living in Ireland,—he got men who knew nothing of the people. Subsequently it was enacted, in case the minister could not read the service in English, he might read it to the people in Latin, but not in Irish.*

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1855, p. 309, said:—

"History tells us, that no nation has ever yet been civilized or educated, save through its own vernacular, and that the uprooting of a vernacular is the extermination of the race, or at least of all its peculiar characteristics. Speech, Thought and Existence are so

* *Calcutta Review* for June, 1854, p. 306.

loosely bound together, that it is impossible to separate them. They are the great trinity in unity of the race. Then we strive to uproot the vernacular of a country, or to deluge it not only with foreign modes of thought, but with foreign words, we shall either make no progress, or such a progress that we would speedily wish to undo it. But the Government system of Education has thus acted, * * * * * and beginning at the wrong end—the top of the tree, they thought that like air-plants they would make education grow downward, and so had colleges without schools, and schools without primary schools, and inspectors, with schools to create for their inspection. Making but one faint attempt to raise native teachers—in attempt that from the first contained in it the elements of its own destruction, they went on using foreigners and a foreign tongue, and a foreign literature, and thus never reached those inner springs of thought and action, that exist even in a Bengalee's soul, and will yet make a man of him and men of his nation."

To prevent adverse criticism, to conciliate those who had raised a hue and cry against the Anglicisation of Education, it was a grand stroke of policy which Bentinck adopted in deputing Mr. Adam to report on Vernacular Education in Bengal. Mr. Adam submitted three reports on the subject in 1835, 1836, 1838, and recommended

"Government to afford encouragement to existing schools, thus calling forth the efforts of the natives—the preparation of improved class books—the appointment to each district of a native *examiner* of teachers and scholars, with an inspector to each five districts—a model vernacular school in each district, to which promising pupils from the ordinary schools should be admissible, to be paid small *stipends* in order to enable them to continue their studies."

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* for June, 1854 (No. XLIV), p. 324, commenting on the above, said:—

"It is now 1854, sixteen years have elapsed, nothing has been done to carry out those plans in Bengal. Constituted as the Bengal Council of Education is, the members residing in Calcutta, a semi-Anglicized city, we could not expect them to take up with zeal vernacular education. Their first act in this case was to set aside Mr. Adam's plan, the only one feasible in this country. Mr. Macaulay, their president, knew nothing of the people; his knowledge of India was limited by the bounds of the Mahratta ditch. * * * * * The Council have, however, in words, constantly held forth the necessity of 'the acquisition by the students, of a sufficient mastery of the Vernacular, to enable them to communicate with facility and correctness, in the language of the people, the knowledge obtained by them.'"

It was on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter in 1813 that the authorities of the East India Company had enjoined on the Governors of the different Presidencies in India to institute inquiries regarding the

state of indigenous education in the different provinces of this country. This enquiry was neglected in Bengal. It was not until 1835, during the closing days of the administration of Lord William Bentinck, that Mr. Adam was appointed to undertake this enquiry. Mr. Adam had been at one time a Baptist Missionary, believing in the Trinity. But his meeting with the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy made him give up his belief in the Trinity and be converted to Unitarian Christianity. He was on this account nicknamed the "Second fallen Adam" by his chritable Christian countrymen. He edited with great ability *The India Gazette*, a popular Calcutta Journal.

Mr. Adam performed his task with great zeal and ability. The three reports which he drew up on the state of Education in Bengal and Behar contain a valuable mine of information on the contemporary state of instruction in native institutions and in native society. It is not necessary to refer to the contents of these reports at great length. But it is necessary to mention what Mr. Adam found to be the vernacular media of instruction in Bengal Proper. According to him Bengali is

"The language of the Musalman as well as of the Hindu population."

And that, though

"The Hindustani or Urdu is the current spoken language of the educated Musalmans of Bengal and Behar, it is never employed in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction. Bengali school books are employed by the Hindus of Bengal, and Hindi school books by the Hindus of Behar; but, although Urdu is more copious and expressive, more cultivated and refined than either, and possesses a richer and more comprehensive literature,* Urdu school books are wholly unknown. It is the language of conversation in the daily intercourse of life and in the business of the world, and it is the language also of oral instruction for the explanation of Persian and Arabic; but it is never taught or learned for its own sake or for what it contains."

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1844 (Vol. II, p. 317), said:—

"Educated Musalmans, * * learn to speak and write the Bengali; and even several low castes of Hindus, occupying entire villages in various directions and amounting to several thousand individuals, whose ancestors three or four generations ago, emigrated from the Western Provinces, have found it necessary to combine the use of Bengali with the Hindi their mother-tongue. It thus appears that in the provinces of Bengal proper, the Bengali may

* This is no longer the case.

justly be described as the universal language of vernacular instruction."

The argument of the Anglo-Indians, that these being different languages used as vernaculars in a province, it was impossible to encourage them all, did not hold good so far as Bengal was concerned.

The Bengalee intellect was also of no mean order. In one of his reports, Mr. Adam wrote:—

"The native mind of the present day, although it is asleep, is not dead. It has a dreamy sort of existence in separating, combining, and recasting in various forms the fables and speculations of past ages. The amount of authorship shown to exist in the different districts is a measure of the intellectual activity which, however now misdirected, might be employed for useful purposes. The same men who have wasted and are still wasting their learning and their powers in weaving complicated alliterations, recompounding absurd and vicious fictions, and revolving in perpetual circles of metaphysical abstractions, never ending still beginning, have professed to me their readiness to engage in any sort of literary composition that would obtain the patronage of Government."

The Indian vernaculars were neglected by the Indian authorities. Thus Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Halliday, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories on the 25th July 1853, on being asked by the Chairman,

"8788. I understand you to be in favour of the extension of tuition in the vernacular languages?" answered,

"Very much so indeed; I am very desirous to see a great effort made in that direction; nothing serious has yet been done; the Government professes in all its schools and colleges to teach English and the Vernacular, but it does it imperfectly. Wherever English is taught it swallows up everything else; the natives are so anxious to obtain it, and there is so much greater interest and excitement with respect to it on the part of those who are at the head of educational affairs, that there is more attention and more exertion bestowed upon education in English than upon education in the vernacular; and the whole of the means of education at their command being insufficient, the Vernacular is likely to be the more pinched of the two, so that that is not done which might be wished. In Lord Hardinge's time an attempt was made to establish a system of vernacular instruction; it was done in the face of great pecuniary difficulties; not schools were established, but the masters were very inadequately paid, and there were other errors in the management of the plan which, I think, caused it to fail. I will not conceal, that with some persons in India the failure of those schools has been thought to indicate that all such efforts towards vernacular education in Bengal must fail, but I am not one of those; on the contrary, I think the scheme

failed on account of its inadequacy to the object in view, and that we are not the less bound, in consequence of the failure of that scheme, to do our best towards introducing, heartily and systematically, a good plan of vernacular education all over the country."

"8789. What gave rise to the plan of Lord Hardinge?—A general complaint that vernacular education was neglected, and a constant call upon the Government to do something towards extending Vernacular education; there happened to be at the moment certain funds temporarily at the disposal of the Governor of Bengal, which were applicable to that purpose, and he so applied them."

"8790. When you left Bengal, instruction in the vernacular languages was made secondary to instruction in English; was it not?—Quite so; more than secondary."

"8791. And that you think not desirable?—Not at all desirable; I think both are of enormous importance; there are parties in India who tell you the one thing needful is English instruction, and other parties who tell you the one thing needful is vernacular instruction. I differ with them both. I think the two ought to go on; they relate to different classes of the people altogether, and they ought to go on together. You ought, as far as possible, to give a good vernacular education to the masses, at the same time that you give opportunities to the classes who have leisure to do so, to acquire a knowledge of English literature and science."

But it was considered incompatible with the 'enlightened selfishness'—we beg pardon—with the philanthropy of the Anglicist to encourage the cultivation of the Indian vernaculars. The well-known Scotch Christian Missionary Dr. Duff was an earnest Anglicist. From such a man one should have expected fairness. But as a zealous Christian he perhaps thought it his duty to do everything that lay in his power to destroy 'heathen' institutions. And therefore he could not encourage the cultivation of Indian vernaculars. In a paper which was intended to be a defence of Lord Bentinck's resolution on Macaulay's Minute the reverend doctor wrote:—

"The Act has been in substance styled, 'An Act of extermination against the Literature and Classic Languages of Hindustan.' * * *

"Why, if common sense has not fled the habitation of man, this determination of withdrawing positive support is simply the restoration of the first position of strict neutrality; it is the re-assumption of an attitude of non-interference; it is a resolution to do nothing directly and actively, either to uphold or abolish native literature, so far as the British Government is concerned, it just leaves it precisely as it existed before its intervention at all; i.e., it resigns the classical literature of India to the patronage and

* Sixth Report from the Select Committee (House of Commons) on Indian Territories, 1853, pp. 59-60.

support of those who have cultivated and perpetuated the knowledge of it during the last thirty centuries.

"If it could be shown that at any time when the British smote into the dust the confederacies of the Indian Rajahs and Nawabs, mounted the throne of the Great Mogul, and wielded the imperial sceptre over a domain more extensive, an empire more consolidated than that of the Mighty Aurungzeb, could it be proved that then, or at any subsequent period, the Government had really pledged itself, had actually entered into a solemn compact with the representatives of the people of India, to devote *in perpetuity* a determinate amount of funds for the specific purpose of encouraging native literature in certain native institutions; then, indeed, but not till then, would the sudden or gradual withdrawal of such funds implicate the good faith, the honour or the justice of the British Government."

The Calcutta Review for June, 1854, No. XLIV, p. 297, wrote:—

"It has been said, do nothing to enlighten the masses, till you give a high education to a number, and these will educate the masses—we do not object to the former, but we do not postpone the latter to an indefinite period. To enlighten only the few is, to use a Hindu proverb, to sweeten the ocean by casting a few drops of milk on it. The rush for *keraniships* with their deadening effects, and the want of *practical* education among Hindus, show that vernacular education should have been combined with the English. The Government began in 1835 with educating the few,—is not the time now arrived, in 1854, after a lapse of twenty years, for not ending there, but extending education to the *many*? To wait until our English students awake from the torpor of *eranism*, until they renounce the selfishness of making a monopoly of knowledge, will, we fear, be like Horace's rustic—waiting to cross the river until dries up. To carry out the principle of enlightening only the few at first, we ought to have Colleges before schools, and even a university before a college. We see the case of France, where there was a *highly refined nobility*, that of the days of Louis le Grand, the salons of Paris were the resort of a brilliant class of *rvans*, but the peasantry were kept in a state of awful ignorance—revolution broke out, and all this rapery of refinement was torn to shreds before the whirlwind of infuriated masses, discharging a lava of passions uncontrolled by any barriers of knowledge. The aristocracy; (the Young Bengal of that day), who kept the peasantry debarred from knowledge, were startled from their dream of fancied security by the ances of their castles and midnight yell of '*la paix aux Chaumières, la guerre aux Châteaux*'—a warning voice, that the mere education of the few is a 'meayard clothing the volcano's side.' * * * In late years, notwithstanding the influence of our universities and classical schools, what awful disclosures have the Earl of Shaftesbury and the promoters of ragged schools made, as to the condition of the working classes, and the dense ignorance and crime which even still form the substratum of English society; an able writer in the *Agre Messenger* remarks

* The Lords' Committee's Second Report on Indian Territories, 1853, pp. 406-407.

on this subject, 'when we know how little the English universities, colleges, and great public schools existing through centuries, have done for the people of England, we cannot hope that a similar system in India, where the barriers of caste strengthen the wall of partition betwixt the *educated few* and the ignorant many, will produce more satisfactory results. The light of knowledge naturally burns upward. It was only when the *National Schools, Sunday Schools, Mechanics' Institutes*, began to spread their influence among the labouring body in England, that the people received anything like enlightenment. But even these agencies left a yet lower class in darkness, to be in time illuminated by the heroic teachers of ragged Schools'. Knowledge made a monopoly of by a few, and invested with power, is an instrument of despotism, as the Histories of Chaldea, India, Persia, Egypt, and the Middle Ages show, and we say with Mr. Hodgson in his letters, that 'making knowledge an official monopoly, in the hands of a small number of people, is not identifying the security of our dominion with the happiness of the mass of the subjects'. Do not the waters of knowledge, restrained in a limited space, stagnate, whereas, when diffused like the ocean, they become the purifiers of the world? In 1848 the Government of the N. W. Provinces very properly expressed their fears 'that the village and district officers will be so far ahead of the mass of the people, as the more to expose the latter to injury from dishonesty and intrigues' * * In Ireland on the other hand, we have had for centuries intelligent but tyrannical landlords, who ruled, with a rod of iron, the tenantry they abandoned to ignorance.

"* * Young Bengal, equally with the proud Brahman, despises 'the vulgar tongue,' reminding us of the English squires in Locke's days, who could not write correct English,—though they could 'sport Latin verses.' And this is justified on the plea that there is so little in Bengali to read. Well, supposing it to be so—is not this, on the principle that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive a reason why the language should be enriched by those who have got the wealth of another tongue? Did Dante and Chaucer despise their own tongues because they were poor?—No! that was just the stimulus to prompt them, to raise them.

"Of course, those natives who wish their sons to get employment in offices, where a knowledge of English is requisite, would wish all the Government funds for education, to be given to English schools, 'the high road to affluence',—forgetting that the land revenue of Bengal amounts to three and a half millions sterling, besides five millions from salt and opium; and that the peasantry have a claim on those revenues for an education suited to their circumstances, a *quid pro quo*. * * And yet, for sooth, all knowledge is to be excluded, unless the people will sit down to an eight years' study of foreign language, with its arbitrary pronunciation and intricacy of meaning. English Education, to affect the mass, must have a vernacular medium—oil by itself will not mix with water.

"If we are to do nothing in Vernacular Education until the upper classes are enlightened by English, then let us be consistent, let us stop our Bible Societies, Vernacular Literature Committees, Tract Societies, for they will be of very little use, if

there be not a correspondent system of Vernacular Education. Can we reckon that those few will carry out the principle of 'doing what they can for the benefit of their less favored neighbours?' Does not the voice of history show that there are aristocrats in knowledge, who fear lest 'the peasants' toe should tread on the courtier's heel.'"

One of Macaulay's motives in introducing English Education in India was that such a step would help in the conversion of Indians to Christianity, a hope never adequately fulfilled. Thus in 1836 he wrote to his father that

"The effect of this education on the Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure Deists and some embrace Christianity. *It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence.*"

But the Anglicists probably meant to prevent the growth of Indian nationality and therefore they made use of arguments and language to serve their ulterior ends. This is evident from what Dr. Duff further wrote in the paper already referred to above. He wrote:—

"The vast influence of language in moulding national feelings and habits, more especially if fraught with superior stores of knowledge, is too little attended to, and too inadequately understood.* * When the Romans conquered a province, they forthwith set themselves to the task of 'Romanising' it; that is, they strove to create a taste for their own more refined language and literature, and thereby aimed at turning the song and the romance and the history—the thought and the feeling and fancy of the subjugated people into Roman channels, which fed and augmented Roman interests. And has Rome not succeeded? Has she not saturated every vernacular dialect with which she came in contact with terms copiously drawn from her own? Has she not perpetuated for ages, after her sceptre moulders in the dust, the magic influence of her character and name? Has she not stamped the impress of her own genius on the literature and the laws of almost every European Kingdom with a fixedness that has remained unchanged up to the present hour?"

"And who can tell to what extent the strength and perpetuity of the Arabic domination is indebted to the

* *The Indian Daily News* for March, 30, 1909, from which the above extract is made, truly observes:—"Lord Macaulay's triumph over the Oriental School, * * was really the triumph of a deliberate intention to undermine the religious and social life of India. It is no doubt a hard thing to say that this was not merely the consequence of his act but that it was also his deliberate intention, but the * * letter written in 1836 to his father shows how behind his splendid phrases, there lay quite a different view."

Caliph Walid, who issued the celebrated decree, that the language of the Koran should be the universal language of the Mahomedan world, so that from the Indian Archipelago to Portugal it actually became the language of religion, of literature, of government and generally of common life?"

"And who can estimate the extent of influence exerted in India by the famous Edict of Akbar, the greatest and the wisest far of the sovereigns of the House of Timur? Of this Edict, an authority * * wrote * * 'The great Akbar established the Persian language as the language of business and of political literature throughout his extensive dominions, and the popular tongue naturally became deeply impregnated with it. The literature and the language of the country thus became identified with the genius of his dynasty; and this has tended more than anything else to produce a kind of intuitive veneration for the family, which has long survived even the destruction of their power; and this feeling will continue to exist until we substitute the English language for the Persian, which will dissolve the prejudices and direct the ideas and sympathies of the natives towards their present rulers.'

"* * He (Lord Bentinck) it was who first resolved to supersede the Persian, in the political department of the public service, by the substitution of the English * * ; and having thus by one act created a necessity and consequently, an increased and yearly increasing demand for English, he next consummated the great design by superadding the enactment under review which provides the requisite means for supplying the demand that had been previously created; and the united Act now bids fair to outrival in importance the Edicts of the Roman, the Arabic and the Mogul Emperors, inasmuch as the English language is infinitely more fraught with the seeds of truth in every province of literature, science and religion, than the languages of Italy, Arabia or Persia ever were. Hence it is that I venture to hazard the opinion, that Lord W. Bentinck's double Act for the encouragement and diffusion of the English language and English literature in the East, will, long after contemporaneous party interests, and individual jealousies, and ephemeral rivalries have sunk into oblivion, be hailed as a grateful and benefited posterity as the grand master-stroke of sound policy that has yet characterized the administration of the British Government in India." *

From the above it is quite evident that the Anglicists strove from interested motives to make English the medium of instruction in Indian schools and colleges. They were not actuated by any altruistic or philanthropic considerations to diffuse English education in India but to "direct the ideas and the sympathies of the natives towards their present rulers."

But it was impossible for the English to do what the Cæsars, the Caliphs and Akbar and Jehangir did. The people of England lack sympathetic imagination and therefore

it is impossible for them to anglicise their Indian fellow-subjects.* As a native of Scotland, Dr. Alexander Duff lacked imagination and therefore he failed to imagine the non-possibility of his co-religionists and compatriots being able to do what the Romans, Arabs and Moguls did.

Regarding the British Government of India, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt in one of his speeches said :—

EXCLUSIVE RULE UNEXAMPLED IN HISTORY.

Gentlemen, history records scarcely any example of a great and civilised nation permanently placed under a system of government which allowed them no share in the control over their own concerns. In ancient India, the entire village administration was in the hands of village communities or local landlords, and though there was no representation in its modern forms kings and potentates listened to the wishes of the people and the leaders of the people in deciding on great questions of administration. In ancient Europe the policy of Imperial Rome was inspired by the same spirit, and you no doubt recollect the eloquent words in which Gibbon has described the treatment of conquered provinces by Rome :—

"The grandsons of the Gauls, who had besieged Julius Caesar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the State, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness."

The history of Moghul Rule in India may also be described in almost the same words, and we can truly say :—

"The grandsons of the Hindus who had fought against Balar in the field of Fatehpur Sikri, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the Councils of Akbar. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the State, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness."

Shall we for ever continue to describe British Rule in India in words the reverse of this? Shall we for ever have to say :—

"The grandsons and great-grandsons of those who helped the British in the fields of Plassey and Wandewash, of Laswari and Assaye, were excluded from the command of armies, from the government of provinces, from the Council of the Secretary of State for India, from the Executive Council of the Viceroy, from the Executive Councils of the Indian Provinces."

Gentlemen, this defect in British rule, this reproach on British administration, cannot last. One of the strongest of British Imperialists of modern days has recorded :—

"To those who take a purely selfish view, it may be urged that we can hardly long go on as we are, refusing to proceed further in the direction of the employment of

* "The Anglo-Saxon nations," writes Lecky, "though sometimes roused to strong but transient enthusiasm, are habitually singularly narrow, unappreciative, and unsympathetic."

† Indians are not now entirely excluded from these councils.

natives in high office, with Russians at our door pursuing the other policy. * * * The unshared rule of a close bureaucracy from across the seas cannot last in the face of widespread modern education of a people so intelligent Indian Natives."

The inhabitants of England in whatever capacity they come to India, whether as public servants of the State or merchants or missionaries, do not make India their homes. So they cannot be the objects of that veneration which the descendants of Akbar even after the destruction of their power received from the Hindoos.

The Caliphs civilized the Christian nations of Syria, Egypt, Northern Africa and even of Spain and Portugal. The Arabs or Saracens, as they were latterly called, behaved in such a chivalrous manner that the Christian women of those countries willingly became the inmates of their harems and gladly accepted the crescent in the place of the cross. It was not all by the confiscation of the women of the Christian countries that Islam succeeded in exterminating Christianity in the countries bordering the Mediterranean. Of course, the author of the Conflict between Religion and Science writes—

CONFISCATION OF WOMEN.

"A nation may recover the confiscation of its provinces, the confiscation of its wealth; it may survive the imposition of enormous war-fines; but it never can recover from that most frightful of all war-acts, the confiscation of its women. * * It was the institution of polygamy, based upon the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured for ever the Mohammedan rule. The children of these unions gloried in their descent from their conquering fathers. No better proof can be given of the efficacy of this policy than that which is furnished by North Africa. The irresistible effect of polygamy in consolidating the new order of things was very striking. In little more than a generation, the Khalif was informed by his officers that the tribute must cease, all the children born in that region were Mohammedans, and all spoke Arabic."

But it is impossible to imagine that those countries would have become Muhammadanized by mere confiscation of their women folk if those Christian women were not willing to tender their persons to their Muhammadan conquerors. India never became a Muhammadan country by the 'confiscation' of her women. No, Hindoo women cheerfully mounted the funeral pyre and reduced themselves to ashes rather

than suffer themselves to be polluted by the touch of any conqueror.

The thorough Anglicisation of the whole of India is not desired by Anglo-Indians. In his *New India*, Cotton has written:—

"The more Anglicised a native is, the more he is disliked by Englishmen. The sense of jealousy becomes greater. Whatever may be professed, Englishmen are ready to encourage the natives who speak broken English more than those who speak good English; those who are subject to Hindu prejudices more than those who have renounced them; and generally those who are far removed from English habits of thought and life more than those who have made a very close approach to them. They are more pleased with the backward Hindu than with his advanced compatriot, because the former has made no attempt to attain equality with themselves.

"This abhorrence of equality rankles in the mind of all Anglo-Indians, and especially of officials. It is the peculiarity of residence in the East to develop sentiments of intolerance and race superiority."*

Such being the feelings of the Anglo-Indians towards Indians, it is impossible for English people to succeed like the Romans, the Caliphs or the Moghuls in "anglicising" the whole of India.

But there can be no doubt that the occidentalists or the Anglicists made English

the medium of instruction for Indian scholars to prevent the cultivation of Indian vernaculars, and thus of Indian nationality, but also "aimed at turning * * * the thought and the feeling and fancy of the subjugated people into" English channels, to feed and augment English interests, and to "direct the ideas and sympathies of the natives towards their present rulers."

Whatever promotes better understanding between different races is bound to produce good results. Therefore, whatever the motives of the Anglicists in the days of the East India Company might have been, our knowledge of the English language and literature has borne good fruit. The Anglicists have builded better than they knew or perhaps meant to. English education has been one of the causes of the birth of national consciousness in India. If now the vernaculars be encouraged instead of English, the ultimate result will be a further impetus to the growth of national feeling. Directly or indirectly, whatever the educational policy adopted, it is destined to play a leading part in the progressive nationalisation of the Indian people.

* *New India* (Second Edition), 1886, pp. 40-41.

THE FIRST INDIAN EXPLORER OF THIBET

EUROPEAN intrusion in Asiatic countries is eyed with suspicion and mistrust, however harmless be the intention of the Europeans. The most vigilant and jealous of all Asiatics are the Thibetans. No European is allowed to enter their boundary, without undergoing a strict and minute search. Several European attempts to explore the Thibetan territory* have proved abortive and fatal. A European, even if disguised, attracts attention when travelling among Asiatics, and his presence if detected is often apt to lead to outrage. The difficulty of redressing such outrages and various other causes has made the exploration of Thibet by Europeans practically impossible.

* This article refers to the days before the Thibetan Expedition sent by Lord Curzon to Thibet.

On the other hand Asiatics, the subjects of the British Government, are known to travel freely without molestation in countries far beyond the British frontier; they constantly pass to and fro between India and Central Asia, and also between India and Thibet, for trading and other purposes, without exciting suspicion.

In 1861, it was consequently proposed to take advantage of this facility possessed by Asiatics, and to employ them on explorations beyond the frontier. The Government of India approved of the project and agreed to support it liberally.

With a view to carry out the above plan, Colonel Walker, the Superintendent, G. T. Survey, engaged two British subjects from one of the upper valleys of the Himalayas. These men were recommended by Major



Kishen Singh, the first Indian Explorer of Thibet.

Smyth of the Educational Department, as likely to have great facility in travelling through various parts of Thibet, their countrymen having always been granted by the

Chinese authorities the privilege of travelling and trading in the upper basin of the Sutlej.

Such promising recruits having been secured they were at once sent to the head quarters of the G. T. Survey, in order to be trained for Trans-Himalayan exploration. They were found to be very intelligent and rapidly learnt the use of the sextant, compass, etc., and before long recognized all the larger stars without any difficulty. Their work, from actual practice, having been found satisfactory, they were directed to make a route-survey from the Mansarowar to Lhasa. From Lhasa they were directed to return by a more northerly route to Mansarowar, an estimated distance of 7 or 8 hundred miles, a capital field for exploration.

These explorers were known as the Pandits, and one of them was known as A-K, whose real name was Krishna or Kishen Singh Milam-wal, by caste a Rawat Rajput, and first cousin to Nain Singh, C.I.E., another celebrated explorer. The family have been established for many generations in Milam in Kumaun. In 1812, when Milam was in Nepalese territory, Messrs. Moorcroft and Hearsey were travelling in Western Thibet, disguised as fakirs, and under the assumed names of Mayapuri and Hargiri.

But on their return journey they were taken prisoners. Deb Singh and Ber Singh, father and uncle of Kishen Singh, hastened to proffer their good services. And by their interposition and on their

security the prisoners were eventually released.

With this precedent Kishen Singh was selected for this arduous task. The Pandits started on the first week of January 1865 from Dehra, and through Moradabad reached Bareilly. At Bareilly they took latitude observations, and commenced their route survey. They crossed the Nepalese frontier at Nepalgunj, and from thence went by the Cheesaghurri road to Katmandu, reaching the latter place on the 7th of March 1865.

In Katmandu they made inquiries on all sides as to the best route to Lhasa. Having made their arrangements, the Pandits started on the 20th of March 1865, accompanied by four men, whom they had hired as servants. On the road they changed their mode of dress to one better known to the people of Lhasa, and gave out that they were Bisahiris, i. e. inhabitants of a British valley of that name north-east of Simla, and were going to buy horses and at the same time to do homage to the Lhasa shrine. The character of Bisahiris was assumed because they knew that those people had from time immemorial been privileged to travel in the Lhasa territory without question. But much to their disappointment they were stopped by the Chinese officials, who questioned them as to the object of their journey and searched their baggage. Fortunately the instruments with them were few. Their instrumental equipment consisted of two large sextants, two box sextants, prismatic and pocket compasses, thermometers for observing temperature of air and of boiling water, pocket chronometer, and a common watch, with apparatus, all of which had been ingeniously secreted in a false compartment of the box, and therefore escaped detection. But this did not satisfy the jealousy of the Chinese authorities, who declined to let them pass on any consideration. They were, therefore, forced to retrace their steps from Kirong to Katmandu on the 10th April.

Here they made fresh inquiries as to some more promising way of getting to Lhasa. At last they heard of two opportunities, the first by accompanying the camp of a new agent (vakil) that Jung Bahadur was about to send to Lhasa, and the second by accompanying a Bhot merchant. In order to increase their chances

of success, they decided that one should go with the Nepal agent and the other with the merchant. But the wakil ultimately refused to take one of them with him.

Kishen Singh's brother being personally known to the Kirong governor could not proceed with the merchant, who intended to take the Kirong route. Therefore he returned to British territory, and Kishen Singh alone proceeded with the merchant's servants. He assumed the dress of a Ladaki, and, to complete his disguise, added a pig-tail to his head. This change was made, because he was afraid that the Kirong officials who stopped him the first time might recognize him again.

At Shabra he had a bad attack of fever, but was kindly treated by the merchant's family. The merchant's uncle gave him a pass and a letter to the merchant's brother at Kirong requesting him to arrange for the Pandit's journey to Lhasa, and, if necessary, to stand security for him. Through the help of the merchant's brother the Pandit secured permission to travel onwards though not by the direct route.

He reached Lue on the 23rd August. From Katmandu up to this point vegetation and jungle had been abundant, but beyond, the mountains were throughout bare, and all but barren.

On the 24th the Pandit joined a large trading party travelling *via* Tadum to Mansarowar and was allowed to accompany them. On the 30th he reached Talla Labrong and there first caught sight of the great river Brahmaputra flowing towards Lhasa. Crossing the river they reached Tadum monastery on the great road between Lhasa and Gartokh on the 6th September. Here the Pandit feigned sickness, as a reason for not going on to Mansarowar, and he was accordingly left behind. Here at last he found an admirable opportunity of going to Lhasa, by accompanying a Ladak merchant in the employ of the Kashmir Maharaja. On the 2nd October the merchant's headman reached Tadum and consented to take him on to Lhasa. On the next morning he started with the Ladaki camp and marching eastward reached the town of Sarkajong on the 8th October. Here the enquiries of the authorities and the shortness of his funds made the Pandit very uneasy. But he having

become a great favorite with the Ladaki camp resolved to proceed and on the 19th reached Ralang. From Tadum to this point no cultivation was seen, but here there was little, and a few willow trees, and onwards to Lhasa cultivation was met with nearly every day.

On his way he went on counting paces on his rosary, and, surveying the route, visited the Tashilumbo monastery. The Pandit was much afraid of paying a visit to the Lama, who, it is believed, knows the secrets of all hearts. However, putting a bold face on the matter, he went, and was much relieved to find the Lama, a mere boy, not evince any extra intelligence. At Shigatze he took to teaching Nepalese shop-keepers the Hindu method of calculation, and thereby earned a few rupees.

For two days the Pandit coasted along the Great Yamdokcho Lake, the margin of which was frozen. Here he narrowly escaped falling a prey to a band of robbers. The lake from the Pandit's observations appears to be about 13500 feet above the sea; 2 to 3 miles in width and 45 miles in circumference; its water is perfectly fresh and contains quantities of fish. There is an island in the centre, which rises into low rounded hills 2 or 3,000 feet above the surface of the lake.

From the basin of the Yamdokcho Lake the party crossed over the Khambala mountains by a pass, reaching the great Naricha (the Brahmaputra), and ascending its tributary, the Kichu Sangpo or Lhasa river, in a north-easterly direction, reached Lhasa on the 10th January, 1866.

The Pandit took up his abode in a caravanserai, selecting two rooms which he thought well-suited for taking observations of stars, &c. without being noticed. Here he remained till the 21st of April, 1866. The Pandit's account of the extraordinary city of Lhasa dwells particularly upon the size, great number and magnificence of the various monasteries, and the vast number of monks, &c. serving in them. The city stands at a level of 11,400 feet above the sea.

He had an interview with the Grand Lama, whom he describes as a fair and handsome boy of 13 years of age. The Lama was seated on a throne six feet high and on a lower throne to his right was

seated his chief minister, the Gyalbo or Potolah Raja. The latter is evidently the actual ruler of Lhasa, under the Chinese Amban or resident, the Grand Lama being a puppet in their hands. It is curious that the few times these great Lamas have been seen by reliable people, they have been always found to be small boys or fair effeminate looking young men.

Here the Pandit's funds arrived at a very low ebb, and he was obliged to make his livelihood by teaching the Hindu methods of accounts to the merchants; but these merchants chiefly remunerated him with small presents of butter and food on which he managed somehow to subsist.

During his stay in Lhasa the Pandit seems to have been unmolested, and his account of himself was only once called in question. On that occasion two Mahomedans of Kashmiri descent managed to penetrate his disguise and made him confess his secret. However they kept it faithfully and assisted the poor Pandit with a small loan on the security of his watch. On another occasion the Pandit was surprised to see the Kirong governor in the streets of Lhasa. This official refused to let him pass Kirong and the violation of his order involved the penalty of forfeiting life. Just about the same time the Pandit saw the summary way in which suspects were dealt with in Lhasa. A Chinaman, who had raised a quarrel between two monasteries, was taken out and beheaded without the slightest compunction. All these things combined alarmed the Pandit so much that he changed his residence, and from that time seldom appeared in public.

On the 21st April he left Lhasa with the Ladaki party. On his return journey he passed over a very elevated tract of country from 14 to 16,000 feet above the sea, inhabited solely by nomadic people, who possess large flocks and herds of sheep, goat and yaks. On the road his faithful servant fell ill and remained behind as a sort of security for the money that had been advanced to the Pandit. At Thajung on the 23rd June the Pandit was much astonished to find even the low hills covered with snow in a way he had never seen before. The fact being that he was approaching the outer Himalayan chain. After an adventure with the Bhotiyas from whom he

escaped with difficulty, he finally crossed the Himalayan range on the 26th June and thence descended into British territory after making a great detour and after an absence of 18 months.

The Pandit meeting his brother sent him to Gartokh to carry on a route survey to that place where the Bhotiyas had made him to leave off. The brother succeeded in reaching Gartokh and in making the route survey.

It being necessary that the Pandit should be able to take his compass bearings unobserved, and also that when counting his paces he should not be interrupted by having to answer questions, he always marched separate with his very faithful servants either behind or in front of the rest of the camp. When he saw any one approaching he at once began to whirl his prayer-wheel round. Whilst doing that one is supposed to be absorbed in religious contemplation and he was very seldom interrupted.



A Lama with a prayer-wheel and rosary.

The prayer wheels ordinarily contain a scroll of paper with the prayer *om mani*

padme hum written on it. The one used by the Pandit had inside it instead of that prayer scroll long slips of paper for the purpose of recording the bearing and number of paces, etc. The top of the cylinder was made loose enough to allow the paper to be taken out when required. The prayer wheels being free from all examination by custom house or other officials, several copper prayer wheels were especially made for the Pandit in the G. T. S. workshop fitted with compasses, sextants, levels, etc.

The rosary, which ought to have 108 beads, was made of 100 beads every 10th bead being larger than the others. The rosary was carried in the left sleeve; at every hundredth pace a bead was dropped, and each large bead dropped, consequently, represented 1000 paces. With his prayer wheel and rosary the Pandit always managed in one way or another to take his bearing and to count his paces. He was practised to walk 2,000 paces in a mile.

The Pandit with his servant's assistance managed to take latitude observations at thirty-one different places. His observations for latitude were all taken with a large sextant. He carried quicksilver safely and unobserved up to Lhasa concealed in a wooden bowl, by putting some into a cocoanut, and by carrying a reserve in cowrie shells closed with wax. The whole of his altitudes were taken with quicksilver.

At first he used to read the sextant at night by a bull's eye lantern, which soon attracted attention, and he had to sell it to avoid suspicion. Thence onwards a common oil wick was the only thing to be got, the use of which was often prevented by the wind. The Pandit was often obliged to take his night observations and then put his instrument carefully by, and not read it till the next morning.

The results of the expedition consisted of—

(1) A great number of meridian altitudes of the sun and stars taken for latitude at 31 different points.

(2) An elaborate route survey, extending over 1200 miles, fixing generally the whole course of the great Brahmaputra river from its source near Mansarowar to the point where it is joined by the stream on which Lhasa stands.

(3) Observations of the temperature of

the air and boiling water with thermometers by which the heights of 33 points have been determined, also giving some idea of the climate of those places.

(4) Notes as to what was seen, and as to the information gathered, during the expedition.

Bearing in mind the great elevation at which the road is carried, the average height of the road above the sea being over 15,000 feet, and bearing in mind that the greater part of this march was made in mid-winter, it will be allowed that the Pandit has performed a feat of which a native of Hindustan or of any other country may well be proud. The Pandit made *fifty-one* marches between Lhasa and the Mansarowar Lake, and his brother makes out the remaining distance to Gartokh, seven marches more, or, in all fifty-eight marches, a great many of which were very long and tedious and dangerous too. Some idea of the general aspect and account of the country which the road traversed could be given from the Pandit's account. The Thibetants have, as a rule, had simply to clear away the loose stones, and only in three or four places, for a few miles, has anything in the way of making a road been necessary. In many parts there appears to have been considerable danger of losing the road in the open stretches of the tableland, the whole surface looking very much like a road; but this danger is guarded against by the frequent erection of piles of stones, surmounted with flags on stick, &c. These piles called *lapcha* by the Tibetans were found exceedingly handy by the Pandit on which to take his compass bearings. Travelers generally contribute a stone or a piece of rag to these piles as they pass, and regard these as objects of veneration. Between Lhasa and Gartokh there are 22 staging places, called *Tarjums*, where the baggage animals are changed. The *Tarjums* are from 20 to 70 miles apart and generally consist of a house or houses made with sun-dried bricks. Each *Tarjum* is in charge of an official called *Tarjumba*. They can supply any numbers of horses and beasts of burden, being supplied on their turn by the nomadic tribes.

Between Mansarowar and Sarkajong nothing in the shape of spirits was to be had, but to the eastward of the latter place

a liquor made from barley could generally be got in every village. A great deal of fruit is produced on the banks of the Brahmaputra.

The Tibetans stew their tea with water, meal, and butter; the tea-leaves are always eaten. Another brew of *sutloo* with barley meal and water is always made.

Ordinary letters have a feather attached to them, and is carried from Lhasa to Gartokh, 800 miles, in little over 30 days. Special messages are carried by special messengers carrying the message day and night on horseback, both messenger and horse being changed at each village on the route. Thibet is rarely troubled by dark nights. A special messenger does the 800 miles in 22 days on the average.

From the Mansarowar to Tadum (140 miles) glaciers are visible always to the south.

About Lhasa no very high mountains are seen, and hardly any snow was visible from the city even in winter. The country around grows a long coarse grass.

Fossil bones are plentiful in the Lhasa district. These are sold in the Lhasa bazar as having great healing properties when applied to wounds, &c., in a powdered state.

During November the thermometer always fell during the night below the freezing point even inside a house. The lowest temperature recorded in February, was 25° at night and during the day 45°. During the whole time the Pandit was in the Lhasa territory from September to the end of June, it never rained, and snowfall was also very rare, which was never more than 12 inches. But the cold is so intense that the water of the running streams freezes if the current is not very strong, and water kept in the warmest parts of a house, froze, and burst the vessels holding it. The wind is very strong.

The city of Lhasa is circular with a circumference of two and a half miles. In the centre of the city stands a very large temple. The idols in it are richly inlaid with gold and precious stones. This temple is surrounded by bazars and shops kept by Lhasa, Kashmiri, Ladaki, Azimabad, and Nepalese merchants, a number of whom are Mahomedans. Chinese traders are numerous here also. The city stands in a tolerably level plain surrounded by moun-

tain. There are several monasteries in the city. The Debang monastery is occupied by 7700 priests, who are held in great veneration by all classes of the Lhasa people. There is on a low hill a large and strong fort called Potolah, which is the residence of the Lama Guru, his head minister being generally called Rajah. The fort is one and a half miles in circumference, and 300 ft. above the surrounding level; steps lead up to the fort on every side.

The Pandit accompanied the Ladak merchant to pay homage to the Gewaring-bo-che (the great Lama of Thibet) in the fort. A priest came out to receive them and conducted them to the presence of the Gewaring-bo-che, a fair and handsome boy of about 13 years, seated on a throne six feet high, attended by two of the highest priests, each holding a bund of peacock feathers. To the right of this boy and seated on a throne three feet high was the Rajah Gyalbo-Khuro Gyago, his minister. Numbers of priests in reverential attitudes were standing at a respectful distance. The Pandit and his companions were ordered to be seated, and after making offerings of silks, sweets, and money, the Lama Guru put them three questions placing his hands on each of their heads: 'Is your king well?' 'Does your country prosper?' and 'Are you in good health?' They were then served with tea, which some drank, and others poured on their heads, and after having a strip of silk with a knot in it placed by the priests round each of the visitor's neck they were dismissed.

The walls and ceilings of all the chief houses in the fort and all the temples that contained images of gold, were covered with rich silks.

The Lama Guru is the chief of all Thibet, but he does not interfere with State business. He is looked upon as the guardian divinity, and is supposed never to die, but transmigrates into any body he pleases and is privileged to transmigrate thirteen times. The dead body from which the Lama's soul has departed is placed in a gold coffin studded with the finest gems, and kept in the temple with the greatest care. It is said that these dead bodies diminish in size, while the hairs and nails grow.

Next to the Lama in rank is the Rajah or Gyalbo, below whom there are four

ministers called Kaskak, who conduct all State business, under the Rajah's orders. The Chinese Vakeel at Lhasa, who is called Amban, has the power of reporting against either the Rajah or the four ministers to the King of China, and, if necessary, can have them removed from office.

The Thibetans believe that no sooner the Lama is born than he speaks and all withered plants and trees about his birth-place at once begin to bear green leaves. The moment the news gets to the Lhasa court of such an occurrence, then the four ministers repair to the house in order to ascertain whether he is an impostor or not. Articles of all descriptions are placed before the child. Should he be able to select such articles as belonged to the Lama, he is pronounced to be no impostor and is forthwith carried away to the fort of Potolah and placed upon the throne as Lama Guru.

The Mahomedans of Lhasa gave the Pandit the following account as to the selection of the future Lama Guru. From the day of the death of a Lama Guru all male births are recorded by the Lamas about the city, and the ministers are secretly informed of them. Names are given to the children and on the thirtieth day after the decease of a Lama Guru, slips of paper bearing the names of children born within the month are placed in a vessel; the chief of the four ministers then draws out one of the slips with a pair of pincers and whichever child's name that slip bears, he is pronounced to be the future Lama Guru. He is then taught all that is required of him by the priests, and when they think he has come to years of discretion, the previously narrated ceremony of the choosing of articles is conducted.

On the death of the Potolah Rajah the successor is chosen from the Debang monastery.

Thirty-six miles east of Lhasa, situated on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, stands a monastery called Same, the seat the Jam Raja, who is believed to possess the power and authority to punish or reward the souls of departed men. The State Treasury of Lhasa is also at that place, and on the occasion of a war, the four ministers repair thither, and after a little ceremony receive the amount they solicit, with an injunction to return the same within a certain period.

The Pandit remarks that there was but little order and justice to be seen in Lhasa.

The new year of the Thibetans commences with the new moon, appearing on or about the 15th of February; they call it Lohsar. On New Year's eve every house in the city is cleaned, swept and whitewashed and the street cleaned under an order from the Court. On the following day each household displays as many flags from the housetop as it can afford. Throughout the day and night singing, dancing, and drinking are kept up. On the second day of their new year all the people of the city assemble before the fort to witness the following feat—a strong rope is fastened from the fort walls to strong rivets in the ground 100 yards distant from the base of the fort. Two men then slide down this rope, which very often proves fatal to them; should they survive they are rewarded by the Lama Guru, who is always a witness of such performances.

From the commencement of the new year, whoever pays the highest sum is considered the Judge of the Raja's Court, who is called Jalna, and for 23 days he exercises his authority in the most arbitrary manner possible for his own benefit, as all fines, etc., are his by the purchase. The purchaser of such authority must be one of the 7700 priests attached to the Debang monastery. The successful priest announces the fact through the streets in Lhasa in person, bearing a silver stick. The Judge's men are then seen to go about the streets and places in order to discover any conduct in the inhabitants that may be found fault with. Every house is taxed in Lhasa at this period, and the slightest fault is punished with the greatest severity by fines. This severity drives all the working classes out of the city, till the 23 days are over. The profit made by the Judge is about ten times the purchase money. During the 23 days all the priests assemble in the fort and in the Machindranath Temple to offer homage and perform religious ceremonies. On the fifteenth day of the new year all the priests assembling about the Machindranath Temple display hundreds of idols in forms of men, animals, trees, etc., and throughout the night burn torches, which illuminate the city to a great distance.

The day on which the authority of the Judge ceases, the Rajah's troops parade through the streets, and proclaim that the power of the Rajah has again been assumed by him. Twenty-four days after the Judge ceases to have authority, he again assumes it and acts in the same arbitrary manner as on the first occasion for ten days, after which authority is once more assumed by the Raja.

On the first day the Lamas all assemble at Machindranath Temple and after a religious ceremony invoke the assistance of their deities to prevent sickness, &c., among the people, and as a peace-offering sacrifice one man. This man is not killed purposely but the ceremony he undergoes often proves fatal. Grain is thrown against his head and his face is painted half white and half black. On the tenth day of this vacation, all the troops quartered at Lhasa march to the temple and form line before it. The victim, who has his face painted, is then brought forth from the temple, and receives small donations from all the populace assembled. He then throws the dice with the Jalno (the Judge), and if the latter loses, it is said to forebode great evil, and if not, and the Jalno wins, then it is believed that the victim, who is to bear the sins of all the inhabitants of Lhasa, has been permitted by the gods to do so. He is then marched to the walls of the city, followed by the whole populace, and troops hooting and shouting, and discharging volleys after him. When he is driven outside the city, then people return, and the victim is carried to the same monastery. Should he die shortly after this, the people say it is an auspicious sign, and if not, he is kept a prisoner at Same monastery for the term of a whole year, after which he is released and is allowed to return to Lhasa.

The day following the banishment of the man to Same, all the State jewels, gold and silver plate, &c., are brought out from the fort, and carried through the streets of Lhasa, protected by the troops armed and followed by thousands of spectators. Towards evening everything is taken back to the fort and kept as before. The day following, immense images of the gods, formed of variegated paper on wooden framework, are dragged by men through the city, protected by armed troops. About

noon the whole populace, great and small, assemble on the plain north of the city, and publicly carouse, race, and practice gun shooting at targets.

At Lhasa barley, wheat, peas, mustard are grown. Radish, carrots, onions, potatoes, beans, garlic, and various other edibles are cultivated. There is no jungle thereabouts; the hills are barren.

A very few of the rich men's houses are built of brick and stones, all others are of mud.

The manufactures of Lhasa are woollen cloths, felt, &c.

The cattle of Lhasa are cows, sheep, goats, yaks, horses, asses, &c. Pigs and dogs are also reared, the latter being a very big animal; there are quantities of domestic cats, mostly black, and a few white and red. Fowls, pigeons, kites, crows, ducks, and pheasants, together with a variety of small birds, are very numerous. Snakes, reptiles, scorpions, &c., are not known.

The water-supply of Lhasa is from wells, and a tax of two annas on every house is imposed monthly.

During the month of December merchants from all parts bring their merchandise to Lhasa, and leave in March before the setting in of the rains.

The inhabitants use ornaments of coral, pearls, and precious stones, and occasionally of gold and silver, which are more specially worn by women on their heads; boats lined with the skins of sheep are generally worn.

The chief divinity worshipped in this part is Buddha.

The food of the inhabitants consists chiefly of salted butter, tea, mutton, beef, pork, and fowls. Rice is not much eaten, owing to its high price and because it is considered a fruitful source of disease. Wheat, barley, etc., are cheap.

The current coin of the country is a silver piece called Naktang, two and a half of which pieces being the equivalent of one rupee. The silver pieces are cut into either halves or into three pieces. There is also a large lump of silver bearing the seal of the Chinese Emperor, the value of which is equal to 333 Naktangs.

To the north-east of Lhasa, distant about one month's journey, there is a country, the inhabitants of which annually pay

Lhasa visits under the plea of pilgrimage or trading, but really with the object of robbing and stealing; highway robbery and murder are perpetrated by them without compunction. They appear to be exempt from any punishments from the Lhasa government, who never takes notice of any complaints against them, the reason for this indulgence being that the Lhasa Vakeel with the government merchandise has to pass through the territory of this tribe and to insure a safe journey for these the government connives at the mischief done by them to the peaceable inhabitants of the Lhasa territory.

Four miles north of Lhasa is a long hill, called Toti-phu, which contains immense quantities of silver; but a Government order prohibits any one from working the metal, for the general belief is that the country will be impoverished and the men will degenerate should the metal be worked. A Chinaman once worked a large quantity of silver here, but the man was seized and sent to Peking, where his hands were cut off. Gold also exists here. Gold is, however, worked to a very slight extent near the monasteries of Debang and Ramoche by the priests, but should they in their search discover a nugget of large size, it is immediately replaced in the earth under the impression that the large nuggets have life, and germinate in time, producing the small lumps, which they are privileged to search for. To the north-east of Lhasa, and one and a half month's journey from it, at Sarka or Thok, gold is extracted in large quantities, there being no prohibition as to working it. Here no grain is raised; the gold diggers barter the metal for grain, etc., brought by merchants.

On the summit of Toti-phu is a spring and a large flat slab of stone called Darga, the seat of the Mahomedan Pir. Another slab close to this stone is called Ja-Nawaz; it bears the impression of a large hand, said to be the hand of a Mahomedan Pir. The Mahomedans of Lhasa resort to this place to worship.

The strength of the standing force in Lhasa is 1000 Bhotiya, and 500 Chinese soldiers armed with long flint guns. Lhasa has a population of 9000 women and 6000 men. The reason of this preponderance of females over the males is in consequence of

the large number of males becoming priests and vowing celibacy, and also in consequence of the custom of one family of say four or five males living with one woman.

Regarding the disposal of their dead the Lhasa people of the poorer classes bind the corpses tightly with rope and place them erect against the inner walls of their houses for two or three days, while the richer and well-to-do classes detain the corpses in their houses for a length of fourteen days; after which time priests are invited who pretend to read from their ritual the manner in which these corpses are predestined to be disposed of. Sometimes their decision is to cut the corpses into pieces and scatter the fragments to the birds and beasts of prey, and sometimes to bury them. The bodies are detained in the house from the belief that they may become demons if disposed of without the blessings of the priests.

The inhabitants of Lhasa believe that the ready cash possessed by the Government of Lhasa equals, if not exceeds, the wealth of the whole world.

These accounts have all been corroborated as true by many subsequent explorers.

Kishen Singh, better known as A.—K. or the Pandit made five explorations in all—

(1) In 1856, the one described supra.

(2) In 1869, from Milam in Kumaun to Rakas Tal lake in great Thibet and thence southward along the Karnali river to Kathai Ghat, 400 miles.

(3) In 1871-2. From Shigatze to the Tengri Nor and thence to Lhasa, 300 miles.

(4) In 1873-4. From Tankse in Ladak to Kashgar and beyond and back, 1250 miles.

(5) In 1878. This was his greatest journey.*

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

* Compiled from selections from the Records of the Government of India No. LXXI, and A Memoir on the Indian Surveys. 1875—1890.

CONTEMPORARY CARTOONS



[Minneapolis Journal]

1. THE AWAKENING OF THE ASIATIC GIANT.



[Pasquino] TOO EARLY. [Turin.

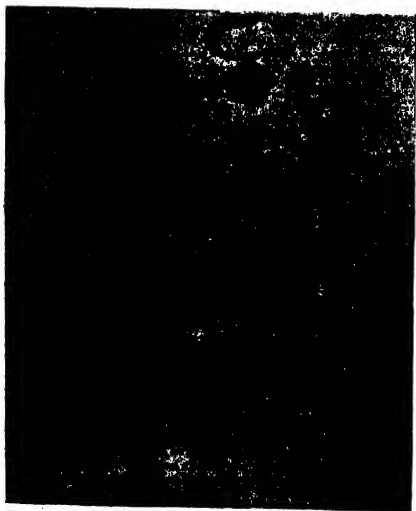
PEACE: "May I come in?"

COMBATANTS: "No, not yet; you wait!"
(The olive branch is the emblem of peace).



THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT. [*Punch.*]

DAME EUROPA (of the Hague Academy for Young Gentlemen): I thoroughly disapprove of this, and as soon as 'ever it's over, I shall interfere to put a stop to it."

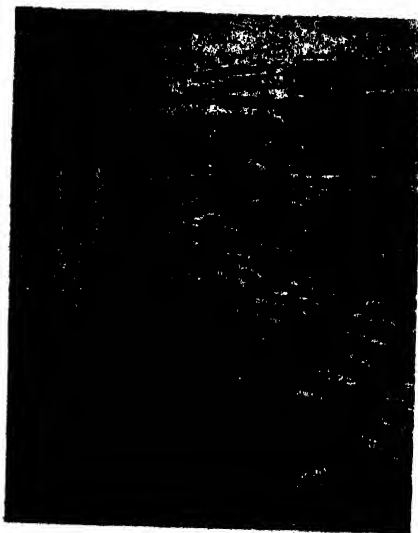


[*Minneapolis Journal.*
THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA.



NOTHING TO GET EXCITED ABOUT.

CIVILIZED EUROPE—"You wretched children, do keep quiet: your big brother [Italy] is only gone on a thieving expedition."—*Floh* (Vienna).



CHRIST AND CHRISTENDOM,
At Christmas, 1911.

—*Der Wahre Jacob*].



KING OF ITALY—"Give me that box." K. of T.—"I am going to take it by force." TURKEY—"Now try it!"
[—Floh (Vienna).]

ITALY'S BOX OF TROUBLE.



ARABIAN NIGHTMARE.

"The smoke streamed from the bottle, and took the form of a genie of frightful aspect, who cried, 'your last hour is come!'"—(Arabian Night's Entertainment).

—Rive (Paris).

(Refers to a possible, though not probable, result of European aggression on Musalman Kingdoms).



CHINA IS BETWEEN TWO NOOSES.

—Mucha (Warsaw).



LATEST NEWS FROM TRIPOLI.

The Italians are victorious everywhere, and the Turks everywhere else.

—Rive (Paris).

(Refers to the conflicting accounts of the War).



Turkey—"Help! Police! A burglar is making off with my property."

Police—"What is that to me? It is n't my property."
—*Wahre Jacob (Stuttgart).*



THE EUPHEMISMS OF MASSACRE.

TURKEY (at Tripoli)—"When I was charged with this kind of thing in Bulgaria, nobody excused me on the ground of military exigencies!"

—*Punch.*



NOT UP TO EXPECTATIONS.

TURKEY: "Great Allah! I don't think the German umbrella is quite water-tight.—*Kladderadatch (Berlin).*
(Refers to Germany's profession of friendship for Turkey).



THE SAME OLD STORY.

The new Diogenes searches with a lantern in vain for an honest friend.

—*Kikorebi (Vienna).*

TO THE OCEAN

Translated into English Prose from the Poetry of Rabindranath

BY S. V. MUKERJEA, B.A. (OXON).

O, thou First Mother, Ocean, this Earth thy child,
 One and only daughter, lies on thy lap, wherefore no sleep clings
 To thine Eyne; wherefore also Fear and Hope and Unrest
 Always cleave thy Bosom; wherefore rises like some Vedic Chant,
 Skyward, without ceasing, to the Temple of Nature's God
 Thy Soul's eternal prayer, filling all space
 With thy note of joy; wherefore on this sleeping Earth
 Thou showerest kisses unnumberable, enveloping her
 With thy all-embracing clasp of waves, holding her soft body
 In thy azure folds, with gentle tenderness
 And skilful care. What wondrous playfulness is this,
 Thou Fount of waters?—now, on some pretence of neglect
 Thou goest far away, receding with gentle steps and slow,
 As if wanting to leave her,—and again, with a shout of gladness,
 Thou returnest in one exultant leap to her Breast:
 Foaming with laughter, in joyous tears, and in the heaving pride of love
 Thou leavest Earth's purest forehead wet
 With fondest blessings. Thy Heart's immensity is ever melting
 With love. Whence came it, whither are its bounds?
 It is fathomless, illimitable. Who can comprehend
 The profundity of its calm, the limitlessness of its passion,
 The grandeur of its silence, the noisomeness of its sound,
 Its mad, loud laughter, its heaving lamentations?
 A child of this Earth am I, sitting by thy shore,
 Hearing thy sound. Methinks, for me it has
 Some meaning, like that of the sign-language of the mute
 For their kindred. Methinks, even the blood that courses
 Within my inmost veins, understands this language
 And has learnt naught else. Methinks, also the memory returns
 Of that dim time, when we lay unformed within thy womb,
 Amongst the embryos of unborn worlds, for some million years—
 How that tireless tune of thine had printed itself
 On each our souls; that ante-natal memory,
 That ceaseless throb upon thy unborn child
 Of thy Mother-heart—now wakes again, like some
 Faint Echo, in all my veins, when I, with pensive eyes
 Sitting on thy lonely shore, hear thy ancient roll.
 Thou wert then all solitary, from age to age counting time,
 Enveloping the bounds of space, undivided, limitless
 Lost in thyself—the vast new mystery of thy First Pregnancy
 Not comprehending! Night and day, some mystic Passion,
 The tenderness of imminent Motherhood, the Love that came

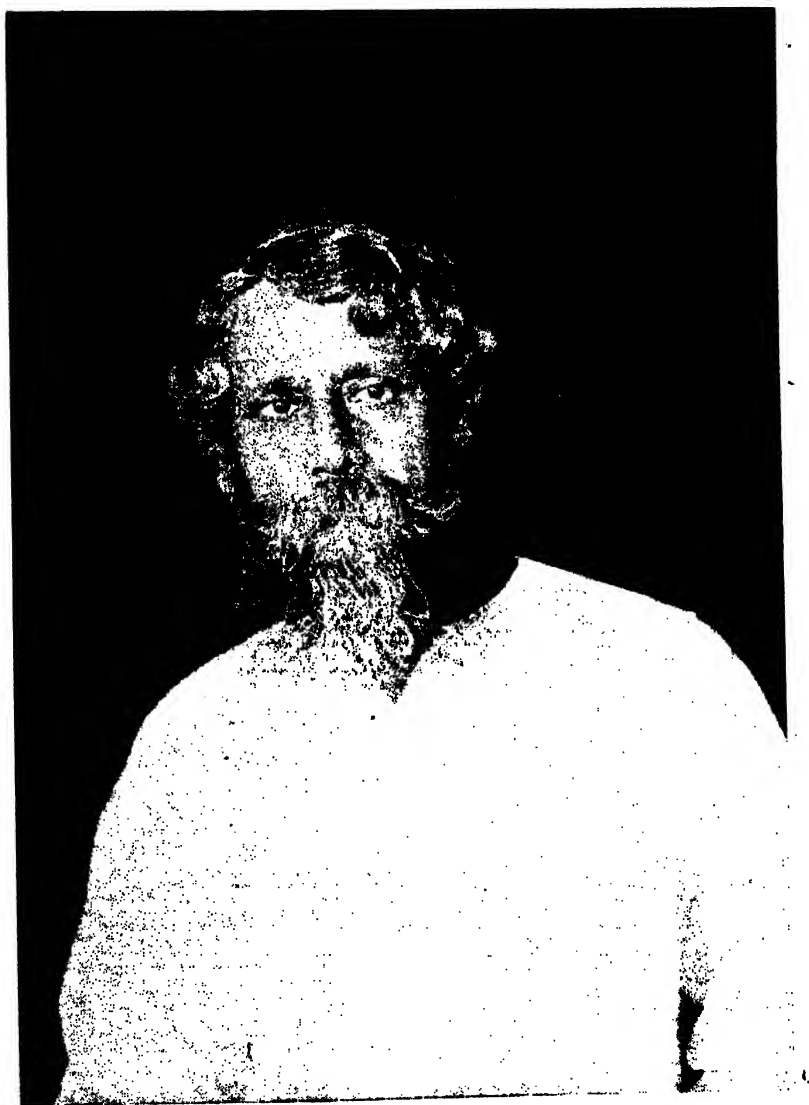
Unbeknown, throngs of strange desires filled thy Breast
 As yet unchilded. At each day-break Dawn came
 And foretold the moment of the Great Child's birth ;
 Night after night, the stars gazed motionless
 On thy childless bed. That Primal Mother's love of thine,
 Mystic, deep,—when naught of living thing breathed or stirred,—
 That haunting passion, throbbing with imminent expectancy,—
 Those unwonted longings, that heaved thy inmost deeps,
 For the awaited hour—all come back to my mind
 Again and yet again, like some age-long memory.
 Even so, my soul, filled with strange agonies
 And dim perceptions, sends forth to Yond Bourne unseen
 Its yearning cry. As if within the deep of mind itself
 New worlds of feeling rise from moment to moment
 All unknowingly.—Only a half-formed impulse
 Maddens my soul with eagerness, dowering it
 With some vast Ambition, formless, insatiable,
 Without reason, far beyond the ken of sense.
 Argument sneers at it, but Faith holds it true
 And doubts it not against a thousand hindrances :
 Undaunted, like the Mother's love for her Babe unborn
 When her soul wakes to tenderness and her bosom brims with milk.
 Even such an hope enheartens me, as now I gaze at thee,
 Rapt and speechless. Thou, Ocean, in pealing laughter,
 Drawest, with force resistless of kinship's mystic bond,
 My Soul to the midst of thy surging Waves.

THE FAR OFF

(From the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore).

I am restless,
 I am athirst for the far, far away.
 The daylight wanes, I watch at the window,
 Ah me, my soul goes out in longing
 To touch the skirt of the vast dim distance.
 I am athirst for the far far away.
 Oh, the great Beyond, Oh, the uttermost glimpse,
 Oh, the keen call of thy clarion !
 I forget, I ever forget
 That I have no wings to fly,
 That I am bound in this spot evermore.

I am eager and wakeful,
 I am a stranger in a strange lone land, O thou the distant far !
 Thy voice comes to me
 Bitterly sweet as the desire waking impossible hope,
 And thy tongue is known to my heart
 As its very own.
 I am away from thee, O thou out of reach,



BABU RAVINDRANATH TAGORE.

Oh, the great Beyond, Oh, the farthest end,
O the keen call of thy clarion!

I forget, I ever forget
That I know not the way
That I have not the winged steed.

I am listless;
I am a wanderer in my heart, O thou far away!
In the sunny harze of the languid noon-tide hours
In the murmur of leaves, in the play of the fitful shadows,
What vision of thine takes shape in the blue expanse of the sky!
O Far-to-seek, I am ever a wanderer in my heart.
Oh, the great Beyond, Oh, the farthest end,
Oh, the keen call of thy clarion!
I forget, I ever forget
That the gates are all shut everywhere
In the house where I dwell all alone.

NOTE.—The above is not a metrical translation, though the lines are arranged as in poetry.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt C.I.E. by J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S., with an introduction by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda and numerous illustrations. London, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1911. Price 10/6d.

We have read many novels in our time, but we can truly say that no work of fiction that we have read held our interest so much in thrall as this book. To an Indian, the book is simply fascinating. But this is somewhat frivolous language to use in connection with the biography of Romesh Dutt—it is so uplifting, inspiring and ennobling. Mr. Dutt's able son-in-law, himself a member of the distinguished service to which he belonged, has accomplished his task with commendable promptitude, for the biography, consisting as it does of 504 pages, has been published within two years of Mr. Dutt's death.

When we first received the book and glanced through its pages we were disposed to think that there were too many newspaper quotations and extracts in it and that the adoption of the direct and continuous narrative form would have made the book more readable. This opinion received some support from Sir Henry Cotton's sympathetic review, where the same defects were noticed. But now having read the book from cover to cover, we are bound to admit that we have changed our opinion. The extracts given are from the reviews of his books which appeared in the English press, and they are sure to prove interesting to Indian readers, for whom the biography must have been mainly intended, inasmuch as they will give them an opportunity to compare representative English opinion with their own. As for the other objection, we must remember that Mr. Gupta

is an official still in service, and cannot speak with the independence which the narrative form would demand, and by allowing Mr. Dutt to tell the story of his life from his own letters, speeches and writings, and confining his work to supplying the connecting-links merely, the biographer has exercised a wise discretion and succeeded in giving us a vivid and accurate *resumé* of the political and economic condition of India from the early days of British rule down to the dawn of the twentieth century, at the same time unfolding a noble career which will prove an inspiring beacon-light to generations of Indians yet unborn.

The main incidents of Romesh Dutt's life are wellknown to his countrymen and need not be recounted here. But a few extracts from his speeches, letters and official reports may be given, as they are not known to the general reader and will give us an idea of the stuff the man was made of.

Here is his sketch of Sir Ashley Eden, under whom he served:—"With the new feelings and the growing aspirations of the people he has no sympathy; he has tried to trample on them, to hold them to derision, to extinguish them. Patronage and personal rule are the weaknesses of the old class patriarchal rule, and no man is more wedded to them, or has abused patronage more, than Sir Ashley. He likes to see the people come to him and to *salam* him; he likes to oblige them and to favour them with a benign smile, or with posts for their children. This is his way of doing good. He learnt it when he was a young man, and he knows no other. Agitation for rights he hates; supplication for favours he understands and rewards." How true this is of even the latter day Anglo-Indian bureaucrat administration!

As Magistrate of Barisal, Mr. Dutt penned a note on the Ilbert Bill controversy which was published in

the *India Gazette* and from which we make the following extract: "Having admitted them [the Indian members of the covenanted service] to a share of those great powers and responsibilities; having called upon them to administer districts, collect revenue, extend education, and keep down crime; having required from them the same degree of efficiency and administrative vigour and wisdom as has hitherto been manifested by trained English administrators, it is no longer possible for Government to meddle with the powers which naturally belong to that position, and which are necessary for the responsible work which has to be done. Little distinctions, small curtailment of powers, petty disqualifications based on race or caste, are out of place, are virtually impossible, when it has been decided to entrust the administration of districts to the natives of India. Legislation cannot halt where it is; it must proceed or move backwards."

Regarding certain customs of Hindu society with regard to the position of the bride, Mr. Dutt wrote to Mr. Gupta as follows: "You should also...try your best to conciliate your father, and to retain that love which should exist between father and son. Your wife should help you in doing this, should be dutiful and respectful to her father-in-law, and should, in fact, conform to the Hindu usage in respect to her father and mother-in-law. My other daughters who have father-in-law do this; they appear before them veiled, never speak to them, and they do obeisance by touching the feet. They conform to the Hindu usage with respect to their husband's parents, and I like this. We need not in these small matters hurt the feelings of seniors by departing from old Hindu customs. We depart from them only where we should do so on principle. On principle inter-caste marriage is a duty with us, because it unites the divided and enfeebled nation, and we should establish this principle (as well as widow-marriage, &c.) safely and securely in our little society, so that the greater Hindu society, of which we are only a portion and the advance guard, may take heart and follow."

In a Note submitted to the Police Commission presided over by Sir Andrew Fraser, he said as follows: "I have seen it stated that the police in India are of the people, and that the police is dishonest because the people are so. Those who make such sweeping charges do not know, or do not consider, that by the inadequate scale of pay we have fixed for the police service, we draw to that service by natural selection a class of men not fit for their high responsibilities, and that we train them in dishonesty by giving them ample powers, and an undue degree of protection when they are detected in wrong-doing. The same causes led to the same results among the East India Company's European servants, among District Magistrates and Collectors a hundred years ago, and also among the Subordinate Judicial officers fifty or sixty years ago. A higher pay and better prospects have improved all services, European and Indian; the police remains an exception because it continues to be badly recruited and inadequately paid. To consider the subordinate police service as fairly representative of the Indian people is to misapprehend the true bearings of the case, and thus unwittingly to blacken the character of the nation."

Apprehension having been felt by some Indian members of the Civil Service at his bold criticisms of

the Government and its policy, Mr. Dutt wrote the following letter to his lifelong friend Mr. B. L. Gupta:

"In the first place, my criticisms after I have retired from the service do not in the least degree injure the prospects of other Bengalis in the service; on the contrary, I believe they improve their chances. A little provocation does more good than eternal attempts at conciliation. Fraser would strain every nerve to make you a High Court Judge, knowing full well that your friend is an irreconcilable critic; and if any thing could help K. G. (Sir K. G. Gupta, then Member of the Board of Revenue) to a Lieutenant-Governorship, my criticisms would—the Government would be tempted to reward a loyal man, if only to show me what I have lost by my disloyalty.

"Secondly, I know the India office—considerations of race are paramount there; they want to shut us out, not because we are critics, but because we are natives, and their policy is rule by Englishmen. They have matured this policy in twenty years—they have a vast mass of secret minutes in their archives on the subject. Licking the dust off their feet will not move them from this policy; unsparing criticism and persistent fighting can, and will do it. Englishmen understand fighting, and they will yield to persistent fighting—not begging.

"Thirdly, it is admitted perhaps that my land revenue agitation has done some good. It has forced government to correct past mistakes, to revise assessments in Bombay, Madras, and the Central Provinces, and to frame rules of remissions and suspensions when the crops fail. And our personal interests sink into insignificance compared with these results. Assure the Honourable Members of the Board that I am doing all I can to help my friends forward; and I am working also for larger results, compared with which our personal prospects sink into utter insignificance."

It is difficult to dwell within a short compass on the principal characteristics of a man whose life was so well-filled and complete in every direction. Success attended him in every sphere of activity. As Mr. Gupta says, he was a born ruler of men, and there was in him an element of sternness, a bulldog tenacity of purpose, which is so often deemed the special characteristic of the West. And yet there was none more generous, more full of a genial and kindly good humour, and no more staunch a champion of the poor raiyat ever defended him by pen or word, or worked to relieve his distress. Regarding his pamphlet on the Bengal Peasantry, written while he was yet a junior officer, Mr. Dutt said in his letters, 'I cannot and will not put fetters on my tongue, promotion in the service I do not much care for.' 'Such servility shall never be mine.' To the Gujarat agriculturists he said; 'I do not think I could have felt for you and worked for you more, if I had been born in one of those humble peaceful village huts which I am daily visiting.' To Lord MacDonnell he wrote: "You can accept my assurance that the obvious desire of land-lords to be left unfettered, in the matter of enhancing rents, and dealing with their raiyats as they like, has never received my support, and shall never receive any support, direct or indirect, from me, in whatever capacity I may work for my country." Mr. Gupta truly says that "this part of his work provides a crushing reply to the criticism of those who hold that the educated Indian and the Indian publicist are in no

sense the representatives of the voiceless millions of India."

His dignified reserve and calm equanimity, perfect mastery over self, tactfulness, industry, courage and honesty, a healthy and vigorous constitution, ripe scholarship, combined with his broad sympathies and wide culture developed by extensive travels in India and Europe, sincere patriotism and consideration for the weak and the oppressed, made him an ideal administrator. Early in his official career, he wrote to his brother "The High Court may find sometimes that I am legally or technically wrong, they will never find that I am unjust or oppressive or high handed as a Magistrate." As quite a young officer he re-organised the Dakshin Sabazpur Subdivision which had been visited by the most devastating of storm-waves known within recent times. His reports were highly commanded and his suggestions often accepted by Government. Sir Stuart Bayley regarded him as the most capable executive officer of his time in Bengal, and while promoting him to the Commissionership of Burdwan, Sir Charles Elliott wrote to him "Your record of good work is such that the appointment must have been for sometime foreseen." In a letter to his brother, Mr. Dutt says of the Government: "They have treated me on the whole fairly, but not with any special favour." The reforms he introduced in Baroda as Revenue Minister and subsequently as Dewan are well known, and the spirit in which he worked there will appear from the following passages culled from his letters: "The radical reformer will not fail in his duties. In a year or two the public will see a great Land Reform in Baroda, or Mr. Dutt will not be here!" "I will not spare myself nor move from the path of duty; and God helping, I hope to bring some light and joy and comfort to the homes of the poor, and also add to the trade and the manufacture and wealth of the State itself, if I am spared to work here for a few years steadily and well." "Dreams! Dreams! Some will exclaim. Well, let them be so,—it is better to dream of work and progress than to wake to inaction and stagnation. This last shall never be my vocation, it is not in my nature." It is fit to mention here that in the Gaekwar he found a most sympathetic chief. In a letter to Mr. Dutt His Highness wrote:

"We are all looking forward to the declaration of reforms the Secretary of State is going to introduce in India. With certain safeguards, I am decidedly inclined to give the people of India a substantial voice in the management of their affairs. The representative principles of Government may be introduced into India, taking care at the same time that the backward classes in education are given special facilities to come up to their advanced brethren. This is not a chimera, but can be practically done.

"I should open up a certain number of commissioned ranks of Lieutenants and above for the Indians, specially the sons of Indian chiefs who will do credit to the military vocation.

"I should, for the native princes, give greater powers and let them introduce railways, telegraphs in their own territories without reference to the Central Government. Overcentralised Government is bad for all concerned."

His literary work in the field of history, economics and politics was alike dictated, as he himself said, by the sole ambition of serving his motherland to the

best of his ability. Quoting Lord Byron, he called India 'the Niobe of nations', and resolved to prove to the world that once she was great, and also how she came to be so miserable. After explaining the economic causes of India's downfall, he says, in the preface to one of his memorable works, "Given these conditions, any fertile, industrious, peaceful country in the world would be what India is to-day. If manufactures were crippled, agriculture overtaxed, and a third of the revenue remitted out of the country, any nation on earth would suffer from permanent poverty and recurring famines." His history of Ancient India was intended to teach the Indians, as he himself said, to regard their religion, history and literature with legitimate and manly admiration while avoiding an unreasoning, vainglorious and superstitious worship of the past, and to have faith in themselves. His letters to his brother show that the promptings of a great literary ambition, of doing something great and noble, of achieving a European reputation, stirred him from the very first. "How fervently do I wish to cut myself from society, and family, and service, and bury myself for years in the Library of the British Museum, and make at least one attempt to do something great and glorious!" His early retirement from the Civil Service was due to the same cause, though higher prospects were open to him. "Official life has no special charms for me if I can succeed in a more brilliant line" wrote he to his daughter; and after two years at Baroda, where he took service from the same patriotic motive of proving the practicability of his political and economic theories, he again became eager 'to serve Sarasvati in the end.' 'I feel I am proving false to my higher pursuits, false to my destiny!... I am longing to return from Baroda to the larger world of literature and political work.' 'I have a plan in my head of writing a history of the Indian people from the ancient times to A.D. 1900. It will be in six big volumes... How sad it is to think that he did not live to perform this task!

His patriotic work consisted in educating the British people by speeches, newspaper articles, interviews and correspondence with leading politicians, and translating the Epics of India and his own novels with a view to interpret the East to the West. The following remarks regarding the Epics will show that their publication fulfilled in the main the object which Mr. Dutt had in view. Lord George Hamilton wrote: "Your labour and trouble in translating such a classical poem will be repaid, for it will bring home to many, who before were wholly ignorant of the fact, what Indian civilisation and literature were when we were comparative savages." Alfred Wallace wrote: "The story of Savitri is the gem of the whole poem, and I cannot recall anything in poetry more beautiful, or any higher teaching as to the sanctity of love and marriage. We have really not advanced one step beyond this old world people in our ethical standards. How fine and lofty too is Krishna's exposition of a King's duties." Mr. Dutt presided over the fifteenth National Congress, rendered yeoman's service in England in connection with the Calcutta Municipal Bill and later on the Reform Scheme of Lord Morley. On the eve of the publication of Lord Morley's celebrated despatch he had a confidential interview with Lord MacDonnell and from what he heard his heart was filled with the sanguine expectations,

which were however doomed to grievous disappointment, for the rules framed by officialdom in India altered the noble policy laid down in the despatch beyond recognition. He strove his utmost to bring about the repeal of the Partition of Bengal. As President of the Industrial Conference he said as follows of the Swadeshi Movement the essence of which he defined to be a 'resolution to use our home manufactures, as far as practicable, in preference to foreign manufactures.' 'I sympathise with this movement with all my heart, and will co-operate with this movement with all my power.... I see nothing that is hurtful, nothing that is sinful, in this; I see much that is praiseworthy and much that is beneficial.... There should be associations formed to stimulate the use of country-made cloth and country-made articles, not only in towns but in rural villages.' His work in connection with the Decentralisation Commission deserves mention here. The most important of the recommendations of the Commission were (1) that the principles of Land Revenue Assessments should be settled by law, (2) that Government in the larger provinces should consist of a Governor and not less than four members, including qualified Indian members, (3) that Commissioners should hold provincial conferences to which non-officials should be admitted, (4) that village Panchayats should be created to decide petty cases, execute minor village works, maintain village schools, and manage fuel and fodder reserves, (5) that district and local boards should have a substantial majority of elected members, (6) that Municipal Councils should have a similar majority and should ordinarily elect non-official Chairmen. The following extracts from his letters to Lord Morley will show how ably and courageously he advocated our cause.

'It is ever thus in India. Peaceful protests against public measures are seldom listened to, so long as they are peaceful. When they lead to violence, they are disregarded because the Government will not yield in the face of violence; in either case we are not heard.... How will administration be successful, or give satisfaction to the people, if they are entirely ignored?'

'No one can know better what is good for the people than their own moderate leaders, and nothing is gained by excluding them from all share in framing great measures.... To withhold their reasonable demands, to minimise their legitimate influence, and to virtually set them aside will not strengthen the titled classes, which the Indian Government seems to desire, but will be playing into the hands of those darker spirits who have no faith in British rule.'

'People who are opposed to all reforms have branded me as an 'impatient idealist,' while ardent reformers have branded me as lukewarm and half-hearted. A reformer who is moderate is between two fires. He has no friends, as I have learnt to my cost.'

'The new proposal of creating electorates according to castes and creeds is attended with danger. It will create jealousies and hatreds, accentuate differences in daily life, foment riots and disturbances and be a source of political danger to the Empire.... It is the British Government and British schools and colleges which have taught us to disregard caste distinctions in public affairs and in civic life. Is it for the British Government now to undo its past work, and to accentuate and embitter our

caste differences by making them the basis of political distinctions?'

'The history of the world seldom records instances of men in power consenting to share it with those over whom they rule. But it is a New Year's hope to me as it has been my lifelong aspiration. Either such co-operation, or a widening gulf with increasing discontent and disorder is before us, there is no other alternative?'

A word regarding Romesh Dutt as a correspondent. Nothing in his biography is more delightful to read than the letters with which it is interspersed. They are written in a charming style, full of genial good humour and are withal informing and serious. The letters which reveal his inmost nature are to his brother Mr. J. C. Dutt, to whom he once wrote: 'I can truly say that there is not another thing in this world in which I feel richer or happier, of which I feel prouder, than the love you bear to me and I bear to you.' To his daughters, to whom he was devotedly attached, he wrote letters full of a touching tenderness. He had numerous lady correspondents. "His moral rectitude was an integral part of him; it was manifest in all his words and deeds; his was one of those large, sincere spirits which women instinctively trust. His nature was deep, chivalrous, sympathetic, loveable; marked by self-control and by avoidance of ostentation in every form." And this brings us to that point in his career which will be the most abiding possession of his countrymen—we mean his lofty character. As has been well said by an Anglo-Indian newspaper, his was the stuff of which heroes are made; in the opinion of the Gaekwar of Baroda and the London *Daily News*, among any company of leading men in any part of the world he would have stood high; the Resident of Baroda recognised in him a man of the highest and noblest ideals, who lived up to what he believed, and was incapable of a wrong action; in the words of Lord MacDonnell, he had left a character and a name of which his family and country may well be proud: Mrs. Ole Bull, widow of the famous Norwegian violinist, considered it to be one of her greatest privileges to have known him—'his was such a big nature, so beneficent and inspiring'; and Sister Nivedita, a gifted and strong-souled woman herself, bowed her head in admiration before him, as 'one who stands amongst the fathers of the future, one who dreamt high dreams and worked at great things untiringly, yet left behind him, before his country's altar, no offering so noble, no proof of her greatness so incontrovertible as that one thing of which he never thought at all—his own character and his own love!' His short life of 61 years was crowded with noble thoughts and noble needs. His was not the 'self-seeking sycophancy masquerading in the garb of a moderate' but his moderation proceeded from his strong practical sense, which recognised, in the words of Mr. Gupta, that 'a subject nation must inevitably accept compromise suited to the requirements of the case'. 'It is not', as Mr. Gupta says elsewhere, 'a difficult thing to throw dirt on the leaders of a fellow and subject race', but in the presence of 'a great personal force' like Mr. Dutt, 'a mind,' to quote the Gaekwar again, 'habitually taking broad views and working for fine public ends', even hostile criticism such as we are accustomed to in the Anglo-Indian press stood hushed; he was the most finished product of the culture of the East and West, and all will agree with

Mr. Gupta's final estimate: 'No Indian in recent times has been imbued in such a marvellous manner with the strength, the manliness and the patriotism of the West, and yet has done so much to vindicate the greatness of the achievements of Ancient India and to implant in the national mind a high and legitimate admiration for her past...there has been none built on a larger mould, none who has so greatly influenced the affairs of his country, or championed her cause before the West with a more impressive combination of knowledge, devotion and high personal worth.'

Mrs. Ole Bull wrote from the United States that she hoped that a memoir of Mr. Dutt would be written that would illuminate the mind of young India as to the wisdom and enthusiasm of his patriotism. The present biography fully realises that hope, and we congratulate Mr. Gupta on his performance. In a future edition the minute details of Mr. Dutt's life may be somewhat curtailed and the shears more vigorously applied to extracts from hostile and prejudiced newspaper comments. A bibliography may also be appended at the end. For one in Mr. Gupta's position the task of writing the life of a man whose keynote was patriotic service of motherland must have been peculiarly difficult and delicate, but that task he has ably performed by studiously keeping himself in the background. Where he has chosen to give his own opinion, it cannot be said, considering all things, that he has allowed loyalty to service to override loyalty to truth. The book is one which should be in the hands of every Indian reader, but it must be said that the price is almost prohibitive to the majority of them. A cheap Indian edition is sure to be appreciated by the reading public.

P.

Chatham by Lord Rosebery.

Among historical biographies this sketch—for a sketch it is—will assuredly rank very high, not only for its enduring quality of style—so vigorous and lifting—so full of a quickening effect—but also for the interesting manner in which a great epoch has been handled. The reader will also appreciate the noble view-point. Lord Rosebery writes not as one obsessed with the party shibboleths: he is neither a Whig nor a Tory: the lenses through which he looks at Chatham are clear of all stain of prejudice or personal proclivity. Moreover the author's own share in practical affairs—his luminous vision—his detachment—his unerring measure of men and things—his impeccable way of discussing the many aspects of Chatham's life are marked on every page. Macaulay's essays though brilliant reading are heavily charged with the Whiggism of an exploded day and we who are accustomed to historical appraisements unmarred by bias or bigotry of a pronounced sort are not now stirred beyond a certain limit. Lord Rosebery has without doubt distanced the mid-victorian Whig not only in grasp of the materials which have been admirably welded up but also in point of mental attitude. In Frederic Harrison's monograph in the *Twelve English Statesmen* series is really well-written and finely-informed with true feeling but as Mr. Harrison has never been personally in the thick of the fight and has never actually experienced what it is to shape a nation's destiny amidst the clash of wills and the conflict of cross purposes and jarring interests his description of the atmosphere in which Chatham

breathed though eminently balanced lacks a certain ring, a certain flavour, a certain touch, a certain sweep which a politician who has borne the dust and the heat of the race and known so to say the "tooth and claw" of rival schools alone can lend to his work.

Plutarch, says the late Sir R. C. Jebb, is strong on the ethical side but is weak on the political, and he refers to the Roman Lives (e.g. those of Sulla and Cicero) as betraying want of political insight. Lord Rosebery is, on the other hand, strong on both sides ethical and political. There is vivid moral portraiture and there is an exceptionally intelligent estimate of the issues of the controversy that agitated men's minds at home and abroad. Lord Rosebery's intimate knowledge of the whole course of the policy of foreign courts so far as it affected England and his masterly characterisation of the chief leaders of public opinion can scarcely be equalled. In fact the most pleasant and with it the most stimulating features of the book are the numerous pen pictures of kings and councillors which fill its pages. What an interesting gallery of statesmen who moulded the affairs of great Britain during the reign of George II! Walpole, Frederick, Prince of Wales, Newcastle, Pulteney, Henry Fox, Carteret, Lyttleton, the public character of each is hit off in a few words and yet with certain electric effect. Walpole almost dominates the whole book and his career is sketched in the most impressive way. "Walpole's knowledge of mankind" remarks Lord Rosebery, "left him only with his death. His constancy his courage, his temper, his unfailing resource, his love of peace, his gifts of management and debate, his long reign of prosperity will always maintain Walpole in the highest rank of English statesmen. Distinguished even in death, he rests under the bare and rustic pavement of Houghton Church in face of the palace that he had reared and cherished, without so much as an initial to mark his grave. This is the blank end of so much honour, adulation, power, and renown. For a century and a half unconscious hovelans and pottins have ground the nameless stones above him, while mediocrities in marble have thronged our public haunts."

But if there is no enigma about Walpole (p.144), Pitt is a mystery, a masked figure, standing draped from head to foot, always acting a part, posing and attitudinizing all his life, baffling and bewildering every body. "He would," says the author, "had it served his purpose, have smoked a pipe but it would have been the jewelled nargileh of the Grand Mogul. He had practically no intimates; his wife told nothing, his children told nothing, he revealed himself neither by word nor on paper, he deliberately enveloped himself in an opaque fog of mystery." "It is beyond measure," continues Lord Rosebery, "refreshing to see him at this period (before he was caught in the jealous embrace of parliamentary politics) bantering, falling in love, the participator of revels if not a reveller himself. For afterwards no one saw him behind the scenes, no one was admitted to his presence until every feature had been composed and his wig and his vesture dramatically arranged" (p. 48). In another place the biographer writes as follows:—

"He might not indeed study his gesture at the moment but that was because he had been studying his gestures half his life. He had appropriated the dramatic way of doing things till it had become a second nature, to him; thus what would have been

acting in others was natural to him. And indeed he had so adjusted and prepared and schooled himself that all his emotions were effectually concealed...When this is so, acting has ceased to be acting. Mrs. Siddons would give her orders at dinner in the awful tones of Lady Macbeth. This was not acting but nature, trained but unconscious nature. So it was with Pitt. He would not laugh because it was undignified to laugh. If he had a book or a play to read aloud and came to a comic part he passed it on to another to read and resumed the volume when the humorous part was over, lest we may presume, he should smile or become incidentally ridiculous. His countenance was, so to speak, enamelled with such anxious care that a heedless laugh might crack the elaborate demeanour. And so he lived in blank verse and conducted himself in heroic metre."

One might go on quoting for ever as the book is so splendidly opulent in fine passages. But we shall contend ourselves with giving here the concluding remarks which are too fascinating to be omitted. "We have climbed with him in his path to power. We have seen him petulant, factious, hungry, bitter. And yet all the time we have felt that there was always something in him different in quality from his fellow-politicians when they aired the same qualities but there was an imprisoned spirit within him, struggling for freedom and scope. At last it bursts its trammels, he tosses patronage and intrigue to the old political Shylocks and inspires the policy of the world. Vanity of Vanities! Twenty years after his epoch of glory, three years after his death, Britain has reached the lowest point in her history. But still she is the richer for his life. He bequeaths a tradition, he bequeaths a son, and when think of duty and achievement they look to one or the other. It will be an ill day for their country when either is forgotten (p. 512)."

In a hurried review, it is necessarily a side aspect of Pitt's life to which one is able to refer: For the discussion of the great problems which confronted Lord Rosebery's hero the reader must go to the book itself.

H. L. C.

Hindu Ideals and their preservation: A lecture by Myron H. Phelps of New York, given in the Hindu College Hall, Jaffna, Ceylon, on 28th February, 1910. To be had of R. V. Krishnaswami, Mint Street, Madras.

Mr. Phelps is a wellknown sympathiser of Indian political aspirations, and in this lecture he says that after more than twenty years of study of our sacred books and association with our spiritually-minded men 'in feeling, sentiment and sympathy I believe I am as much a Hindu as any one of you!' No wonder then that his advice to us with reference to western civilisation should in some respects be identical with that of bigoted pundits of the old school: 'Why should you change, even were the change to your advantage... The dignity of your race should be upheld?' According to Mr. Phelps, the Indian ideals are—renunciation (practising detachment in the performance of one's duties), progress towards God the sole test of success in life, simplicity, neighbourly love, peace, divorce from sensuousness, giving (charity); whereas the Western ideals are—pursuit of excitement, sensationalism, pursuit of wealth, social position and distinction, pursuit of gratification of the senses, pursuit of the

more refined pleasures of the intellect; art; complexity instead of simplicity and competition instead of neighbourly love being the rule of life. Regarding the moral influence of the missionary colleges on Hindus, Mr. Phelps says: "No misfortune in life can be so great as that (the loss of one's own religion). An adoptive religion can never mould the character as the religion of one's fathers. In most cases, a moral death, more to be deplored than physical death, results. The life is wrecked—the purpose of life is wholly missed." The lecture concludes with a long extract from an eloquent fragment of Swami Vivekananda entitled 'India's message to the world' in the course of which apostrophising India, he says: 'Thou blessed land of the Aryas, thou wert never degraded... There she is, walking with her own majestic steps, my mother, to fulfil her glorious destiny which no power on earth or heaven can check—the regeneration of man the brute into man the god.... This is the theme of Indian life-work, the burden of her eternal songs, the backbone of her existence, the foundation of her being—the spiritualisation of the human race.'

We have read the lecture with pleasure, and may well lay to heart Mr. Phelps's solemn warning against the materialistic tendencies of the West, but we cannot help remarking that there is always a danger, in such an extremely conservative country as India, of such flattering eulogisms on our civilisation rendering us blind to the absolute need of reform and readjustment in our social structure and religious outlook.

P.

The Public Service Question in India: by the Hon'ble Subba Rau Pantulu, B.L., Calcutta. Thacker, Sprink & Co. 1911. Price 0-8-0.

In reading this moderate, lucid and concise exposition of an intricate subject the simile that occurs again and again to one's mind is that of the classical king Sisyphus, who was condemned in Tartarus to roll to the top of a hill a huge stone which constantly rolled down again. The English and Anglo-Indian administrators who would open the door of higher appointments in government service a little wide to the natives of India are in the position of that condemned king, for as soon as a little opening is effected by a parliamentary statute or a government resolution, qualifying and parenthetical clauses begin to be inserted forthwith, and the door is once more completely barred by rules and regulations framed under the statute or resolution as thus qualified, apparently to give effect to, but really to nullify, its liberal provisions. Few people remember, for instance, that the cry for simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service was raised as early as 1853, and members of Parliament exhorted the authorities 'not to allow such an empire to be governed in the miserable spirit of monopoly and exclusiveness.' The Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India reported in 1860 in favour of simultaneous examinations, but as Lord Lytton said in a State despatch, the Government took 'every means in their powers of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear,' and thirty-three years later, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's motion on the subject, though carried by a majority of the House of Commons remained a dead letter, and remains so to this day. Mr. Subba Rau says: 'The despatch of the Government of India and the reports of the provincial govern-

ments [except that of Madras, which was in favour of the reform] form interesting reading, and show how determined were the efforts of the bureaucracy in India to resist all attempts to encroach on their preserves.' At present the number of covenanted civilians who are natives of India is only about 5 per cent. of the total, and Mr. Rau has shown how certain artificial and unjust restrictions lately introduced in the regulations unduly handicap the Indian candidates, so that fifty-eight years after the question was first raised, the position of Indians in the matter of the highest class of appointments in the state service is actually worse off than what it was at the beginning. The opium, salt, survey, mint, public works, and police departments are now almost the exclusive preserve of Europeans and Eurasians, but this is what the resolution of 1879 says on the subject: 'The Governor General in Council does not wish that offices in these departments should be in any way reserved for Europeans. The duties of the opium and customs departments are not more technical or arduous than those of the land revenue and settlement branches of the service, wherein natives of India do excellent work.' The system of statutory civilians was found to work unsatisfactorily 'as no step was taken to appoint the best men in the country, and as more importance was attached, in the selection of candidates, to birth and social position than to intellectual and moral fitness'. The Public Service Commission of 1886 did a distinct disservice to Indians, for it pronounced definitely against simultaneous examinations, and created a governing caste—a *corps d'élite*—composing the Indian Civil Service, and an inferior branch of the Public Service branded as the Provincial Service—rightly characterised by Mr. Naoroji as the Pariah Service. The differentiation into two distinct services has been further elaborated since then and carried out in almost all the other departments of the Public Service. The regulations for admission into the Public Service in the present year of grace (1911) go so far as to lay down that 'European descent will be considered essential'. And all this, be it remembered, after the Queen's Gracious Proclamation, confirmed and reiterated in successive Durbars and royal proclamations. Indeed if good words, the enunciation of liberal doctrines, and pious wishes could satisfy the Indians, there would be found enough of them in the various State despatches from which extracts have been given. But though the intellect of our rulers has been convinced of the justice of our demands, the will is wanting, and hence we see the spectacle that "only about 8.6 per cent. of appointments carrying a salary of Rs. 1,000 and upwards are now in the hands of the Indians and almost all the higher appointments of the State involving direction, initiation and supervision have been jealously kept in the hands of the Europeans'. In spite of the failure of the nominated statutory civilians leading to the abandonment of the system, recruitment to the Provincial Civil Service is now made entirely by nomination and not by 'the best and most honorable way'—competition. Mr. Rau very aptly quotes the Nizam, who writing to Lord Minto in 1909 on sedition, said that he attributed the contentment and wellbeing of his dominions to the absolute freedom of his Government from racial and religious prejudice and the employment of persons of all races and creeds in his Public Service. The recommendation of the Public Service Commission

for the appointment of Indians to one-sixth of the posts usually reserved for civilians was, according to a Government resolution, to be gradually worked up to within a generation of official life,' but last year the Hon'ble Mr. Earle admitted that 63 such posts were still available to Provincial Service officers. The only department of Public Service in which a serious attempt is being made to fulfil the hopes held out to Indians is the Department of Accounts, which is presided over by a really sympathetic administrator, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. Mr. Subba Rau truly maintains that if the distinction between Imperial and Provincial be observed all along the line, the relation between Europeans and Indians cannot be one of co-operation and comradeship, but must be one of timid dependence and sycophancy, and "where manhood is dwarfed and self-respect is wounded, there can be no real contentment in the land and no real co-operation with the Government." The pamphlet is a highly useful publication, and is bound to bring the question to a focus among politicians of all shades of opinion.

P.

Nasrin: An Indian Medley; by Sirdar Jogendra Singh. London. James Nisbet and Co. 1911.

We welcome the author as the latest interpreter of India to England through the medium of the English language over which he has a perfect command. He is in the direct line of the succession of such men as Rev. Lalbehari Day, Rameschandra Dutta, "Thillai Govindan," Yusuf Ali, and Sarathkumar Ghose. We would fair add another name to the list, that of Cornelia Sorabji, but she writes like an alien and not as if she were herself a child of India, and hence her writings, however vigorous and charming in style, lack reality. Sarathkumar Ghose is undoubtedly a much more powerful writer than our present author, but the latter is more well-balanced, with a better sense of proportion and of the fitness of things, while both are equally patriotic. Mr. Ghose has however won his spurs, while Mr. Singh has yet to do so. In *Nasrin* he presents a sober, sane and perfectly true representation of some aspects of Indian life, specially life in and about Lucknow. The author has touched upon various questions, and presents us with a series of vignettes rather than finished portraits,—as indeed he himself suggests by calling his story a medley—for none of the characters are properly developed, except perhaps that of the young unsophisticated Begum, first wife of Nawab Haider Jung, which is finely and pathetically drawn. The aimless lives, steeped in luxury, debauchery and flattery, led by most of our noblemen, has been well painted; so also the custom-ridden and prejudice-befogged, ruinous and unhealthy practices of effete Brahmanism as typified in Tulsi; the sad lives led by Indian girls inside the zenana, often mated to unworthy husbands, the mockery of child marriage and the cruel treatment of the girl-wife by her husband's mother, 'unconsciously repeating what she herself had experienced on her marriage from her mother-in-law,' the utter helplessness and hopelessness of the Hindu widow in high and even educated families; 'the silent, selfless, all-sacrificing and unparalleled devotion of the Hindu wife, which had so often in the days of yore made light of the flaming fire, as if it were a bed of roses, refusing to be separated even by death'; the mixed 'At Homes' of Anglo-Indians and Indians, 'a poor parody of social life,'

same area is sufficient to work its damning effects even without intermarriage, the vote or social promiscuity.' If that be so, why confine your ban to the importation of Asiatics alone, why not extend it to the occupation of Oriental and African countries by European nations, specially as, on the author's own admission, 'in this age of peaceful constitutional governments, each people, like the violet in the clefts of Alpine snows striving to raise its tender petals to the light, is seeking to become free.'

The third division of the book deals mainly with protection and free trade. After exhausting his adjectives of vituperation on the supporters of the *Laissez-faire* doctrine, and the 'convicted, priggish, pedantic absurdity' of the old academic school of economists represented by Professor Marshall, the author declares himself definitely in favour of protection, and with most of his arguments in this connection we heartily agree. He points out how 'when England by reason at once of Protection, of her great natural advantages, and of the number of great inventors born within her realms, had managed to outpace all her rivals both industrially and commercially, on land and on sea, and so attained to the industrial supremacy of the world, she too, having now nothing to fear from foreign competitors, opened her ports freely to all nations.' According to the author, free trade is only justifiable where a nation is either so strong in some large department of industry that it could practically undersell the world in that department, and where in consequence, having no effective rivals, it could adopt a policy of free trade, using the produce of the world as but fuel to feed its own supremacy, or where the nation is so weak that it could never hope to be a serious rival to any. A protective policy, on the other hand, is the only sound policy 'where countries of great natural advantages and of a high intellectual and political outlook come late in the field of industry, so that, like some infant Zeus or Hercules, they have to be guarded and protected with sedulous care until they arrive at industrial manhood' or in the case of a country, once industrially supreme, and still as rich as ever in industrial resources, but which has been effectually beaten in the race by an enterprising rival, by however small a margin, provided that margin is likely to be enduring'. The author considers this last to be the condition of England in relation to Germany and America, and points out that even so thorough-going a freetrader as Professor Marshall admits that countries with infant industries may be protected. Continuing his exposition, Mr. Crozier says that a nation can only permit cheaper imports from abroad for consumption so long as it reserves some industries which will produce enough to pay for them, nay, so long as there is even one vital industry which keeps the ground and can pay easily for all the imports from abroad and still have something to the good. England's greatest industry, the cotton industry, occupies, according to Mr. Crozier, this enviable position, and so long, says he, as this industry continues in its present prosperous condition, England can afford to open her ports to the free importation of foreign goods. Everybody knows that the cotton industry of England rose on the ruins of India's muslin trade; yet the furcoat argument is applied equally to England and India in the matter of Free Trade, though its fallacy is obvious to the meanest English intellect when the question is whether

representative institutions should be granted to India on the model of England. The author has no difficulty in showing that 'were free trade to be embraced by the world to-morrow, only the strongest industrial nations would be benefited, while the weaker, far from participating in the prosperity, would be crushed out all the sooner, sucked dry by their stronger rivals until nothing was left of them but their skins.' Then he proceeds to formulate a scheme of imperial preference and anticipates mutual benefits to flow from it 'from which the *Empire* would draw its harvest,' but needless to add, the name of India has not been so much as mentioned in connection with this scheme for the benefit of the *Empire*; rather, Mr. Crozier considers such a scheme necessary for the coming 'struggle in which the nations will be engaged in carving out heritages for themselves among the retrograde peoples and the vacant spaces of the earth.'

In another chapter the author lays down what in his opinion are the conditions essential for industrial supremacy in the new age opening before us. These are:—(1) centralisation of industrial power, whether in the hands of the government or of private capitalists (e.g., Trusts), (2) the spirit of social as opposed to political democracy as prevalent in America, where the people are resourceful and enterprising and the White House is open to every occupant of a log cabin, (3) the identification of the State and its resources with the interests of Industry, in other words, the definite abandonment of the *Laissez-faire* doctrine, (4) the making of intelligence and knowledge as such in all their forms, and specially of science in its application to the industrial arts, an ideal in national life, as in Germany and America.

There are a few other chapters on taxation schemes, etc., in which the author goes over much the same ground, and he closes the book with two short chapters on the English banking system in operation and the effect of the entrance of the great trust magnates of America into the directorate of American banks.

As will be seen the book deals with some extremely topical questions and nobody can deny the author's fitness to express an opinion on them. We trust we do him no injustice if we say in conclusion that he might have expressed his opinions, well-reasoned and sound as many of them are, with less vehemence without spoiling their effect; and we may add that he might with advantage have remembered now and then in the course of these essays that there is such a country as India within the British Empire—a country which would feel grateful to get the benefit of his powerful advocacy in favour of the protection of her indigenous industries.

P.

Education and Statesmanship in India: by H. R. James, M.A. (Oxon.), Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta, Longmans, Green & Co., 1911, 3/6d net, pp. 143.

The book consists of a series of papers first published in the *Statesman* of Calcutta, and supplies a much needed want. It presents in a handy form all that the average reader need to know on the history, policy and the results of English education in India from its inception in 1797 down to 1910. Prof. James is one of the few members of the Indian Educational Service who enjoy a deserved reputation for scholarship and sympathy, and is therefore well-fitted to

write on such a subject. His analyses are sober, reasonable, and occasionally penetrating, and we agree with most of his views and opinions. His researches amidst blue-books and state despatches, Government resolutions and council speeches of an earlier period show considerable industry. We wish however that the speeches of Indian members of the Councils, specially the members for the Universities, had not been so entirely ignored. But of this more hereafter.

According to the author, the first dawn of English education in India was hastened by two factors, Christian missionaries and 'a spontaneous demand for liberal education' among the Hindus, 'for a share in the knowledge and training which they discerned to be a large part of the secret of the superior efficiency of nations from the West.' Prof. James would have done well to refer in this connection to the excellent series of articles published sometime ago in the *Modern Review*, which proved beyond doubt that the pace was set not by the Government, but by the people themselves. The celebrated decision of Lord William Bentinck, following the advice of Macaulay, to promote Western education in India, was according to Prof. James and indeed all thinkers worth the name, a wise decision; for, as he says, it would have come without State aid, and the ultimate force would not have been less, and it was more prudent for the Government that it took up the control of it. Prof. James thinks that the two great defects resulting from the adoption of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 appointed by Lord Ripon were the partial withdrawal of State control from higher education and the lowering of fees, both tending to inefficiency; he is also of opinion that Lord Curzon's Universities Act of 1904 remedied these defects. That it has contracted the area of high education does not seem to have caused any regret to the learned professor. As for our secondary schools, poorly qualified and inadequately paid teachers, and bad teaching of English, are, in the opinion of the writer, the crying defects of these public institutions. "The names of English schools are world-famous. Who even in India has heard the name of any great Indian School! . . . We need in India to think more worthily of schools and schoolmasters." Prof. James however expects excellent results from the newly introduced method of teaching English. 'The direct method produces results that may be fairly called astonishing.' A quarter of a century ago Sir C. P. Ilbert complained that education in India was confined to only about 10 p. c. of the male population, and the writer shows that the average stood at about the same figure in 1910. 'It cannot be contended that these facts and figures afford much ground for satisfaction.' Despatches and resolutions prove that Government recognised the necessity of spreading education among the masses, 'but recognition of the greatness of the problem and affirmation of the duty of accepting responsibility for it . . . leave things just as they were until words and intentions take shape in action.' The learned professor thinks that compulsory education is beyond the horizon, for an army of trained and adequately paid teachers is necessary to fulfil the scheme, and free education in his opinion is a policy of doubtful expediency. Cautious and gradual advance in both these directions of compulsory and free education may well proceed hand in hand with the training of teachers

for the elementary schools, and we are therefore unable to agree with the author on this subject. But we entirely agree with the author's opinion that the inspecting staff should be altogether distinct from the teaching staff. 'A college professor must be a learned man, and a specialist in a particular branch of knowledge. In an inspector of schools you want primarily practical capacity and bodily activity combined with a good general education'. Departmentalism on this comprehensive scale is the bane of India—nowhere else in the world would a college professorship, an inspectorship of schools and a criminal judgeship be considered as interchangeable.

In Chapter XIV the author deals with the Indian educational service. An 'Indian' service is of course the superior service from which Indians are rigorously excluded. Among the names of distinguished members of the service mentioned at pp. 113-14, some are comparatively obscure, while there is not a single Indian name—not even that of Dr. J. C. Bose. Dr. P. C. Ray of course belongs to the inferior 'provincial' service, and cannot aspire to the honour of being named in the same breath with the many worthies referred to in Prof. James's list. He quotes liberally from Mr. Valentine Chirol's book on the Indian unrest, but the latter's trenchant remarks on the differentiation of the educational service into 'separate pens' seems to have escaped the author. Prof. James has just touched upon the root cause of the unsatisfactory condition of the Indian educational service, but has not cared to probe deeper. He says in effect that the scale of pay is not sufficient to attract the best men, but we know that Japan used to get the picked men of England without offering better terms, because selection was regulated by ability and not by nepotism; and he proceeds to enquire: 'Are all possible means used . . . to attract the most desirable candidates?' Let us hear what the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao says in the Imperial Council by way of answer: 'Many instances can be given where Indians of marked ability have been passed over and young men from England with much inferior qualifications put over their heads. In a department where true ability, self-respect, and character are the *sine qua non* for the proper discharge of the requisite duties, this differentiation has naturally tended to demoralise the Provincial Service. . . . ' The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu's speeches in the Council might be consulted with advantage by the author in this connection. And the pamphlet on 'The colour line in the Education Department' might well have been added to the bibliography appended at the end of the book.

On page 59, the author quotes with evident approval the remarks of the head of a Calcutta college on cramming as the cause of the want of originality of the Bengali student. Now this in our opinion is an entirely superficial view to take of the matter. There is undoubtedly some truth in it, but very far from the whole truth. Some amount of memory-work is indispensable in the rudimentary stages of learning. Memorising is part of the necessary discipline of education, otherwise it would not be so universal among youthful learners; it is its abuse that is objectionable. The foundations of learning must be laid on certain elementary facts and notions which cannot be acquired by intuition and which have to be laboriously committed to memory if subsequent progress is to be achieved without consulting a grammar or dictionary or refer-

ence book at every turn. It is really the examination system which is responsible for the abuse of memory known as cramming. And we know that the prevalence of the same vice has not prevented the development of originality in free countries, where everyone finds an outlet for his own peculiar talent and energies, and there is a sufficiently large number of educated men of independent means who can devote their life to original work. When the author has to champion the cause of his own service, he blurts out the truth that the portals of the heaven-born service itself is guarded by the crammer's art (p. 115). It is useful to recall here what a distinguished authority like Frederic Harrison has to say on the prevalence of cramming in England. "Teachers are slowly thrust out and controlled by the examiners; they in turn are checked and dodged at every turn by the crammers; so that learning is fast passing into the grasp of two classes of specialists, neither of whom are teachers, nor pretend to teach. . . . From the age of ten till twenty-five he (the student) is for ever in the presence of the mighty Mill. The Mill is to him money, success, honour, and bread and butter for life. Distinctions and prizes mean money and honour. Success in examinations means distinctions and prizes. And whatever does not mean success in examinations is not education. . . . published examination papers are the real Bible of the student of to day. . . . Next to old examination papers, the manuscript "tips" (akin to our 'notes' and 'keys') of some famous coach form the grand text books. . . . The examination, thus made the 'fountain of honour', governs the whole course of study." (*Realities and Ideals*, Part II. Chap. VI).

Prof. James also approves the residential system, in common with many others who regard the English public school system as the last word on educational organisation. We believe it was Sir Gurudas Bannerji who alone dared to raise a note of protest against the unqualified introduction of this system in India. Let us hear again what Frederick Harrison has to say on the subject: "The entire 'public school,' or barrack system, the college or cenobite system, as practised in England, with all their unnatural consequences and essentially material spirit, may be, as things are, necessary evils, they are thoroughly abnormal and vicious in principle. The normal and noble education can only be given in *families*, and not in barracks or convents. The moral, religious and social stimulus of education ought to rise mainly there, and its ground-work should come from the parents."

Regarding the vexed question of moral and religious instruction, and the cognate subject of discipline, the author quotes from Dr. Duncan, for many years the Director of Public Instruction in Madras, who said so long ago as 1897: 'Have there not been, are there not, religious beliefs utterly antagonistic to genuine morality? . . . It surely ought to be recognised that everything depends on the moral character of the religious beliefs inculcated.' Again, 'Indian society is breathing the same social and political atmosphere as all the other civilised communities—an atmosphere which happens at present to be deficient in reverence for authority and in willingness to submit to it.' Prof. James rightly points out that the standard of discipline in English schools and colleges does not err on the side of severity. In a vein of regret the learned professor asks: 'Indian dutifulness once held teachers venerable and worthy of the highest respect. Does

it do so now?' While sharing his regret we may point out that, if it does not, the fault is not wholly the student's; for where is that noble ideal of plain living and high thinking among the modern successors of the old Pundits of the *Tols*? For, as the author himself says, it is the personal influence of the teachers which moulds the moral nature of the pupils. 'The ideals of the teachers and the faithfulness with which they live by them are the real source of moral vitality in school and college'. We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that the bureaucratic taint has infected even the Educational Service. At page 165 of the recently published *Life of Romesh Chunder Dutt* the case is mentioned of a College Principal (who now occupies a higher position and came out, we believe, in the same year as Prof. James), who publicly caned some young Princes, the wards of the Commissioner of Orissa, under the belief that they had seen him at play while riding past the Golf Course and had failed to *salam* him. 'The well-organised college or school,' says the writer, 'founded as it should be in righteousness... is a capital instrument of moral education'. Undoubtedly, but can a college be founded on righteousness when the students turned out by it, though the most brilliant of the year, are deprived of Government scholarships for no fault of their own, but because the proprietor of the institution is regarded as an extremist in his political views?

The last two chapters of the book are the most interesting, and it is here that we particularly commend the Professor's sobriety of judgment. His verdict on English education is distinctly favourable. He takes a reasonable view of Indian loyalty and says: 'That the natives of India, Hindu or Mahomedan, Marhatta or Madrassi, should naturally and spontaneously prefer a Foreign Government and admire manners and customs so unlike their own, is altogether against nature.' He shows that English education tempers rather than deepens the orthodox aversion for foreigners, and that Syed Golam Hossein Khan, author of the *Seir Mutakherein*, writing in 1780, Raja Ram Mohan Roy writing about 1831, and Mr. R. C. Dutt writing in 1901, hold the same views and opinions in political matters. And yet they may all be said to be well-affected towards British rule in the sense of willing it to continue. The author clinches the whole argument by putting it in a syllogistic form. Education produces in men's minds a perception of their true interests. Government claims to secure the best interests of the Indian peoples. *Ergo*, so long as Government really does what it claims to do, it may be reasonably assured of gaining strength from the spread of education. By numerous extracts from the speeches and writings of distinguished Anglo-Indians, the author proves that education and higher employment of Indians must go hand in hand. He recognises that education has stimulated the mental activities of the people, as evidenced by 'the renewed productivity of half a dozen literatures, the revival of art and letters, alert and critical interest in the past history and literature of Indian races.' 'The capacity for combination shown by numerous associations for social, literary and recreative purposes is a moral endowment. All these new capacities and powers education has conferred.' The professor quotes Lord Morley, who says that higher education in India has not wholly failed, and emphatically asserts that 'not only has higher education not failed to

achieve what in 1835 it set out to do, but it has triumphantly succeeded; perhaps it has even succeeded too well.

The author is equally emphatic with regard to some current shibboleths on the political aspect of education. "Discontent and conspiracy, if to be called products of education at all, are indirect products.... Education is not directly a cause at all.... Education could never in any sound sense of the term lead to anarchist crime. A depraved and perverted nature may use the powers that education gives to evil purpose.... All violence and breach of law are contrary to the very idea of education. The higher the education, the greater the incompatibility of its influences with cruelty, treachery, physical violence and secret murder. Enlightenment must and does hate these things, and must still do so, even if it proclaimed the ultimate right of insurrection for national freedom.... 'Culture'—as Matthew Arnold says—'hates hatred; culture has but one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light.'" The charge of embitterment of political feeling laid against education is, in the opinion of the learned professor, 'grossly misstated and in this unqualified form inadmissible'. Referring more particularly to the student class, he says: "Revolutionary crime has been recklessly ascribed to the student class; but this is a very loose and careless ascription. ... A great wrong has in public opinion been done in this matter. The great body of students, whatever the precise temperature of their loyalty, and whatever their occasional readiness to flock to listen to public speakers of repute, are neither revolutionaries, nor conspirators; nor are colleges hotbeds of sedition...." We trust this vindication of the student community by the head of the foremost educational institution in Bengal will have its due weight with Jingo writers who are so fond of showing more of the 'tiger qualities of the British race' in putting them down by 'martial law and no d—d nonsense'.

Lastly, we observe that the learned professor does not say anything directly bearing on the advisability of allowing students to take part in political agitations—probably because he considers himself debarred by the conditions of his service from doing so. But had he been permitted to discuss the question, there is little doubt what his opinion would be. For he says: "The aspiration for a larger share (in the work of administration) than that already gained is perfectly legitimate, and Indians may combine to secure this larger share by constitutional means. . . ." "The life of a community cannot be separated into unrelated compartments any more than the life of an individual. Each part affects the rest. . . . Education enables a man to understand better society, government, and his own relation to both. . . . If political ideas are in the air, the educated man will make acquaintance with them and they will alter his mental outlook". In this connection we may quote the following from Mr. R. C. Dutt's note published in the Report of the Excise Commission of 1883, where he said: "The thousands of schoolboys who flock to public places to listen to the speeches of their leaders on political and social matters are intimately acquainted with their habits and thoughts in private life, and instinctively adopt many worthy and amiable traits in their conduct." We have no reason to think that if Prof. James were called upon to state the result of his own experience, he would have differed from this view.

We gladly recommend this book to all who are interested in Indian education. P.

Practical Inorganic Chemistry adapted to meet the requirements of the I. Sc. Standard of the Universities of Calcutta and Allahabad. By P. C. Roy, D.Sc., Ph.D., Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Calcutta. Chuckerverti, Chatterjee & Co. 63, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

This book is meant as a companion volume to the author's *Elementary Inorganic Chemistry*. It is based mainly upon the syllabus drawn up for the guidance of the I. Sc. practical class.

A handbook written by so distinguished a scientist and teacher cannot fail to be of the greatest use to the class of students for whom it is meant.

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. With introduction and notes by M. Ghose, B. A. (Oxon.), Professor of English Literature, Presidency College, Calcutta. Chuckerverti, Chatterjee & Co. 63, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Price As. 8.

The Introduction contains a biographical sketch of Coleridge, the origin and sources of the poem, the form and metre of the poem, critical comments, and probable ultimate sources from which Coleridge may have drawn for the *Ancient Mariner*.

The Notes are full and accurate.

The Speeches and writings of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., Judge of the Bombay High Court and Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University. Edited by L. V. Kikini, L. Ag., Servants of India Society, Poona. With an introduction by K. Natarajan, Editor, Indian Social Reformer. Publishers Monoranjak Grantha Prasarak Mandal, Girgaon, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.

This volume of 636 pages of close and small print covers an extensive field, Social Reform, Student Life, Politics, English Literature, and Religion. Sir Narayan is a distinguished scholar and thinker. His speeches and writings deserve to be widely read. His addresses to students and the twelve papers on Wordsworth's *Prelude* should be studied by all thoughtful students. The volume contains an excellent portrait of Sir Narayan.

Select Essays of Sister Nivedita. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-8.

There may be magazines or newspapers in India whose readers may require to be told what sort of personality was that of the Sister Nivedita or how she wrote. But for readers of this *Review* any such introduction must surely be a work of supererogation. Yet we cannot resist the temptation of enriching our pages by quoting in full Mr. A. J. F. Blair's brief, gem-like "Foreword" to this volume. It runs thus—

Margaret Noble—"The white flower of nobility"—Nivedita "dedicated" Whether we think of her by her English or her Indian name, was ever human being more appropriately called? High souled purity and infinite devotion are the thoughts that ever spring to mind at the very mention of her name. To those who knew her she was an embodied conscience. As her clear eyes searched one through and through, so did the white flame of her moral fervour burn out and wither up all the baser elements in one's nature. No man or woman ever faced that scrutiny without emerging from it purified and strengthened.

She was a writer of extraordinary range, eloquence and power. The collection of essays in the present volume, comprehensive as it is, exhibits her tireless literary productivity in a mere fragmentary form. The crown and summit of her work is undoubtedly the "Web of Indian Life," to read which is not merely to enter into the Indian holy of holies, but to drink deep of the meaning and inspiration of the author's own life.

Like all great souls, however, she towered above, and dominated, all her works. She was far greater than they. The influence of her life and personality was and is a perpetual inspiration, which lives as long as those on whom it once rested, to be thence transferred (let us hope) to those who follow.

Unselfish, brave, white souled, dowered so nobly with mental, spiritual and physical graces, who can express in words what she was to those who loved her, or gather up the measure of their loss?

The great problem of India, including all lesser problems, is how we can modernise ourselves and become progressive, without losing our heritage,—without losing that spiritual power and wealth which made India great in the past. To be able to attack this problem with some success, one has to be specially equipped. An indispensable part of that equipment is a knowledge of the point of view of Sister Nivedita and those who thought and felt with her. Messrs. Ganesh & Co., have, therefore, deserved well of the public by bringing out some of her writings in book form. The volume which they have brought out and the volume entitled "The Civic and National Ideals", published by the *Udbodhan* Office, Baghbazar, Calcutta, should be the companions of all who are young in spirit, never mind what the age of their bodies may be.

We would advise the publishers to obtain the permission of the Editor in every case when anything is reproduced from a periodical.

Ajmer: Historical and descriptive. With 28 full-page illustrations. By Har Bilas Sarada, B.A., F.R.S.L., Ajmer: Scottish Mission Industries Company, Limited. Pp. x + 174. Cloth. Price not mentioned.

It is a beautiful hand-book on Ajmer. It contains all that an inquisitive traveller may want to know regarding the place, including a concise historical sketch. Even those who may not visit Ajmer will find it profitable and interesting reading. The illustrations are good. But the coloured ink in which they are printed has not been well chosen; a deep black would have given clearer and more satisfactory prints.

The Indian Nation Builders, Part III. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Pp. 359 and 12 portraits. Cloth. Price Rs. 1-8.

This volume contains biographical sketches, with portraits, of twelve distinguished Indians, *vis.*, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Pandit Ajudanath, K. T. Telang, H. H. The late Nizam of Hyderabad, M. K. Gandhi, Arabinda Ghose, Aswini Kumar Dutt, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Rabindranath Tagore, Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Of even greater value than the life-sketches are the writings or utterances of these distinguished men reproduced in this volume. Some are given in translations, as, for instance, those of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore. The selections are what the publishers have

been able to lay their hands on, and they are good; but they are neither the best nor the most characteristic of their authors. We say this not in disparagement of the volume,—for we do think that the publishers have done a praiseworthy thing,—but simply to caution the reader against judging of these "Nation-builders" by these specimens given. If this be borne in mind, a perusal of books like this will be profitable.

We would again draw attention to the need of obtaining the permission of the editors of periodicals from which any thing is reproduced.

The Song Divine or, Bhagavad-Gita, a metrical rendering (with annotations). By C. C. Caleb, M.R., M.S., Professor of Physiology, Medical College, Lahore, etc. London, Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, W. C. Price not mentioned.

The Bhagavad-Gita is one of the sacred books of the Hindus, and it ought to be a source of inspiration to all its readers, whether Hindu or non-Hindu. But every one cannot be expected to know Sanskrit. Translations are therefore needed. And though it has been always difficult to produce a metrical, poetic and accurate translation of a poem, none other can be satisfactory. In the present instance the author has succeeded remarkably well,—particularly, as he says that he is almost totally ignorant of Sanskrit. He has been able to perform his work so well, because of "the generous assistance of a friend (whose modesty forbids me to disclose his name), well known to those who have the privilege of his friendship as a profound student of one of the leading systems of Indian Philosophy. His translation of every verse of the Gita from the original, founded upon the commentaries of Shridhara, Shankaracharya and Shankarananda, made solely for my benefit, has provided me with an independent text which has been invaluable in enabling me to come to a correct judgment in regard to textual differences met with in the standard translations I have used as a basis. The *Song Divine* is thus something more than a mere versification: as a joint work, it may justly be considered as a metrical translation."

Dr. Caleb has employed two forms of metre, in accordance with the metrical differentiation found in the original. His choice has been quite appropriate.

The book is very neatly printed. The paper and binding are also good.

The Awakening of India. By J. Ramsay Macdonald M. P. Hodder and Stoughton, London. Pp. VIII—311. Cloth. Price not mentioned.

This is a very interesting volume, provoking thought on Indian problems, particularly Indian political problems. The author on the whole writes with sympathy and remarkable insight, with reverence superadded, where necessary, and in a charming style. He is one of the foremost statesmen of England and brings a fresh eye and fresh mind to the observation and consideration of things Indian. The result is a book which no patriotic English-speaking Indian can afford to leave unread. The chapter headings give some idea of the contents of the book. They are: Apologie pro Libro Meo, On the way, In Baroda, Among the Rajputs, At Simla, The Khyber and the Pathan, At Lahore, Punjab camps, At Benares, The Genius of Bengal, The women of India, The ways of the native, The new India of Commerce, The land of the poverty.

stricken, *Awakening India*, *Great Britain in India*, *What is to be the end? Last thoughts*.

The two chapters on the women of India were written by Mrs. Macdonald, whose untimely death has been widely mourned as a great loss to both England and India.

When the author reached Bombay on his way back he "was taken to task by an Anglo-Indian newspaper for having expressed opinions with which it did not agree. It wisely did not discuss the opinions; it merely said I had no business to hold them. Its state of mind is typical—I regret to have to believe it—of the majority of Anglo-Indians. They assume that no one can understand them and their problems unless his eyes have been blinded by the Indian sun, and his mind moulded by Anglo-Indian habits for a generation. Their reply to criticisms is not reasons, but the recital of dogmas that cannot be explained to the perspiring stranger, they believe, because the truth embodied in them cannot be grasped by him. It belongs to a world in which he is a child. To such persons this book will be but further evidence of the wickedness of the world, the impertinence of men, and the bitterness of the cup to be drained by Anglo-Indians.

"But in India, as elsewhere, one very soon discovers that there is not one 'man on the spot' but two. That section of Anglo-Indians represented by the best known newspapers is only a majority. There is alongside it a minority which knows India, I think, more intimately, and has retained under Eastern conditions the best of our Western ethics more successfully. There is also the Indian himself...."

After finishing his "test of self-examination," Mr. Macdonald found himself in a camp almost by himself, "the reason being, I think, that I went out with the ideas of modern collectivism in my mind. Whilst these made me welcome the more political side of Indian nationalism, they forbade my sympathising with some of its economic demands, such as Protection and the Permanent Settlement found in Bengal. I thus at one moment take my place with one bed fellow and at the next am with another."

His description of the route to India is not an account of the superficial aspects of scenery but a vivid characterisation of East and West. He rightly calls Baroda "the capital of the most modern and enlightened of the Indian rulers." All his descriptions of places are vivid and show that he possesses the inner eye to discover their very souls. "Baroda, with a smile, says, 'I am modern'; Rajputana, with a haughty sniff, says, 'I keep the old ways.'" Tod's story of Chitor is spoken of "as a tale of the finest chivalry"; "it should be in our school books." "My friends are dinning it into my ears that there is no India. I do not know, but Chitor gives me something to go upon. . . . The whole place is a vast temple of chivalry. Through these narrow lanes and over these ruined heaps one should go bare of head and foot."

Of the tin gods of Simla he writes things which we all know and which these gods ought to read if only to smile derisively. Of the Pathan he writes with admiration.

We have no space to refer to all the fine things this book contains. Nor can we point out wherein our

views differ from those of the author. So we bring this notice to a close with a few extracts from his concluding pages.

"On the whole I therefore regard the future as belonging to Nationalism..... Whilst the best and the most ardent minds will speak of *India*, political freedom will come first of all through provincial Home Rule. There is so much individuality in the Provinces that India would lose seriously if it were obliterated. That was another of the colossal blunders of Lord Curzon. His mind ran on centralisation; the genius of India needs decentralisation for its expression. The general lines of our Government are good if they were a little freer. Responsible Government in the Provinces, a federation of the Provinces in an Indian Government—that seems to me to be the way India is to realise herself—is, in fact, realising herself."

"We can make absurd distinctions between India's educated and uneducated classes, and imagine that to protect the one we must offend the other—as though they were not both of India. It is all a vague delusion. The impulses of Indian life will go on. They will show themselves in Science, in Art, in Literature, in Politics—in Agitation. We can welcome them, or we can try to retard them and grudge them every triumph. If we are wise, we shall do the former. We can then help India and win her gratitude and her friendship. When she is rich, as she will be, she will remember the friend of her poverty. When she is honoured for her own sake, as she will be, she will remember the patron of her obscurity. But we cannot keep her back. Her Destiny is fixed above our will, and we had better recognise it and bow to the Inevitable."

URDU.

Ithād Nadir by Maulavi Nadir Ali, Pleader, Agra, Printed in the Asini Press, Agra. Crown quarto pp. 82.

The avowed object of the book is to bring about union between the different classes of people in India, especially among the Hindus and Musalmans and the writer has had considerable success in his endeavour. The writer has his own views on certain points and they ought to be carefully weighed in the balance before any definite opinion is passed upon them. His suggestions for the amelioration of the present condition of India, though not entirely practical, are not wholly Utopian. According to the author, the weak side of the modern civilization and enlightenment which is spreading so swiftly, consists in a spirit of disobedience and defiance produced amongst youngsters, as also among those of the lower strata of society. This is partly true. However, the modern culture has its bright side as well, which the author himself does not quite ignore. That part of the book in which the author exhorts his co-religionists not to do such things or utter such expressions as go to hurt the feelings of the Hindus, is truly sublime. The author says that the attitude of those Musalmans who are guilty of spreading a spirit of faction, is wholly opposed to the spirit of Islam. The conduct of His Majesty the Amir of Kabul on the occasion of his sojourn at Delhi, is quoted with approbation and every sensible person will side with the author here. The Amir forbade the slaughter of cows and in his speech

on the occasion gave very catholic views which are set forth at length in the book. We repeat that this part of the book is intensely sublime and practical. Indeed there is no reason why there should be want of union between the followers of the two religions, if the educated Mussalmans should be serious in the matter. No doubt the Hindus are often at fault and the author is right in his counter-exhortation to the Hindus. Yet the mistakes of the Hindus are often exaggerated, to the detriment of both parties. The Hindus must remember that among the Mussalmans, a great many are such as are hardly inferior in the graces of life, breadth of mind, and magnanimity, to the best of the Hindus; and union among the Hindus and Mussalmans will have as its foundation mutual sympathy and appreciation. The author proposes certain measures for the suppression of sedition. To our mind, these are not very practical. The policy of conciliation followed by Government of late hardly leaves any cause for misgivings in the future. The spasmodic attempts at disorder may now be considered things of the past. The author is right in his opinion that the Coronation of His Majesty in India will be productive of immense good, and will be a stepping-stone to better understanding among the rulers and the ruled. The language of the book is correct, but it should have been simpler, especially as the subject of the book does not debar a simpler language having been used. If this remark of ours is kept under consideration, while issuing the 2nd edition, the book will have a wider range of readers: and in view of the intrinsic worth of the book, this will be of no little good to the country.

M. S.

HINDI.

America-path-pradarshak by Shree Satyadeva. Printed at the Tara Printing Press, Benares. Crown 8vo. pp. 108. Price As. 5.

Shree Satyadeva is not new to Hindi readers who have read his valuable articles almost regularly in the issues of the *Sarasvati* and the newly-started *Maryada*. The talented writer has now resolved to publish a series of books embodying the experiences he has gathered during his pretty considerable stay in the United States of America; and *America-path-pradarshak* is the first of the series. The author left India in May, 1904 and the account he gives of his voyage and of the places at which he halted reads like a novel. There can be no question as to the book being pre-eminently interesting to all varieties of readers. Besides this, the book is a storehouse of information for those who want to go to the United States of America as students or travellers. The writer has thought out all the possible queries which an intending traveller to America might be disposed to make and he has given concise and succinct information on all these in the form of questions and answers. Occasionally hints have been given as to how an Indian ought to regulate his deportment towards the Americans in particular circumstances. The author thinks that there is a wide field in America for Indian tradesmen with sufficient capital, and laments the lack of enterprising merchants who could go out to the spot to see for themselves and compare the state of things in the two countries. As a brief encyclopaedia of informa-

tion about the United States of America, suited to the exact needs of Indians, the book is invaluable and the author says that he has purposely chosen Hindi as the medium for the expression of his thoughts, seeing that in this way he can make them accessible to the masses and that Hindi bids fair to be the national language of India. The printing of the book is nice, but proofs do not seem to have been read carefully, as several typographical errors have been left, e.g.,

उद्गाढाचार (p. 3), लक्ष (p. 10) खर्च (p. 20), हववा-हो (p. 58) दाह (p. 75), बन्धू (p. 80). We do not consider a construction like the following as idiomatic (a)

जहाँ मे मे बिलारा बिबा हुवा बा [p. 18] (b) न ही बाजारी खोनों के खाने चपनी जोहरों की पोटीरी खोले [p. 45].

On page 31 the author writes—"In the New World there is a large country named United States. Its area is equal to that of Europe and we should imagine it as being twice as big as India. It is this country which is called America." We know that the author knows full well the difference between America and the United States of America, and the above remark is to be attributed either to a slip on his part or to a desire of being intelligible completely. However, in a book which we consider as a masterpiece in other respects, we do not want to see any shortcomings whatever. The above are the few objections which we would make against the book and the author will surely realize that they are merely of the nature of suggestions which, if attended to, will, we venture to say, increase the great utility of the book in its second edition. In conclusion, we cannot help congratulating Mr. Deva on his immense success, and commending him for the great service he has rendered to his countrymen.

Vallabh-kul-chhal-kapat-darpan by Swami Bhakatanand. Royal 8vo. pages 60. Price As. 12.

We reviewed two books by the same author in a previous issue and this book is also of the same series. Here the author has directed his shafts against particular preceptors of the Vallabha Sampradaya and, by giving accounts of their lives, has tried to prove the truth of his assertions. The book is of the same tone as its predecessors and what we said about them in praise or in fault finding, will hold good in the case of this book also. We would sincerely offer one suggestion to the author. In the next edition which he publishes he will do well to leave these books entirely alone and set forth his views in a more catholic form. Moderation in censure with firmness of faith in the assertion one makes, ensures respect for one's remarks. The sincere desire on the part of the author for reform in the Sampradaya is unquestionably commendable. We would only have desired that the form which he gives to his remarks should be less objectionable and more in the proper taste. In certain places the advice which he offers is very valuable and what he writes of his own life in the book makes us reverentially disposed towards him. He has just passed his three score years and ten, and the bitterness which we note in his book is only due to the hardening in his eventful life of his repugnance towards what is truly hateful.

M. S.

Kannada.

Indira, a novel by Vasudevacharya Kerur, Pleader, published by G. R. Manurker. Bijapur. Price Re. 1-4.

This is an ordinary love episode of which we read in many Indian tales and stories. We are introduced to the hero, Ramakant in a hotel at Bangalore. Ramakant becomes intensely interested in Indira, the alluringly beautiful heroine. Shreekanth, a young man of rank, but of low character, falls in love with Indira. The whole story revolves round her relations with the two. Ramakant is a man of noble character, pure ambition, of great parts and inspiring ideals. Shreekanth is a man of good birth, but of wicked tendencies and no education. Jayarao, the father of the heroine, is a member of the money-making and uncultured community of merchants. He intends to wed his daughter to Shreekanth. Devayani is a woman of great accomplishments. In her youth, the fathers of the hero and the heroine had made love to her. She rejected the offers of Jayarao, and the other being disappointed married another lady. Devayani remained single, and cultivated the art of painting, and was richly rewarded for her skill and originality. She naturally tried to see Ramakant to be the companion of Indira in life. The story ends with the marriage of Indira and Ramakant.

Looking at the slow march of Kannada literature, the book is to be enthusiastically welcomed. The author has not the picturesque style of his Mysore contemporaries. He has no insight into character, no eye for hidden motive, still he is fairly successful in characterization, and has a style (rather too colloquial) that is brilliant enough to attract a good number of readers from his sleepy and ease-loving Karnatic brethren. The author's description of the famous sites of Shrīrangapatam delight the reader. The book does not compel laughter. Still it very often excites a smile. Mr. Kerur has a knack of hitting upon such names as exactly fit in with the characters. They arrest the attention of the reader and awake his curiosity.

The author (as he says) attempts to depict the society of twenty-five years hence. He has not succeeded, because he has not taken into account all the forces that are at work in our society. "Indira" lacks many of the merits of a good novel. It is not true to life. It is not an enthralling and fascinating fiction. There is no charm and imagination in it to hold the reader till the end. The following are a few of the many weak-points that we have noticed. The Sanskrit

quotations may be exceedingly appropriate; but they are too many. They do not spontaneously flow from the lips of the characters on the spur of the moment. The introduction of courting is against the genius of the Hindu society. The scene on page 271 is disgusting and vulgar.

The author is most happy in his strikingly effective way of hitting off the characters of social reformers of all shades of opinion. Much thought, skill, and power have been put into it. His picture of the life of vagabond youths is extraordinarily vivid. Devayani is the best drawn character. Happy is the society in which live such women of strongly marked character, thirsting for the things of the mind and striving after a high intellectual and moral standard. Her piety of character, her strenuous and noble efforts to master one of the fine arts, her womanly affection create in us a sense of admiration for the cultured lady.

W.

GUJARATI.

Biography of the King Emperor, George V, published by D. N. Mehta for the Empire Publishing Co., 117, Girgum Back Road, Bombay. Cloth bound. Illustrated pp. 168. Price Rs. 1-12 (1911).

In this happy Coronation year, almost every vernacular of India has come out with the biography of our beloved Sovereign, and Gujarati has not lagged behind. The story in this volume is succinctly but pointedly told: naturally a larger proportion thereof is taken up with His Majesty's tour six years ago in India. A short introduction in prose and poetry by the venerable scholar Ranchhod Bhai Udayaram is the distinguishing feature of the book.

Arvachin Shastro ane Shastriya Vichar, published by Sheth Ranchhod Bhavan of Bombay, translated by Maganlal Ratanji Vidyarthi, B.A., B.Sc. Printed at the Lahanu Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda, cloth bound, pp. 251. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1911).

Samuel Laing's Modern Science and Modern Thought is a most fascinating work. The above is a translation of that book with necessary changes. The chapters on Miracles in the original related to Christian Miracles, of which here the translator has tried to adapt the explanations to those mentioned in the Hindu Shastras. The idea of introducing this well known work to Gujarati readers is excellent and the very low price at which the translation is to be sold, ought to go a great way in encouraging the young author.

K. M. J.

NOTES**Bengalis and Northern India.**

By A BENGALI TOURIST.

The scattered and disjointed impressions of a tour in Northern India during the last

autumn may be of some interest to stay-at-home Bengalis. To a Bengali who visits the United Provinces for the first time, the numerous large cities with their memorable

historic associations,—Delhi itself, be it remembered, belongs both ethnologically and linguistically, more to the United Provinces than to the Punjab—and the extensive railway system, are sure to give rise to the question as to why, in spite of the great superiority of the United Provinces in these respects, Bengal occupies politically a more important place in the counsels of the Empire, and looms larger in the public view. Benares is already a cosmopolitan Hindu city, where every Hindu Chief and Zemindar has his own private residence, and Hindus of all races from North, South, East and West congregate. The Theosophical Society and Vivekananda Society have their headquarters here; the Hindu College and the Government Oriental Library are located in this sacred city. It will also be the home of the proposed Hindu University. Buddhists have a rest-house quite close to the excellent museum at Sarnath. With its large and increasing Bengali population, Benares seems destined to be the centre from which Bengali influence will radiate over the rest of India. The freedom enjoyed by Bengali ladies in and about Bengalitolla, the Dasaswamedh Ghat and the adjoining temples was utilised by them to the fullest extent. There were no veils, and ladies, unprotected by chaperons, made their way through a mixed crowd with a self-confidence gratifying to behold.—Dusserah seems to be the great event of the year. The entire riverside is then a sea of blazing colours and every nook and corner of the many-storied houses that line the crescent-shaped bank is crammed full of gaily-dressed Hindustani women, while the pleasureboats on the river, then in full flood, present an animated appearance that has to be seen but once to be remembered for ever. The contrast between the graceful and what to the writer seemed more refined features of the Bengalis and of the more hardy inhabitants of the North, specially in the case of the fair sex, could not fail to attract notice. One could understand the meaning of Milton's 'barbaric pearl and gold' after seeing some of the bejewelled Hindustani ladies in the railway cars. But women wore slippers, and every one had a jacket on, and the Bengali ladies, bent on pilgrimage, who were seen on the station platforms in their

scanty indoor as opposed to holiday dress made but a poor show before the coloured skirts and embroidered scarfs of the Hindustani ladies. A mishapen waist, due to an unfortunate custom of wearing the gown too low, mars the beauty of many otherwise handsome figures. The permanence and solidity of the buildings, built of massive stone, cannot but strike one who is accustomed to the damp and humid atmosphere of Bengal, where all buildings are of brick and have to be repaired every five or ten years. This is, no doubt, one of the reasons why architectural remains are so few in Bengal. The style of architecture retains some Indo-Saracenic traces still, and even for Government buildings, is less anglicised than is the case in Bengal. At the same time Bengal is comparatively free from the insufferable heat, the dust and the flies which make life in most of the towns miserable for a large part of the year. Except in the northern districts lying at the foot of the Himalayan range, there are scarcely any hills to be seen, and the country is almost as flat as the valley of the lower Ganges. Above all, where else shall we find the green fields, the verdant foliage, the network of rivers and waterways, and the luxuriant though at times rank vegetation of lower Bengal? True, up there the eye meets with beautiful mango-groves to camp beneath which must be a pleasure, but the arid fields, the parched up canals and the miserable cogglomeration of mud huts which pass for villages produce a distinctly unpleasant impression. True again, in a prominent native state in the deserts of Rajputana, villages with more substantial structures than are to be seen in an ordinary Bengal town were met with, and deer and peacocks disporting themselves on every side made railway travel more than usually interesting. But the comparative prosperity of rural areas in native states, in spite of the barrenness of the soil, is due to causes which we need not stop to investigate; and the flora of Bengal, if not its fauna, is undoubtedly richer and more varied than that of these scantily watered northern regions. The exquisite enamel wares of Jaipur and the ivory-work and miniature ivory-painting of Delhi are a delight to even those who cannot lay claim to any trained artistic sense, and deserve to be more widely known

in Bengal. Most of the college-buildings, with the attached boarding-houses, seemed to be in every way superior to those of Bengal. Many colleges have a museum attached to them, and each professor has a separate room allotted to him where he has a small library of his own, and there the students assemble to hear him lecture. The introduction of these changes would make colleges in Bengal more attractive to scholars and professors alike. The Bengali style of dress, like Bengali confectionery, was, it was said, invading all the more important towns. The Mogul forts of Allahabad, Agra and Delhi, all on the Jumna, are occupied by British garrisons and have been closed to Indian visitors, save those portions which possess an archæological and antiquarian interest, or a religious sanctity. Bengali travellers, known by their want of a distinctive headgear, were everywhere subjected to the kind attentions of the Police, but the unfortunate officers did not seem to relish the task imposed on them and went through it with many apologies, as if half-ashamed of their work. Everywhere the same tale was heard—Bengalis were being ousted from Government offices and even the native states, not always with the best of results to the states themselves, and this process was being assisted by a gratifying advance of education among the indigenous population of the province.

At Delhi the Rev. Mr. Andrews of St. Stephens College had infused new life into missionary methods, and had succeeded in indoctrinating a noble band of youthful English missionaries with his own high ideals. High character, wide culture, selfless service, deep sympathy, association with the people on terms of perfect equality—these seemed to be the characteristics of the type of missionary approved by Mr. Andrews. He knows that not by blind and superficial denunciations of the social and religious customs of the Indians, but by interpreting them sympathetically in the light of the insight which can be gained only by a reasoned admiration of their noble and ancient civilisation, and by trying to understand and encourage all that is best in the various significant movements, social, religious and political, which are agitating the bosom of Indian society, can the missionary exercise

whatever beneficial influence he is fit to exercise over it.

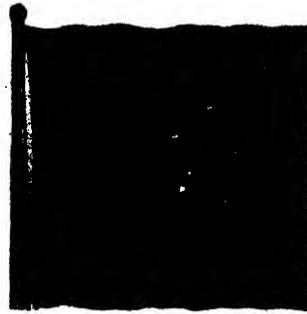
The most painful impression was created by the want of unity and cohesion among the Bengali colonists themselves. The Hindustanis of the U. P. are an estimable race—everybody knows that some of the best men of India hail from that province, and as I told the Hon'ble Pundit Malaviya, I felt honoured by his acquaintance—and nothing is of course furthest from my mind than to cast an indirect slur on them in the observations that follow. But all must admit that every race and nationality in India has an individuality which it should strive to preserve at the same time that it aspires to a closer political union with the rest of India, for thereby alone can it grow strong and contribute out of its best to the sum total of India's social, moral and material advancement. A non-descript and amorphous cosmopolitanism which would destroy the identity and eliminate the peculiar racial characteristics of the Bengalis, Hindustanis, Punjabis, Gujaratis, and Marathis, and fuse them into an incongruous whole, seems equally Utopian and unwise. A Bengali can only be a better citizen of India by being a more thoroughgoing Bengali. It is from this standpoint that I regret the growing estrangement of the domiciled Bengalis from the land that gave them birth. In saying this I am not unmindful of the exceptions, of whom there must be a few everywhere, who but prove the rule. There was hardly any national sentiment to speak of among the Bengali residents beyond Benares, which has, owing to its proximity to and its annual stream of pilgrims from Bengal, felt, in however slight a degree, the impact of the Swadeshi movement. Complaints were heard that the Anglo-Bengali schools did not get sufficient encouragement from those for whom they were intended, and some well-to-do Bengalis were seen to keep back their children from such schools, without however making any suitable arrangements to have them educated in their mother-tongue at home. Bengali newspapers and magazines were seldom met with. I have seen Bengali gentlemen recently settled whose children are forgetting their mother-tongue, others whose children have completely forgotten it, others again, who are

themselves the sons of Bengali immigrants, who have known nothing but Urdu, though by blood they are as good Bengalis as any native of Bengal. One would think that considerations of prudence and material advantage should, at any rate, preserve them from such a fate. For the next generation of Bengali settlers will hardly find struggle for existence as easy as it has hitherto been, and if they sever the strongest tie that binds them to their mother-province and adopt the language of those among whom they are settled, they will find it difficult to regain a footing in Bengal, should they think of coming back. Is it because they are conscious of this that they try to merge themselves as completely as they can with the people among whom their fortunes are cast? But even if they are disposed to forget their Bengali origin, I did not notice any corresponding disposition on the part of either the indigenous population or the ruling race to be so oblivious. So far has the process of denationalisation advanced in some cases, that within my knowledge an attempt to establish a Bengali library and a school for teaching the Bengali language failed to meet with adequate support from the residents of a populous Bengali centre. The penalty of this divorce from the currents of national life must have to be paid, and is being exacted, though the colonists may not know it as yet. There is already visible a distinct falling off in invigorating ideals in individual life among domiciled Bengalis which cannot but make them, as a class, inferior to and less adapted for progress than the Bengalis of Bengal. Many of them have adopted, or acquiesced in unprogressive social and domestic customs which Bengalis are getting rid of. The accession of strength which the consciousness of affiliation to a great and growing nation gives to the hands and the brain of each individual member of it, cannot be theirs, the impalpable but all-pervading atmosphere of high hopes and noble aspirations and mighty creative forces which a puissant nation drinks in with every breath and whose subtle influence penetrates the heart of the humblest individual and makes it beat in unison with the larger life of the whole community, will not mould them into a strong common type, the status

which their race enjoys among the nascent nationalities of India will not be shared by these devitalised offshoots of the mighty tree, and the pulsating life of the Bengali nation that is to be reared on a common mother tongue will not respond to the heart throbs of these forgetting and forgotten foster children of an adopted province.

The Chinese Revolution.

Whether the Chinese republic will be stable and be recognised by the powers, whether its flag will float in the air for any length of time, still seems doubtful. In any case this greatest of latter-day revolutions must lead to one of three results: a republic,



THE CHINESE REPUBLICAN FLAG.

an anti-Manchu monarchy, or sweeping reforms under Manchu rule. The humble submission of the baby emperor, which is the production of the ruling group of Manchu nobles, is a remarkable document. It is "unique in its directness, its simplicity, its humility, its pathos, and above all else in practical significance, its truth." We quote some paragraphs.

"I have reigned three years and have always acted conscientiously in the interests of the people. But I have not employed men properly, as I am without political skill. I have employed too many nobles in political positions, which contravenes constitutionalism.

"On railway matters one whom I trusted deceived me. Hence public opinion was antagonized. When I urge reform, officials and the gentry seize the opportunity to embezzle. Much of the people's money has been taken, but nothing to benefit the people has been achieved.

"On several occasions edicts have promulgated laws, but none of them has been obeyed. The people are grumbling, yet I do not know. Disasters loom ahead, but I do not see.

"The whole Empire is seething. The spirits of our nine deceased Emperors are unable to enjoy the



HSUAN TUNG, THE FIVE-YEAR-OLD
EMPEROR OF CHINA.

sacrifices properly while it is feared that the people will suffer grievously.

"All these things are my own fault, and I hereby announce to the world that I swear to reform and with our soldiers and people to carry out the Constitution faithfully, modifying legislation, promoting the interests of the people, and abolishing their hardships, all in accordance with their wishes and interest. The old laws that are unsuitable will be abolished. The union of the Manchus and Chinese mentioned by the late Emperor, I shall carry out now. Finances and diplomacy have reached bedrock.

"Even if all unite, I still fear that we may fall. If the Empire's subjects do not regard and do not honor fate, and are easily misled by outlaws, then the future of China is unthinkable. I am most anxious day and night. My only hope is that my subjects will thoroughly understand."

When nemesis overtakes a dynasty in the person of a grown-up tyrant, no sympathy

is felt. But the case of this imperial baby is touching; it cannot but excite pity and sympathy.

By the by, one should note the contrast between the attitudes of the Powers to the Portuguese and the Chinese republics. Portugal is in Europe and is Christian; China is in Asia and is "heathen." Colour rules ethics too.

Dr. Chang Chu Chun.

Chang Chu Chun is a Chinese lady doctor. She has been at the front with the rebel army. She organised her own Red



DR. CHANG CHU CHUN.

Cross when it was announced that the Federal Red Cross would turn over all wounded rebels to the Government to be beheaded. She has been called the "Florence Nightingale" of the Chinese revolution.

Mr. William Morgan Shuster.

Mr. William Morgan Shuster of America was made Treasurer-General of Persia not long ago by the Government of that distracted country in the hope of bringing order out of its tangled finances and putting the Persian treasury on a solvent basis. But this would not have suited Russia's

plans of exploitation and ultimate annexation in that country. So events have been so ordered that Mr. Shuster has had to leave Persia, and Sir Edward Grey, the



MR. WILLIAM MORGAN SHUSTER.

British Foreign Minister, has done nothing to thwart Russian machinations. Mr. Shuster himself acted throughout conscientiously and with ability. That is his consolation.

A "god of the earth"

The Indian Messenger has given the following sample cuttings from a contribution to the *Hindu* of a man named P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, M.A., L.T., who, our contemporary says, is Principal of the Vizagapatam College.

"The World-purusha had a whole anatomy when he was immolated on grass. His mouth was the Brahmin, the Rajanya was made of his arms, the Vaisya was his thighs, the Sudra sprang from his feet. In Southern India, the head and the feet alone are found; and what is worse, sundry Sudras of South India forget this truth and imagine that they are as good as the Brahmin, the god of the earth. The Sudra's brain is terribly obfuscated by the materialistic teachings of the existing universities of India. How can the feet ever become equal to the head? It will be the first duty of the Hindu University to rectify this."

"One of the first things the Hindu University must do is to rule out the new name panchama, which the chandalas have usurped. Manu says in so many words, 'there is no panchama.' Kulluka, his commentator, explains: 'There is no fifth caste, for caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, from the fact that, like mules, they belong to another species, distinct from that of their father and mother.' The assumption of the name panchama in our days is a dark plot of the chandalas to get admittance into the Hindu fold. The syndics of the Hindu University will, of course, defeat the plot and take care to see that the untouchable remains always untouchable. His

bad magnetic emanations will otherwise stamp out its Hinduism from the Hindu University."

We have not seen this precious production, nor can we imagine what sort of curious creature the author of these atrocious paragraphs may be. He asserts that the Brahmin is "the god of the earth," and he is a Brahmin: *ergo*, he is a "god of the earth." These then be thy gods, O Bhāratavarsha! Pray, tell us, then, the difference between a "god of the earth" and a learned, insolent and arrogant fool. This "god" makes us ashamed of our Brahman blood.

What a mournful thing it is that any man should consider any class of men untouchable, when the meanest and impurest of us lives, moves and has his being in the Supreme Spirit, is in closer contact with Him than the mind can conceive or words describe.

Princess Indira-raja.

It has been announced that the marriage of the Princess Indira-raja with the Maharaja Gwalior has been indefinitely postponed.



PRINCESS INDIRA-RAJA.

What the cause of this postponement may be we will not enquire. We



RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Photographs by Hop Sing & Co.



RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

KUNTALINE PRESS, CALCUTTA.

shall be glad if this marriage never takes place, and the princess be joined in wedlock with some worthy prince who will make her his sole wife.

Honour to Rabindranath.

In the current year of the Bengali era Rabindranath Tagore has completed the fiftieth year of his life. The occasion has been seized by Bengal to do honour to her greatest litterateur. On the 28th of January last, under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Bengal's most representative literary society, a meeting was held for the purpose in the Calcutta Townhall. It was one of the most representative, crowded, and enthusiastic of gatherings that have ever filled that historic hall. From childhood to old age, all ages and both sexes were represented there. Representatives of culture and high birth and wealth met there to do honour to the poet. High spirituality was there, science and industry were there, philosophy and forensic ability, poetry and the ancient learning of the land were there, literature had her many votaries there, the goddesses of music and painting had sent there some of her foremost worshippers. Nor was statesmanship left unrepresented. The mothers and daughters of the race did not lag behind. And there mustered strong in their thousands, the youth of Bengal, her rising hope, with enthusiasm writ large on their shining foreheads.

Rabindranath is our greatest poet and prose-writer. Son of a Maharshi (a great seer), and himself a seer, he belongs to a family the most gifted in Bengal in the realms of religion, philosophy, literature and art. There is no department of Bengali literature that he has touched, which he has not adorned, elevated, filled with inspiration or lighted up by the lustre of his genius. The music of his verse and prose that fills the outer ear is but an echo of the inner harmony of humanity and the universe which exists at the heart of things and which he has caught and made manifest to us by his writings. How wonderfully full of real life and colour and motion and variety they are! He has had access to the court of the King of Kings, to His very presence, and has brought us the message from thence: "Be one with humanity, be one, with all things that live, be one with

the universe, be one with Me." Insight is his magic wand, by the power of which he himself roams where he wishes and leads his readers thither too. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternise with world-literature. World-currents of thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

But he is not simply a literary man, though his eminence as a literatus is such that for a foreigner the Bengali language would be worth learning for his writings alone. True it is that he is not an expert musician, but his musical instinct and genius are such that his musical achievements have often extorted the admiration of experts. We say this not with reference to his sublime and beautiful hymns or to his sweet and soulful singing, but in connection with what he has done for absolute music. He generally reads his addresses, reads in a way which few in Bengal have approached and none surpassed: but whoever has heard his extempore sermons and addresses knows what an eloquent speaker he is, though his delivery is often so rapid and his sentences branch out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters. Those who have seen him acting some part or other in his plays of "Rājā" and "Shāradōtsab," those who have been privileged to hear him read his latest dramatic compositions, "Achalāyatan" and "Dāk Ghar," have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be.

His patriotic songs are characteristic. Some of them twine themselves with their tendrils about the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adored in the shrines of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits, filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one; but in none are the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races, or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic discords heard. In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in its prime he speaks out with a directness which is missed in most of his writings, though not in the "Kathā-ś-Kāhinī" containing, as it does, poems which make the heart beat thick and

fast and the blood tingle and leap and course in our veins.

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt for the foreigner. He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by the Supreme Spirit, a special destiny. But he has never said that other countries have not their own special messages and missions too. He does not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but wishes the East to take what it can from the West, not like a beggar without patrimony or as an adopted child, but as a strong and healthy man takes food and assimilates it. This taking, too, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than learning, borrowing or imitation. He tells us in his writings that the West can cease to dominate in the East only when the latter, fully awake, self-knowing, self-possessed, self-respecting, requires no longer any blister or whip and leaves no department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens.

His hands reach out to the West, to humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and embrace.

Many there be who grow conservative with age. But Rabindranath is progressive and a practical social reformer.

His politics are concerned more with character-building than with the more vocal manifestations of that sphere of national activity. Freedom he prizes as highly and ardently as the most radical politician, but his conception of freedom is fundamental. To him the chains of inertness, cowardice and ignorance, of selfishness and pleasure-seeking, of superstition, of custom, of authority of priestcraft, and of the letter of shastras, constitute our real bondage: the yoke of the stranger is largely a consequence and a symptom. This point of view has largely moulded his conception of the Indian political problem and the best method of tackling it. He wishes to set the spirit free, to give it wings,—a largeness of vision; he desires that fear should be cast out. Hence his politics and his spiritual ministrations merge in each other.

Without any academic distinction or university degree, he is a highly cultured and extensively read man, acquainted with

many of the best literary products of all lands. And now in the fulness of his powers he is thinking of learning the richest, in knowledge, of foreign tongues, and of again travelling in the West, to let in fresh light and air that can stream into the soul only through windows hitherto but partially opened. By the reading of books and periodicals he has always tried to keep his knowledge of contemporary thought up-to-date, to keep pace with its advance, with the efforts of man to plant the flag of knowledge in the realms of the unknown.

As an educationist, he has preserved the spirit of the ancient Indian ideal, its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its practical touch with Nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. But in his open air school at Bolpur there is no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. His mental outlook is universal. He claims for his countrymen all knowledge, whatever its origin, as their province.

Such is the man, in brief and vague outline, whom Bengal met to honour last Sunday.

The Social Conference.

It is much to be regretted that the President of the last session of the Social Conference could be selected only a day before the date of its sitting and no delegates were registered until Mr. Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhri's opposition to Mr. Basu's Bill made it necessary to take the votes not of the entire audience but only of delegates. And when delegates were registered on the second day of the sittings, whoever paid a rupee and chose to call himself a delegate was taken to be one. Under the circumstances, the voting, one way or the other, cannot be said to have much significance or value.

Even in previous sessions the election and registration of delegates have never been quite regular, as there are very few social reform associations in the country to elect delegates. Still the practice of previous years was far better than on the last occasion. We think in future delegates should be elected by social reform associations, Arya Samajes, Brahmo Samajes, and public meetings of some kind or other.

The speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rai Bahadur Debendra Chandra Ghose, was a sound pronouncement. We regret with him that outside the Brahmo Samaj there is almost no zeal for social reform in Bengal. Within the Brahmo Samaj itself the zeal for bringing about the re-marriage of widows would seem to have suffered some decline. We hope it is only temporary.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri, the President, having had no time to prepare a speech, cannot be blamed for the quality of his address. But we do think that in the little that he said he ought to have made a clear and unmistakeable pronouncement on the principal topics touched upon. But this he did not do. For instance, with regard to the re-marriage of girl-widows, the *Indian Daily News* report of his speech has the following sentence: "As regards girl-widow re-marriage he did not wish to say anything, because ever since he was a boy he had been discussing that subject." This is strange logic, and unexpected light-heartedness, too, about such a painful topic as the condition of child widows. Moreover, Mr. Chaudhuri did not condescend to tell us what he thought on the subject even as a boy: and even if he did, we were eager to know, not his boyish opinions, but his matured convictions of today. When accepting the chair, Mr. Chaudhuri should have remembered that a man could not please both the orthodox and the heterodox.

We do not wish to make any remarks on the serio-comic performance of Mr. Ram-bhuj Dutt Chaudhuri of Lahore.

Bharat Shuddhi Sabha.

The chief object of the Sabha will be to raise the depressed and degenerate classes in all parts of India morally, mentally, socially and spiritually and to make them feel that they are human beings.

With his object we heartily sympathise. But we cannot but strongly condemn the use of the word *shuddhi*, which means purification. It implies that some classes of men are pure and others are impure, and that these "pure" men can purify the "impure";—all which is absolutely false. Neither birth, nor creed, nor race, nor caste, nor particular kinds of food, can make a man pure or impure. It is what a man thinks, feels, says and does, in one word, his character, that makes him pure or impure. Pure

men and impure men are found in all classes; and it is God alone who can change a man's heart and purify him, not any man or man-made ceremonies. We cannot, therefore, allow the false and arrogant claim of any man or men to the ability to "purify" others, to pass unchallenged.

Expenses at Harvard.

In an article published in this number Mr. Har Dayal speaks of Harvard as a very expensive university. No doubt it is, for young men of means. For others, we extract the following paragraphs from the *Official Register of Harvard University*, Volume V, No. 43:—

The expenses of room, heat, and light, 117 dollars, of tuition and hospital service, 154, and of board, 213, make a total of 484 dollars. This sum does not include laboratory fees, expenditure for books, stationery, or laundry, for music or the theatre, or other personal expenses. It is

Cost of living. neither the least nor the greatest amount which a student may reasonably expend should circumstances demand or permit. It is possible, by going a little distance from the College grounds, to secure lodgings at a very low cost. It is possible to secure board at a distance from the College for less than the average board in Memorial Hall; and Randall Hall is less expensive than Memorial Hall by a dollar and a half a week. On the other hand, the private dormitories south of the College Yard are much more expensive than the College rooms and furnish a greater number of conveniences and luxuries, while club and private dining-tables are more expensive than Memorial Hall.

A pamphlet entitled "Students' Expenses and College Aids" has been published by the University, and will be mailed on application. It should be secured by every student whose means are closely limited. The following is the introductory paragraph of this pamphlet:—

"Almost every mail brings to the University at least one letter in which the writer asks if he can work his way through Harvard. It is hard to answer such

Aids for Students of Limited Means.

letters except in the most general way, for whether the writer will be successful or not depends chiefly on his own energy and ability.

The Secretary can assure the questioner that it is possible to work one's way through Harvard, for there are always many self-supporting students in College, and he can also assure him that the experience of many students shows that if a man has health, energy, cheerfulness, a good preparation for College work, and enough money in hand or assured for the necessary expenses of the first year, the chances are that he will never have to turn back. A student who obtains a good start is almost sure to find before the first year is over a way to continue his studies."

It would seem, then, that poor students

can receive education at Harvard by spending, say, Rs. 150 a month.

The Higher Grades of Public Service.

We take the following summaries of statements from *The Indian Daily News* :—

Statements were laid on the table at yesterday's meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, showing the proportion of appointments on Rs. 500 and over held by Indians and Europeans in 1910 as compared with 1867 and 1903. Taking the first named period—1910 and 1867—it is interesting to note that the number of Europeans and Eurasians in 1867, which was 2,048, rose to 4,466, an increase of 2,418. In the former year, the number of Hindus was 99, and the figure for 1910 was 782, an increase of 683. The position of Mahomedans is shown separately. From this, it appears that there were only 35 Mahomedans in the public service in 1867, who held appointments on Rs. 500 and over, and that this number increased to 142 in 1910—an increase of 107 in 43 years. The totals for Indians were 134 and 924, respectively, an increase of 790.

Out of 5,390 appointments on Rs. 500 and over in 1910, 4,466 were held by Europeans and Eurasians, and 924 by Indians.

During the period 1903—10, the number of appointments held by Europeans and Eurasians rose from 3,254 to 4,466, an increase of 1,212, while the number of Indians rose from 606 to 924, an increase of 318. These are certainly remarkable figures, and do not seem to justify the apprehension that Indians are going in for all the available loaves and mango fishes. It is noteworthy that while the number of new appointments of Europeans and Eurasians made during the period 1903—10 was slightly in excess of that made during 1867—1903, the number of Indians so appointed actually decreased.

The King-Emperor on sanitation and education.

In the course of his reply to the address of the Delhi Municipality, His Majesty King George V said :—

The remedy for protection from those terrible visitations of plague, malaria and cholera must be sought in the action of the people themselves and their leaders in cordial co-operation with the scientific efforts of the authorities. Considerable progress has been made by research and by the study of local conditions as to the cause of these scourges, but much remains to be done above all in the education of the masses, teaching them to understand and adopt precautions dictated by elementary hygiene and domestic sanitation for their protection and welfare.

Many European officials and Anglo-Indian journalists have said that in India the need of sanitation was prior to that of education, forgetting that there can be no sanitation without universal popular education. Will they now listen to the words of wisdom which have fallen from the lips of their

master and king and give up their hostility to education? One newspaper in Bengal, which has hobnobbed with extremism, and whose editor knelt down before His Majesty when he as Prince of Wales granted him an interview, has also written in a somewhat Anglo-Indian strain on the subjects of sanitation and education. Will it now find it expedient to support universal education in furtherance of the cause of sanitation?

His Majesty's reply to the Address of the Calcutta University.

Of all the speeches made by the King in India perhaps the most remarkable and the one uttered with the greatest warmth of feeling was that made in reply to the address of the Calcutta University. We quote it in full.

"I recall with pleasure the occasion on which six years ago, I received from the University of Calcutta the honorary Degree of a Doctor of Law, and I am glad to have an opportunity to-day of showing my deep and earnest interest in the higher education of India. It is to the Universities of India that I look to assist in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends. I have watched with sympathy the measures that from time to time have been taken by the Universities of India to extend the scope and raise the standards of instruction. Much remains to be done. No University is now-a-days complete unless it is equipped with teaching faculties in all the more important branches of the sciences and the arts, and unless it provides ample opportunities for research. You have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science. You have also to build up character, without which learning is of little value. You say that you recognise your great responsibilities. I bid you God speed in the work that is before you. Let your ideals be high and your efforts to pursue them unceasing and, under Providence, you will succeed.

Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy. To-day in India I give to India the watchword of hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life. Education has given you hope, and through better and higher Education you will build up higher and better hopes. The announcement was made at Delhi by my command that my Governor-General in Council will allot large sums for the expansion and improvement of education in India. It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a net-work of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in the train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled and

the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart.

"It is gratifying to me to be assured of your devotion to myself and to my House, of your desire to strengthen the bonds of union between Great Britain and India, and of your appreciation of the advantages which you enjoy under British Rule. I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address."

As the British servants and representatives of the King and non-official Anglo-Indians in general are naturally expected to be not less loyal to their King (as being of the same race and country as they) than His Majesty's Indian subjects, they are bound in loyalty and lawful obedience to prove by their conduct their "deep and earnest interest in the higher education of India." Many of them have hitherto shown undisguised hostility to higher education and most have been at best indifferent. In order to set to Indians an example of loyalty and servant-like obedience, may it not be hoped that henceforth they will all change their attitude? Persistence in their previous habitual attitude would now argue disloyalty.

His Majesty has said: "And it is my wish, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in the train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart." This can have only one meaning,—that the King is unequivocally in favour of the education of all his subjects; he has no fear, as many of his British servants have, that popular education will foment sedition. Now, as the King is in favor of popular universal education, we hope, for the sake of loyalty, those who claim to be more loyal than "the agitators" will support and further the cause of popular education. In the first place, the Calcutta University, which some-time ago declared itself against the spending of more money on elementary education, should, at least for the sake of giving an air of consistency and sincerity to its own loyal Address to the King, now revise its judgment. In the second place, the European Civilians and other Anglo-Indians who have declared themselves against universal elementary education, should now teach us a practical lesson in loyalty by withdrawing their objections. In the third

place, those landholders who, in their ingratitude, will not themselves educate or allow others to educate the peasants whose labour makes them fat, those landholders, who profess and claim to be more loyal than the agitating middle class, should now cease to trot out the shameless plea that elementary education will diminish the supply of menials, should, in one word, if they do not want to prove themselves disloyal, go in whole-heartedly for elementary education for all.

His Majesty has said: "It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a net-work of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life." Mark the word "MANLY." His Majesty has certainly formed the impression that the people, including the educated class, are loyal. He wishes them to be both loyal and manly; there is, in his opinion, no natural opposition between loyalty and manliness. May we, therefore, hope that henceforth any signs of manliness, either physical or moral, will not be connected by any member of the Police or the Executive with disloyalty, as its cause or invariable concomitant? In any case, let the people be manly.

His Majesty has also no doubt about the capacity of our youth, if properly educated, "to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life." Let our young men justify the King's belief.

We have one concluding word of request to our countrymen. God has endowed man with inexhaustible material and immaterial wealth. But this wealth does not come of itself to the idle. It is the heritage of the industrious, the courageous, the hopeful and the enterprising. Seeing that such is the case with the gifts of God, the law cannot be different with human giving. Queen Victoria gave Indians the same political status as Britishers, in the Proclamation which she issued after the fearfully anxious days of the Mutiny. But the hopes based on the Proclamation still remain largely unfulfilled. For that our own supineness is much to blame; and the partial fulfilment thereof which stands to the credit of the Government is due to the workers in our ranks. Similarly, if the words of hope of

King George V are to bear fruit, we must be up and doing. If they only lull us to sleep, in the indolent and fond fancy that henceforth all will be right, it will only prove that these words were addressed to unworthy ears. Be up and doing, therefore, and rest not until you have got from the servants of the Crown what the Crown has repeatedly promised. There is no help without self-help. Stand firmly on your own legs therefore. The King has done his part as seemed to him best; let the people do theirs.

As for education the additional annual grant of 50 lakhs comes to only one pice per head per annum. It is evident, therefore, that we must spend much more ourselves and make the Government spend much more before the midnight darkness which envelopes India can be even partially dispelled.

His Majesty's Farewell.

In bidding farewell to the people of Bengal, King George said :—

In bidding you farewell, the Queen-Empress and I fervently pray that all my subjects in Bengal of whatever race or creed, united by the ties of sympathy and brotherly love, may, under Divine guidance, ever strive towards the advancement of their common happiness, contentment and general well-being.

Similarly in Bombay his parting words were,

It is a matter of intense satisfaction to me to realise how all classes and creeds have joined together in the true-hearted welcome which has been so universally accorded to us. Is it not possible that the same unity and concord may for the future govern the daily relations of their private and public life? The attainment of this would indeed be to us a happy outcome of our visit to India.

It is clear, then, that it is His Majesty's desire that the people of India, whatever their race or creed, should be "united by the ties of sympathy and brotherly love," and should live in "Unity and Concord." The King's servants in India should not, therefore, do anything which may destroy, or prevent or hinder the growth of, this "unity and concord." We say this because in his despatch on the transfer of the capital to Delhi and the re-partition of Bengal, His Excellency Lord Hardinge admits that Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal was a cause of the strained relations between Hindu and Musalman Bengalis.

The Musalmans claim to be more loyal

than the Hindus, so much so, that when Hindu papers expressed sympathy with Turkey and Persia, one Musalman paper said that these expressions of Hindu sympathy were meant to wile away the Musalmans from their loyalty to the British Government. It is not our business to dispute these Musalman claims. What we say to them is, "As you are more loyal, you ought to show greater zeal in seeking to promote unity and concord with all non-Musalman communities in India, as His Majesty has desired."

London Mosque Fund.

We are very glad to learn that the Begum of Bhopal has given £7,000 to the London Mosque Fund *on condition that a hostel for Moslem students is attached to the Mosque.* What a blessed thing it would be if in some of the principal centres of education in foreign lands, we could establish hostels for students of different Indian creeds where they could have very cheap board and lodging.

Hindu Settlers in Canada.

The Executive Committee of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada has submitted to the Premier and the Minister of Labour, resolutions with a view to permitting the entry of the wives and children of Hindu settlers. It is to be hoped that these resolutions will have their desired effect on the Canadian Government.

Famine in Gujarat.

Our readers are aware that there is famine raging in some parts of Gujarat and particularly in Kathiawar. It is a scarcity of water, fodder, grain and money. The people there, particularly the Jains, are trying their very best to relieve as much as possible the sufferings of the famine-stricken people and cattle. Still what they can do is very little, and there is need of help from all parts of India. We do hope our readers, to whatever part of India, or to whatever race or creed they may belong, will contribute what they can to relieve the misery of the sufferers. They may send their donations to the Servants of India Society, Poona, or they may make remittances to the Editor of this Review, who will acknowledge all help in its pages and forward the same to the proper persons.

Change of Capital and Consequent Changes.

The transfer of the capital to Delhi will involve a capital expenditure of 6 crores of rupees according to the official estimate. The non-official estimate has been as large as 24 crores. Previous to the Partition of Bengal there was one, Lieutenant-Governor for the Lower Provinces and a Chief Commissioner for Assam. The Partition increased our recurring expenses by creating two Lieutenant-Governors with their Secretariats, &c., for the same areas, besides expenditure of large sums in building a capital at Dacca. The re-partition of Bengal will be still more expensive, as in the place of two Lieutenant-Governors, there will be one Governor, one Lieutenant-Governor and one Chief Commissioner. Besides this two new capitals will have to be built for Behar, Orissa and Chota-Nagpur, namely, an ordinary capital and a summer capital. Unless for this greatly increased expenditure, the people get much better administration than before, the changes will only produce dissatisfaction. As the King has not conferred on the people any political rights, they are entitled to expect that the changes will be a real boon. The people of Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur will not be satisfied unless a great impetus be given to education in those provinces, and that means expense.

It is said that from next cold weather, the Viceroy will spend about a month in Calcutta. That may be a solace to society people and some European shopkeepers. But as the capital has been definitely removed to Delhi, what is the good of spending the people's money in a journey to and from and a short sojourn in Calcutta for the satisfaction of an infinitesimal portion of the population? If it conduces to improved administration, the extra expense might not be grudged; but it is not pretended that it would.

Probable loss of revenue of Calcutta Municipality.

It is thought that owing to the removal to Delhi of the Imperial Government offices, the Calcutta Municipality may lose more than three lakhs of its annual income. But we think that as these office buildings will not be demolished, they are sure to be

occupied by some Bengal Government offices, or by some Railway Company or Commercial houses; and these will pay the taxes. Should this not be the case, the Government of India would be justly expected to make good the loss of revenue. Increased taxation to meet the loss, if any, would create great discontent.

Readjustment of Boundaries.

The question of the inclusion or otherwise of some border districts or parts of districts in Bengal is being discussed with some warmth of feeling. We have nothing new to say on this subject. If in any of these places, Bengali be the *prevailing* language, or, if the court language be Bengali, it should be included in Bengal, otherwise we do not wish it to be included *against the wishes of its inhabitants*. It may be that the language of Bhagalpur is not Hindi, that it is different from that of the rest of Behar; but that is not the question at issue. Is the language Bengali or not? Of course, it is not Bengali; so we have no claim to it.

It has been said that unless Manbhum, the Sonthal Parganas, &c., be included in Bengal, it would be a province consisting for the most part of unhealthy districts; and that for this reason, the British Civilian, and even the Indian Deputy Magistrates have expressed a desire that they may be posted to Behar, Orissa and Chota-Nagpur. This question does not much concern us non-officials. For whether Deoghar or Giridih be in Bengal or Behar, we shall be equally able to go there for a change. It is the officials who will have to take leave before they are able to go to a healthy place. It may be said that their frequent leave-taking and more or less chronic ill-health will affect the administration prejudicially. But this very fact may bring about a very desirable result; it is, that the Government of Bengal may be obliged to pay greater attention to the sanitation of Bengal Proper than it has hitherto done. When there would be no escape from malarial Bengal except by resignation, there might be a serious disposition to fight malaria. Again, it may be said, that the best civilians would fight shy of Bengal. But how can it be known beforehand who are the best? Those who occupy the highest places in the competitive examination are not neces-

sarily the best. It is after they have actually served for some time that their quality and character as administrators can be determined. And after all if British Civilians would not serve in Bengal, Bengalis themselves would gladly manage the affairs of their province. That would not be a very calamitous thing.

Punjab Pleaders and Muktears.

The Judges of the Chief Court at Lahore have decided that in future the admission of graduates to be pleaders of the second grade shall be regulated according to the numerical requirements of the province. The numbers to be admitted each year will be announced three years ahead. For the year 1914 only thirty men, who pass the highest in the Bachelor of Laws examination will be admitted to the pleadership. The Judges of the Chief Court have decided that they will admit no person as Muktears after December 1st. We do not think this method of limiting the number of legal practitioners is either necessary or justifiable. It is not the case that those who pass highest in law examinations generally become the best practising lawyers. Many who pass without any distinction become leading figures in the bar. Why then shut them out in this arbitrary fashion? Too many pleaders may be inconvenient, but they ensure cheap legal help to litigants. There are hundreds of briefless barristers in England, but we have not heard of any attempt to limit their number.

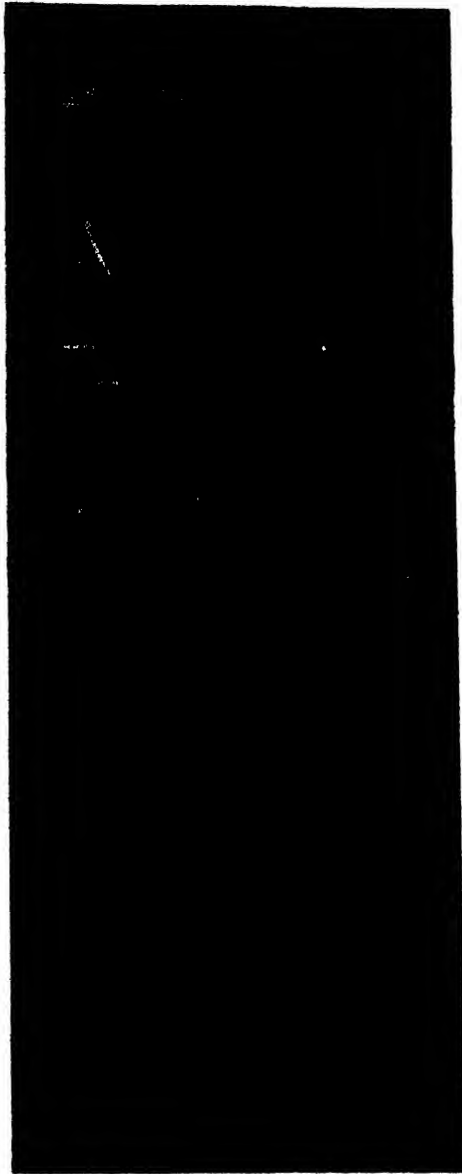
The School at Santiniketan, Bolpur.

The Bengalee has published what is alleged to be a circular issued by the Director of Public Instruction, E. B. and Assam, in which the Brahmavidyalaya at Santiniketan, Bolpur, is condemned as "altogether

unsuitable for the education of the sons of Government servants." Government servants in that province are, therefore, asked, in threatening language, not to send their boys there, or, if already sent, to withdraw them thence; as the circular says that otherwise the future of the boys will be prejudicially affected. We had heard of the existence of such a circular, but cannot say whether it is the one now published. If it be, we unhesitatingly say that the Director has been grievously misled, and has sought to injure an institution which deserves whole-hearted encouragement at the hands of all right-thinking persons. We have no desire to make invidious comparisons or to be unjust to other schools; but having spent the best part of our life in educating boys, we say without reserve that the school at Santiniketan is the best we know of from the physical, moral and intellectual points of view. We speak from intimate knowledge and as the guardian of one of its students. In one respect alone we have some doubt regarding the ideal character of the school, namely, the entire dissociation of its teachers and students from the political life of the country. But if it be a defect, it shares it with all other schools in the country. Still, if possible, we should like to see civics taught practically in this and all other schools.

We think it the duty of all the guardians of its students to bear witness publicly to its unexceptionable and excellent character. It is a unique institution and guardians can bear testimony to its elevating influence on the characters of even the most unpromising of its recruits. It was founded in pursuance of the wishes of and conducted on lines approved by Maharshi Debendranath Tagore. That should set all doubts at rest regarding its high spiritual aim and character.





RAM GARLANDED BY SITA AFTER BREAKING SIVA'S BOW.

Three colour blocks by U. Ray and Sons.

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WHOLE
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INDIA'S EPIC

(From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore.)

GENERALLY speaking poetry may be divided into two classes: some of them are the individual utterances of their authors, others breathe the voice of a large community.

By 'the individual utterance of a poet' we do not mean that the work is not intelligible to other men, for then it would be mere raving. The phrase means that the peculiar genius of the poet expresses the eternal sentiments and heart's secrets of universal Humanity through the medium of his personal joys and sorrows, his fancies, and his life's experiences.

Another class of poets reveal through their compositions the feelings and experiences of an entire country or age, and make them the eternal property of Man. These are the master-poets (*mahā-kavi*.) The Muse of a whole country or race speaks through them. Such a master poet's work does not look like the composition of any particular individual. It springs like the tallest forest tree out of the deep bowels of the country and spreads its sheltering shade over the land of its origin. In Kalidas's *Sakuntala* and *Kumar-sambhav* we see their author's peculiar skill of hand. But the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* seem to be India's, like the Ganges and the Himalayas; their authors, Vyas and Valmiki, seem to have been set up for show only.

In truth Vyas and Valmiki were not the names of any real men; they are names given at a guess. These two vast works,

these two epics which embrace all India,—have lost the names of their authors; the poet has been completely hidden by his own poem!

What the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* are to us, the *Iliad* was to Ancient Greece. It was born and seated in the heart of the entire Greek world. The poet Homer merely gave voice to his country and age. Like a fountain his speech gushed out of the deep secret heart of his country and flooded it for ever.

No modern poem has this universality. Milton's *Paradise Lost* has no doubt much sublimity of style, glory of metre, and depth of sentiment; but it is not the property of his whole country; it is only a treasure for the library.

Hence we must regard the few ancient epics as a class apart. They were large-limbed like the gods and Titans of old; their breed is now extinct.

The ancient Aryan civilisation flowed in two streams,—into Europe and India. In each of these lands two great epics have preserved the message and music of that civilisation.

As a foreigner, I cannot say for certain whether Greece has succeeded in expressing her entire genius in her two epics. But I am sure that India has left no part of herself unembodied in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat*.

Hence, it is, that centuries have rolled on, but the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* have

flowed through India with undiminished volume. They are read daily in every village, in every house,—as welcome in the grocer's shop as in the royal palace. Blessed are the two poets whose (true) names have been lost in the vast wilderness of Time, but whose words still flow, carrying a copious steam of strength and peace to the doors of millions of men and women, and fertilising the heart of modern India with the rich loam incessantly brought down from hundreds of past centuries.

Therefore, it will not be correct to call the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat* epics only; they are histories, too;—not the history of incidents, which concerns a particular age only, but the eternal history of India. Other histories change with the passage of time, but *this* history has suffered no change. The history of what has been the object of India's devoted endeavour, India's adoration, and India's resolve, is seated on the throne of eternity in the palace of these two vast epics.

Hence the criticism of the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat* must follow a different standard from that employed in appraising other poems. It is not enough to judge whether Ram's character was noble or base, whether Lakshman's conduct charms the critic or not. The critic must pause in reverence and judge how the entire land of India through many thousand years has regarded these works.

In the present case we must humbly find out the message that India speaks in the *Ramayan*, the ideal that India recognises as great in this epic. It is a popular notion that only a heroic poem can be an epic. The reason is that in every country and age where martial greatness has been honoured most, the national epic has naturally been predominantly heroic. True, there is plenty of fighting in the *Ramayan*; true, Ram is a hero of extraordinary strength; but the heroic is not the predominant spirit in this epic. The *Ramayan* does not proclaim the glory of physical prowess,—its main theme is not the description of battles.

Nor is it true that it is an epic only descriptive of the exploits of a certain incarnation of the Deity. Scholars will show that Ram was not an *avatar* but a human personality to Valmiki. Here I may briefly say this that if the poet had described a god instead of a man in the *Ramayan*, it would

have lessened the greatness of his work, it would have taken away from its merits as a poem. Ram's character is glorious only because it is *human*.

The *Ramayan* is the story of that combination of all noble qualities which Valmiki sought for in the hero worthy of his epic, and which Narad discovered in the person of Ram, the perfect MAN, after failing to find it in the gods. (Balkanda, Canto 1). In the *Ramayan* no god has dwarfed himself into an incarnation; only a man has raised himself to the Godhead by his inner greatness. The poet of India wrote his epic to set up the supreme ideal for men. And from his day Indian readers have been eagerly reading this description of the ideal *human* character.

The chief peculiarity of the *Ramayan* is that it has shown the story of a household in a superlative form. The tie of moral law (*dharma*), the bond of affection, between father and son, brother and brother, wife and husband,—has been raised to such a transcendental height in the *Ramayan*, as to make it easily a fit theme for an epic. We often see that what gives life and movement to other epics is conquest of kingdoms, destruction of foemen, the fierce clash between two strong and antagonistic parties. But the greatness of the *Ramayan* does not depend on the war between Ram and Ravan; that war is only a device for setting off the splendour of the conjugal love between Ram and Sita. The *Ramayan* only shows the extreme point which a son's loyalty to his father, a brother's sacrifice for another brother, a wife's faith to her husband, and a king's duty to his subjects, can reach. In the epic of no other land have such predominantly domestic relations of individuals been deemed a fit subject of treatment.

This fact tells us of the character not of the poet only but of India too. From this we can realise how great the home and domestic duties are to India. This epic clearly proves the high estimation in which the householder's life (*garhasthya ashram*) was held in our land. The householder's life was not meant for our own happiness or comfort; it held the whole fabric of society together and developed the true manhood of the people. The household was the foundation of the Aryan society of India; and the

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Ramayan is the epic of that household. The *Ramayan* has thrown this domestic life into adversity and imparted a peculiar glory to it by placing it amidst the sufferings of exile in the forest. The rude shock of the



Sita, Ram and Lakshman in the Panchavati Forest.

conspiracy of Kaikeyi and Manthara shatters the royal house of Ayodhya, but still, in spite of it, the *Ramayan* proclaims the invincible firmness of domestic life. It is not physical prowess, it is not lust of con-

quest, it is not political greatness, but peace-imbrued domestic life that the *Ramayan* has seated on the throne of heroic strength, after giving it the coronation-bath of tender tears.

A foreign critic has said that the characters described in the *Ramayan* are supernatural. My reply is, -it is a question of temperament; what appears supernatural to the people of a certain character, appears as quite natural to a race of a different character. India has never detected any supernatural exaggeration in the *Ramayan*. A thousand years have proved that in no part has the story of the *Ramayan* ever appeared hyperbolic to India. This story has not only given instruction to all ages and all ranks of India, it has given them delight; they have not only placed it on their heads (in reverence), but have also enshrined it in their hearts; it is not merely a scripture to them, it is their romance.

It would never have been possible for Ram to be at once human and divine to us, it would never have been possible for the *Ramayan* to win our reverence and delight at the same time,—if the poetry of this epic had been to India a thing of a far-off realm of fancy, and not something included within the bounds of our society.

If a foreign critic, judging by the standard of the epics of his land, calls such a poem unnatural,—it only makes a peculiarity of India's genius the clearer by contrast with that of his country. In the *Ramayan* India has got what she craves for. In the *Ramayan*'s simple *anushtub* rhythm the heart of India has been beating for thousands of years.

Reader, look not upon Valmiki's life of Ram as a mere poet's creation; know it as INDIA'S *Ramayan*; for then only will you be able to understand India truly through the *Ramayan*, and that epic truly through India. Remember that India wanted to hear not a historical tale of (national) achievement, but the ideal character of the full man, and this she has been hearing (in the epic) with ceaseless delight even to our day.

India has a passionate craving for FULLNESS. She has never despised or doubted it as beyond objective reality. She has admitted it as truth indeed, and in it only has she found delight. By inspiring and gratifying this thirst for fullness, the author of the

The slaying of the Magic Deer and the Ravishment of Sita.

Ramayan has conquered for ever the devoted heart of India.

The race that adores partial truth, that pursues material truth with tireless energy, that regards poetry as the mirror of Nature,—such a race is achieving many things in the world; it is peculiarly successful; the whole human kind is indebted to it. But, on the other hand, those who have said, "The Great (*Bhumá*) is the only happiness; the nature of the Great is the only proper object of inquiry,"—those who have directed their devotion to realise the beauty of all parts, the harmony of all conflicts, amidst the fulness of MATURITY;—their debt, too, the world can never repay. If their

memory is lost, if their teaching is forgotten, then human civilisation, oppressed and withering in the close and polluted atmosphere of its dusty, smoky, densely crowded factory, will die inch by inch. The *Ramayan* is ever showing us a picture of those (ancients) who thirsted for the nectar of the FULL, the UNDIVIDED. If we can preserve our simple reverence and hearty homage for the brotherliness, love of truth, wisely devotion, servant's loyalty depicted in its pages, then the pure breeze of the Great Outer Ocean will make its way through the windows of our factory-home.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA AND ITS STUDY

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA.

I.

INDIA as she is is a problem which can only be read by the light of Indian history. Only by a gradual and loving study of how she came to be, can we grow to understand what our country actually is, what the intention of her evolution, and what her sleeping potentiality may be.

We are often told that Indian literature includes no histories. It is said that the *Rajatarangini* in Kashmir, the *Dipawamsa* and *Mahawamsa* in Ceylon, and the records

made after their accession to power by the Mohammedans are the only real works of history which she possesses. Even if this be true—and we shall be better able to discuss the question, in a generation or two—we must remember that India herself is the master-document in this kind. The country is her own record. She is the history that we must learn to read. There are those who say that history as a form of literature can never survive the loss of political power, and that this is the reason

THE HISTORY OF INDIA AND ITS STUDY

why India has not more works of an accurate and dynastic character. Those who urge this, believe that at each new epoch in her history vast numbers of chronicles belonging to the past have been destroyed. May be. On the other hand, we may find in our family pedigrees the counterpart and compensation for this feature of other national literatures. The little band of devoted scholars who are already at work on the history of Bengal tell us that their great trouble is to keep pace with their material. It pours in upon them day after day. The difficulty is to keep today's opinion so fluid and receptive that it shall not conflict with, or be antagonistic to, to-morrow's added knowledge. There may not at the moment be in our inheritance from the past many formal works of history. But perhaps the swimmer, who knows the joy of the plunge into deep waters and strong currents, is glad. Such minds feel that they have abundance of material for the writing of history, and are thankful indeed that this has been left for them to do.

It will be from amongst the records of home and family-life, that light will be shed upon the complete history of Bengal. It will be by searching into caste-origins, and tribal traditions that real data will be gathered for estimating the antiquity of processes. My friend Babu Dinesh Chunder Sen, says that he believes, from a study of pedigrees, that an overwhelming proportion of the higher-caste families of Bengal came from Magadha. If so, it is necessary to assume that there was at a certain time, a wholesale evacuation of Magadha. This would agree so well with the facts of history—the removal of the capital to Gour, on the destruction of Pataliputra, and the immense cultural potentiality of the Bengali people,—that the suggestion cannot fail to form a dominant note in subsequent research. This research will for some time be of a deeply inductive character. That is to say, it will proceed by the accumulation of particulars. This process is the ideal of modern science, and it may be said that so arduous and so against the natural appetite of the human mind is it, that few there be that attain unto it. Yet as an ideal, its greatness is unquestionable. Conclusions reached by careful gathering of facts without bias

towards one or reaction against another theory, are incontrovertible. For this reason anyone who can bring forward one fact out of the far past, however private or circumscribed may seem its significance, so long as it is unknown and certain, is doing a service to historians. For progress must for some time depend upon this accumulation. We must investigate the elements, in order to come at true concepts of the whole.

When we have reached a new fact, the next effort should be to relate it to known central events. We know for instance that capitals changed in Bengal from Pataliputra to Gour, and from Gour to Vikram-pore. These transitions could not take place without immense social consequences. The ruins of Behar mark the long struggle of Bengal against invasion. This fact belongs to her military history. But another record is found in her industrial development. The transfer of government from the old Hindu centre of Vikram-pore to the Mohammedan capitals of Dacca and Murshidabad, meant, in its turn, great changes in the direction of arts and crafts. It would be marked by new tendencies in the matter of taste, the old artistic power exerting itself to meet new standards. We must accustom ourselves to the psychological analysis of ornament, and the historical and geographical placing of works of art, in order to understand the immense influence of great political events upon private life and interests. Architecture, music, and poetry, are things higher than the concrete industrial crafts of home and household life, yet marked, no less surely, with the era to which they belong. By learning to refer everything to its own time, and to the state of mind that gave it birth, we build up in ourselves a wonderful readiness for the graver and more serious aspects of history. We learn, too, that lesson which botanists, zoologists, and geologists, have had during the last century to learn and teach, namely, that things which are found together may have taken wide distances of space and time to produce. The poems of Vidyapati and Ram Mohun Roy may stand side by side in our hymn-books, but what travail of the human spirit lies between the making of the two! In ages of normal growth a new mode, in building, or graving, or thinking, is born but slowly,

and goes much deeper than we can imagine in these degenerate days of trumpery and passing fashions. No one who has been in the Fort of Agra, and noted the styles of using black and white marble against red sandstone, distinctive of the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan, could afterwards make a mistake as to which of these a particular pattern must be assigned to. The designs appear side by side at Agra, yet it took three reigns to make them possible.

The year as we go through it, constitutes another kind of historical record. The festivals of the old village life which follow each other in such quick and delightful succession throughout the twelve or thirteen moons of the solar year, are not all effects of some single cause. On the contrary, the Car-festival of July hails from Buddhism, and has the great metropolis of its observance at Puri on the Orissan coast. But Janmashtami belongs to the Vaishnavism of Krishna, and turns our eyes in a very different direction, to Mathura and Brindavan. The Dewali Puja, again, connects us on the one side with the famous Japanese Feast of Lanterns, and on the other with Latin and Celtic anniversaries of the souls of the dead. How different are the thought-worlds out of which spring inspirations so various as all these! How long a period must each have had, in order to win its present depth and extent of influence! The very year as it passes, then, is a record of the changing ideas that have swept in succession across the Indian mind.

It is a characteristic of India that almost every great outstanding thought and doctrine has somewhere or other a place devoted to its maintenance and tradition. This brings us to the thought of the geographical synthesis. The whole of India is necessary to the explanation of the history of each one of its parts. The story of Krishna comes from the Jumna, that of Rama from Ayodhya. Other elements may not be so easily assignable to their places of birth, but it is quite certain that when studied hard enough from that point of view each will be found to have its own definite area of origin. India is at once the occasion and the explanation of the web of Indian thought. But yet, throughout Bengal at any rate, there is a certain definite agree-

ment as to which elements shall be included in the list of yearly celebrations, and in what order. Not all the great things of Indian memory are commemorated thus. There has evidently been a certain selection made, and a certain rule imposed, by some one or other at some definite time. Throughout Bengal there is no great disagreement as to the festivals, and the order in which they occur. The selection must have been made therefore by some person, or body of persons, whose influence was universal in the province. It is a conception that penetrates everywhere, therefore the shaping pressure of this all-pervading influence must have been long continued. It may have lasted perhaps for centuries. It does not seem to have been a personal influence, for individuals change, their policy of government, under caprice or circumstance, from generation to generation. This would seem rather to have been a steady consensus of opinion, a strong vested interest uniformly exerted in a certain direction. But the complexity of the matter ruled upon, would point to some central seat of counsel and decision, again, with as little that was purely personal in its authority as it is possible to imagine. Lastly, whatever was the source of deliberation, it is clear that there, must have been a consolidated royal authority to give its support to the decisions of this centre, without flinching or changing, throughout the formative period. Only by a combination of all these conditions, can we account for the uniformity and regularity with which so complex a yearly calendar is worked out, from one end of Bengal to the other.

If we wish to be clear about the element of deliberation, let us look, for example, at the Holi festival. In the observance of this day, three different factors are distinctly traceable. First, there is a strain of prehistoric Eros-worship, as seen in the villages, in the use of abusive language to women, and in the fact that these in their turn are privileged on that day to beat the lords of creation. The conceptions which belong to this phase of the celebration of the full moon of Phalgun must be extremely ancient, and consequently we must look for their analogues and correspondences amongst widely separated branches of the Aryan family, amongst Greek festivals of

PRESENT SITUATION IN BOMBAY COTTON MILL INDUSTRY

Love and Spring, for example, in Roman Saturnalia, Mediterranean Carnivals, and even so lately as in the old-fashioned Valentine's Day of English childhood.

That the birth of Chaitanya took place on this very day of Holi Puja, thus determining another of its associations, may seem to some of us an accident. But it was no accident that attempted to interpret the festival in terms of Krishna-worship. Some phase of Hinduism,—to which, in the elaborateness of its civilisation, the thought of frank Eros-worship was as revolting and incomprehensible as now to ourselves—some such phase took into its consideration this festival, and decided to reinterpret each of its games and frolics in the light of the gambols of Krishna with the cowherds in the forest of Brindaban. The red powder of the spring-time thus became the blood of the demon Metrasur slain by the Lord. It was natural that the young peasants, under the excitement of danger just escaped, should 'blood' one another, and should yearly thereafter burn the effigy of Metrasur in celebration of their deliverance. We can almost hear the voices of those who made the ingenious suggestion!

In the Holi-puja, then, as an instance, we can trace the efforts of some deliberately Hinduising power. This power, it is safe to suppose, is the same that has determined the sacred year as a whole. As a power it must have been ecclesiastical in character, yet must have lived under the *aegis* of a powerful throne. What throne was this? A very simple test is sufficient to answer. Those comparatively modern institutions which are more or less universal to the whole of India, must have derived their original sanction from Pataliputra. Things which are deeply established, and yet peculiar to Bengal, must have emanated from Gour. One of the most important points therefore, is to determine the geo-

graphical distribution of a given observance. In this fact, lies the secret of its age.

Historical events as such have never been directly commemorated in India. Yet perhaps, had Guru Govind Singh in the Punjab or Ramdas of Maharashtra lived in the time of the empire of Gour, they would have obtained memorials at the hands of Bengali Hinduism. The fact that none of their age have done so shows that the calendar was complete before their time. Even Chaitanya, born in Bengal itself and a true product of the genius of the people, is scarcely secure in the universal synthesis. His veneration, like that of Buddha, is overmuch confined to those who have surrendered to it altogether. But if in the intellectual sense we would fully understand Chaitanya himself, it is necessary again to study the history of India as a whole, and to realise in what ways he resembled, and in what differed from, other men of his age. What he shared with all India was the great mediæval impulse of Vaishnavism which originated with Ramana and swept the country from end to end. That in which his Vaishnavism differed from that of the rest of India represents the characteristic ideas of Bengal under the strong individualising influence of Gour and Vikramপুর.

In all that lies around us then, we may, if our eyes are open, read the story of the past. The life we live to-day has been created for us by those who went before us, even as the line of sea-weed on the shore has been placed there by the waves of the tides now over, in their ebb and flow. The present is the wreckage of the past. India as she stands is only to be explained by the history of India. The future waits for us to create it out of the materials left us by the past, aided by our own understanding of this our inheritance.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE BOMBAY COTTON MILL INDUSTRY AND ITS PROBLEMS

IN a series of papers published in this Review I have discussed the crisis and depression through which the Bombay

Cotton Mill Industry has passed during the past three years in the light of the accepted economic theory of crisis, and with refer-

since to the various crises that occurred in Europe and America in the latter part of the 19th century. It has been shown that the boom in cloth prices which occurred in 1905 led to a great extension of the weaving industry, and the supply went much ahead of the demand. This circumstance coupled with the contraction of our markets in China and the Straits caused a virtual over-production on the spinning as well as the weaving side of the industry. And this over-production brought about the crisis and the subsequent depression. In this connection it must be understood that by over-production we do not mean that the Bombay mills produced more than what were needed by the Indian consumers. Such an implication would be absurd in view of the fact that thirty crores worth of piece-goods are annually imported into the country. What is really meant is that the mill-owners produced more than what they could profitably sell at the existing prices. The consumption would have been much greater, and the effect of over-production would have been greatly modified if the mill-owners could sell their goods at a cheaper price. This they were unable to do partly because of the high price of raw cotton which had resulted from the shortage in the supply of American cotton. It may therefore be said that the high price of the raw cotton was also a cause of the crisis and depression.

The silver tax has also been spoken of as an element among the causes of the crisis by the chairman of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association at the last annual meeting of the Association, who is reported to have said that the tax had transferred the yarn trade from Bombay to Japan. If the Chairman's allegation be true, it corroborates the anticipation of the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, who during the debate on the silver tax in the Supreme Council made the following observations regarding the possible effect of the tax on the Bombay Mill Industry:—

"The question of the trade relations of the two countries (India and China), My Lord, is a complex one and those only who are intimately connected with the trade can fully understand it in all its bearings. I will therefore, with your Lordship's permission, endeavour to explain briefly to the Council how the proposed duty is likely to affect our trade with China. The new duty amounts to nearly 17 per cent. as against the 5 per cent. ad valorem levied under the old Act. It is evident, My Lord, that such a heavy

duty must reduce the quantity of silver consumed in India. It is unnecessary for me to insist upon this point because Government themselves accept that only six crores worth of silver will be imported next year against eleven crores in the current year. The enormous decrease in the Indian consumption must lower the price of silver in London. Now my Lord, we all know that the currency of China is founded on a silver basis. The Indian exporters to China receive the price of their goods in silver which has to be converted afterwards into gold standard rupees. We export between 5 to 6 lakhs of bales of yarn every year to China and the value of the yarn is about ten crores of rupees. The duty now imposed will greatly reduce the number of rupees which the Indian spinner will get for his yarn owing to the depreciation of silver. The Chinese manufacturers on the other hand will benefit to that extent as their manufacturing charges will not be appreciably affected and in this unequal competition our export trade to that country will be adversely affected."

It is, however, extremely difficult to say how far, if at all, the silver tax has adversely affected the industry.

In the papers referred to in the beginning of this article I have tried to establish the point that the crisis need not scare us. Because, to repeat what I have said in one of the papers, a careful study of the history of modern industrial development reveals the fact that in no country the course of economic progress has been smooth, that all the great industrial countries have passed through repeated disturbances and crises, and that while these economic evils may largely be minimised by enlightened and judicious methods of business organization, they cannot altogether be avoided. In fact it is now generally recognised that in the western world a crisis occurs once every eleven years. And some economists go so far as to regard the crises as not pure evils; for, while they undoubtedly result from speculative promotion and injudicious investment, they at the same time indicate conditions of a vital dynamic life in the countries concerned. Indeed so far as the western world is concerned, it is a familiar phenomenon that a crisis has usually been followed by a period of prosperity better than all such preceding periods.

It is now gratifying to note that the Bombay Mill Industry is on the eve of a period of prosperity. Since the beginning of October last a radical change has been brought about in the outlook of the industry. This new situation has been reflected in the stock market, where in the first week of October the Spinning Company shares

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went up in value to the extent of 20, 25 and 30 per cent. Competent authorities have declared that the industry is now at the beginning of an era of prosperity better than it has hitherto experienced, and the general opinion is that at any rate there is a better time in store for the mill-owners. The cause of this sudden brightening of the prospects is to be sought in the fall of the price of raw cotton, which has been caused by an extremely good American crop, and also in the renewed demand from China for our yarns. Just now, however, the Chinese demand is not so high as it was in the beginning of October, because the revolutionary outbreak in China has caused violent disturbances in the trade and industry of that country.

But if this favourable opportunity is to be utilised to the permanent good of the industry, and if the industry is to be placed on a sound and efficient basis, earnest endeavours are necessary to solve the problems which now confront the mill-owners. What are these problems? The chief problem before the mill-owners is how to develop the home market. Hitherto the activities of the mill-owners have been largely directed to the spinning side, and the fortunes of the industry depended largely upon Chinese demand; and we have seen how contraction of the Chinese market was instrumental in bringing about the recent depression. Although since October last there has been a revival in the Chinese demand, it must be recognised that our position in the Far Eastern market must in future necessarily be as precarious and unstable as it has been in the past. We must also realise that a time will certainly come when China will not care to buy our yarns. Modern education will in the not distant future enable the thrifty Chinese, who have vast natural resources, to build modern industries, and the Celestial manufacturers will find it an easy task to oust the Indian producers from the Chinese market. The development of the home market then is the most important work which our mill-owners have to take up, and from this point of view weaving should receive as much attention as spinning. It should also be clear that the production of finer stuffs is of first importance. From a speech delivered at the last annual meeting of the Bombay

Mill-owners' Association by the Hon. Mr. Monmohon Dass Ramji, it would appear that the mill-owners have fully realised the importance of this matter. And the speaker is confident that the development of the home market is not an impossible task. He says:

"It is argued that such a development is impossible, in view of foreign imports. What I think, however, is that the development of the home market should ever be an ideal placed before us. Because the country does not manufacture variety of goods at present, it does not follow that it will not be able in time to come to manufacture them. The working of the mill industry in this country shows how the production of certain goods, considered impossible before, is now going on apace. Similarly the mills, if afforded proper scope for development, will be producing finer varieties of piece-goods."

But although the development of the home market may not be an impossible task, it is by no means an easy matter. If the thirty crores worth of piece-goods annually imported into the country are at any time to be displaced by home-made cloth, efforts will have to be made to improve the quality of the home products and to reduce their price. But in this behalf a plentiful supply of raw cotton of the American type at a low price is a requirement of prime importance. It is agreed in authoritative circles that, so far as the physical properties of the soil are concerned, India can produce fine cotton of the American type. Although attempts latterly made to grow Egyptian cotton in Sind have not proved very encouraging, experiments in superior cotton made on Government farms in many places have been successful. Experts have expressed the opinion that India which could at one time produce cotton of the highest quality can again be made to grow the old fine quality provided up-to-date methods are adopted in its cultivation. What is needed is intensive organisation of the cultivation under the leadership of experienced businessmen of broad commercial and financial knowledge, and, where possible, institution of large cotton farms, and ample irrigation facilities. Such organisation is not impossible, and Government would do all in their power to afford irrigation facilities.

In order to advance the general interests of the industry combined action among the mill-owners under certain circumstances seems extremely desirable. Over-production

which caused the recent depression had resulted from unregulated competition. Free competition is productive of manifold hardships to the manufacturer. It operates to increase the losses of depression and lessen the profits of prosperity. It is of no permanent benefit even to the consumer, for the cheapening of goods is too often at the expense of quality. Hence it is that combination is the most characteristic feature of the present-day industrial organisation of the western world and that it has recently been noticeable even in the industrial organisation of Japan. The most developed form of industrial combinations is, however, to be found in America. This is due to the fact that the competitive struggle has borne with the greatest severity upon the American manufacturers. The combination movement in America began with the close of the industrial depression, which followed the panic of 1893. During the depression

"The steady fall of prices and the slow-moving liquidation of credit had severely handled the manufacturers and merchants of the United States. The aggregate liabilities of failures in manufacturing and trading from 1894 to 1898 exceeded \$725,000,000. Few men made large profits; almost every one has his scale of earnings greatly reduced."—(*Meads-Trust Finance*).

It would appear that there is a great economic necessity at the back of the trust movement;—that is, to avoid the evils of free competition. It is noteworthy that the notoriously stringent trust legislation in the United States, where the courts have interpreted the common law as supplemented by Statutes to mean that restrictions of trade even though reasonable are invalid, has not been able to stop the growth of combinations in that country. Here is a practical illustration of the fact that no economic administration which ignores the fundamental principles of the Economic Science can attain permanent success. In this matter the European statesmen and judiciaries have shown greater regard for the dictates of Political Economy. Thus the English Courts have declared partial restraint legal under certain conditions. But the most satisfactory solution of the combination problem has been achieved in Germany. There the Government has fully recognised the desirability of preventing trade demoralization. Contracts that aim to forestall such a

calamity are accepted as beneficial to public welfare and regarded as legal by the Government. In consequence virtually no hostile legislation exists in Germany against the combination as such. The German courts have maintained that the interests of combinations are identical with those of the people and that the welfare of an industry depends on the maintenance of prices, and they have actually stated that there is but little difference between prices artificially increased by a tariff and the increase due to the action of the entrepreneurs. While this liberal interpretation of combination acts has favoured the legitimate growth of corporate enterprises, the interests of the general public have been amply safeguarded by a rigid corporation law which subjects every proposal in corporate form to the most rigid inspection and prevents the evils due to excessive organization of combination before they take place. Consolidation in the Bombay Mill Industry may add to its vitality, enable it to secure many economies which are impossible under the present circumstances, and thus strengthen its competitive position in relation to the foreign exporters. In a consolidated form the industry may be able to largely minimise the effects of over-production and other evils of the competitive struggle. As regards the interests of the general public, it may be said that the economic and political evils for which the combinations are responsible in America could under no circumstances arise in this country. We have a strong and highly efficient administration which is fully equal to the task of effectively controlling and regulating the operations of corporate enterprises and preventing the evils due to such organisations. The free trade system under which our industries are carried on will prevent the rise of monopolies and will thus protect the consumer. To what extent, however, consolidation is possible depends to a considerable degree on the view which our Government and our Courts will hold about the matter. That they will be as indulgent towards partial restraint as the Government and judiciary in the United Kingdom may be taken for certain. We would go further and say that it is not unreasonable to think that they may even accept the German view, because in several matters our

Government has already adopted continental methods of the administration of economic affairs.

Two other points now remain to be considered. The contraction of our market in China which has been referred to in a previous part of this paper in connection with the question of over-production and the consequent depression from which the Bombay Cotton Mill Industry has suffered is largely due to Japanese competition, although the bulk of raw cotton consumed in Japanese mills is imported from India. The Japanese mills have a protected home market, and they are thus enabled to dump their surplus products in China at less than cost price without any loss to their shareholders. The Japanese mill-owners are also materially helped by the subsidised steamship companies which carry raw cotton from India to Japan at a ridiculously low freight rate. The Indian mill-owners suggest that our Government should levy a special export duty on all cotton exported to Japan through the subsidised shipping companies so that the influence of the subsidy may be neutralised. The question of the silver tax also should be considered in this connec-

tion. The allegation of the chairman of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association as to the effect of the tax on our yarn trade with China deserves consideration of the Government.

In conclusion it should be observed that, next to agriculture, the cotton industry is the most important industry in the country. It is the only industry which the Indians have been able to develop in accordance with modern methods. It has a great educational value inasmuch as it affords opportunities of practical training in high finance and business management,—opportunities which are rare in this country at the present time.

"It employs about 2½ lakhs of hands who represent nearly 4 times as many who are dependent upon them for their maintenance. Between 17 and 18 crores of rupees represent the paid up capital of the industry exclusive of another 15 to 20 crores engaged in financing its loans and working capital."

Such an industry, in the words of the Hon. Sir Vithaldas Thackersay, is a valuable national asset, the safety of which should be our first consideration.

SATISHCHANDRA BASU.

THE ALLEGED MATERIALISM OF THE WEST

"**M**AN is a social animal," said Aristotle, "he cannot live alone. A man who could live in solitude would be either a beast or a god." Knowing more about the "beasts" if not the gods, than the Greek thinker knew, we may add to the dictum that the man who dispensed with the society of his fellows would be neither beast nor god after any noble fashion. The majority of living creatures, from bees to buffaloes, live in communities, and by social co-operation provide themselves with recreation and defence. Even those insects which live most alone are marvellously concerned with the future, laying up their eggs with a store of provision for the sake of a generation they will not live to see. As for the gods, we find that men become most god-like when they are filled with a sense of the

common life, and with feelings for one another. Pity binding man to man is a god-like thing, and the spirit of justice and the spirit of social wisdom raise those who possess them in eminent measure to the rank of heroes, or providences, or gods among men. In proportion as we live not for ourselves but for others, for all, we become enlightened and full of virtue. "The first need of an honest mind," said Goethe, "is society."

The moral law which we have been indicating has been better served, as history shows, unconsciously than consciously: it is a fact of man's nature lying deeper than the self-direction of his will. The foundations of society are out of the reach of human meddling or knowledge, and as the utmost violence of a volcano avails nothing against

the stability of the earth, whether atheism, nor Pyrrhonism, nor vice, nor fanaticism, nor tyranny, nor anarchy can rend asunder the social fabric. Men sometimes fear the effect of anti-social tendencies as nervously as an inexperienced voyager fears to go near the side of the ship that is carrying him, lest it should turn turtle. If society could have been destroyed by human unaided it would long ago have perished, a thing as likely to come to pass as the earth's leaving her orbit.

It follows therefore that we are all of us better citizens than we have any notion of; that our involuntary and unwitting service of our fellows surpasses the service of piety and the best will. "The only co-operation which is commonly possible is exceedingly partial and superficial," wrote Thoreau, "and what true co-operation there is, is as if it were not, being a harmony inaudible to man."

Some strains of the harmony nevertheless make themselves audible amid discord, in the various forms of human association and organisation all over the world. The tribesman bears witness to the laws that bind the atoms of mankind together as effectually as his civilised fellow. Along with their political institutions, men cherish customs and ceremonies which indicate their delight in the consciousness of a common spirit: such as in India, for example, the religious festivals which punctuate the calendar, the social observances which accompany a marriage or a death, and the living together of the "joint family".

If India exhibits in exceptional measure the phenomenon of family cohesion, and the binding force of religion and caste, in Europe, the struggle for individual liberty and the war carried on against the restraints of home and church and trade and Government have produced a social union which more resembles gravitation. The most fearless exertion of freedom of thought, wrested from every form of ecclesiasticism, has produced not confusion but the lordly pavilion of present-day science. The anti-social policy of "every man for himself", deliberately fostered as the highest principle of trade, has resulted in the promise of undreamed of social good arising out of unforeseen evil. A bold experimenting with life at the cost of the social of many long-standing

beliefs, many ancient parties, has characterised the most progressive nations of the West, and if the cost has sometimes been a heavy one, it seems to have been worth the paying.

The power of wealth is now the lever by which all things are moved in the West, and the search after wealth is the obvious explanation of what has been described as Western materialism. Both industry and science in their present-day proportions are unanticipated results of the centrifugal and apparently anarchical tendencies which Western societies, partly by impulse and partly by the compulsion of circumstances, began to indulge; until now both faith and conscious effort are committed to them. Successive forms of society and successive phases of faith have been created and shattered by the twin gigantic powers, in their unexpected growth, and man in the West today is rather the creature than the master of his own faculties. The present abeyance of religion in the West, if abeyance it can be called, is for the moment only. Let the reader ask himself what there is in any popular form of faith grander or more morally elevating than the vast conceptions of science. Let him ask how the moral nature of a people hampered by poverty at every turn, can achieve the manysidedness and the self-expression possible to participants in a highly industrial civilisation. Pioneers in the creation of wealth, the European peoples have found themselves without intending it, pioneers upon the path of the expansion of human existence. The gold they worship changes within their fingers to a richer and more mysterious substance. Not that their present condition is altogether congratuatable. Like the first experimenters with gunpowder and with explosive gases, the first experimenters with wealth have had to suffer many unexpected injuries and accidents. The ancient evils of luxury and indigence have been aggravated; there have sprung up new forms of selfishness and tyranny at one end of society, while at the other end a kind of physical and moral imprisonment lasting for the whole of his life has been invented for the wage-earner. Moreover, the dyer's hand has been subjected to that it works in. The struggle for existence has grown to severe that every participant in it has become an aggressor as well,

toiling without cessation at a task too heavy for him, and measuring with a dulled mind all things in terms of pounds and pence. The ant, however, is beginning to exert his proverbial intelligence, and is taking thought how to mend his lot and lifetime. The evils of wealth arise rather from errors in its distribution than from its own essence, and when the mastery over wealth shall have been won from it and its anti-social tendencies winnowed away, all who have contended for that mastery and borne the scars of the contention, rich and poor alike, will be looked upon as men entitled to understanding and honour; as social martyrs and benefactors; as inventors and operators with a power which inflicted cruel wounds until the secret was learnt of its control and management. Neither faith nor philosophy, therefore, can afford to sneer without comprehension at the materialism of the West.

A German proverb warns us against emptying out the baby with the bath. This proverb should be borne in mind by any visitor or citizen who shrinks, as an intelligent observer is bound to shrink, from the vulgarity that seems to have stamped itself upon the garments, the dwelling-places, the institutions, and the mental habits of the mass of the European city populations. The theatres which provide London with entertainment are the despair of intellectual-minded persons; the newspapers and the pulpits which are most popular are but little better. Holland, so long the home of beauty in domestic architecture, is now losing its good taste, and every modern house built by wealth to replace the unpretending gables of its ancestors seems to call aloud to the fair sky for demolition. In America the same cause is at work to deny dignity and nobleness to any contemporary feature of the common daily life. These and other examples are easy to choose at random to illustrate the lowness of spiritual aspect which prevails at present over the whole of the West, but it is here that we must remember our caution. There are few things in the world more promising, I suppose, under an ugly exterior than vulgarity: at least that such vulgarity as is evident in Europe and America today. The cause of the falling is twofold: first, the rapid passing away of religious formulae

which have served their turn; and secondly, the rise into prominence by means of the command of money, and by means of the inventions which are now at the service of even a very little money, of masses of the population who have hitherto been kept behind the scenes in life. These new-comers claiming their birthright, necessarily ill-educated, and uncultivated, but possessing latent treasures more valuable than any existing education or culture, are creating a world of the kind that pleases them for the moment: calling for amusements and newspapers and platforms and churches that are but as shadows to the reality of which they are in search. In this respect again the West is paying the price of progress. Many fair things have to perish before the fairer can be born, and the fairest of all things is man. The present phase of civilisation in Europe and America has been compared to the Dark Ages which followed upon the introduction of Christianity. In its essence an assertion of the claims of the slave and the poor man and all other despised or degraded persons to recognition as human beings, Christianity brought oblivion of Greek culture, and prior consideration in all things for the mind of little refinement, just as the rise of democracy today is overwhelming the spiritual conceptions and the arts which in process of time succeeded Greek culture as the pride of civilisation. The history of the West has been a history of the broadening of the bases of society, of the concession of social and intellectual and spiritual privileges (along with the political) to one class after another of the human family; until at last the ideal of Democracy is fully born, and the struggle has commenced for its accomplishment in fact. All striving is vulgar, all activity causes men to make mistakes; a vulgar and mistaken people therefore, are alive and on the way to achievement.

There is a spiritual philosophy which affirms that man's proper concern is with the soul, and that he meets with illusion and dissatisfaction when he fastens his affections on the things of this world. The philosophy seems to be well-founded in its conclusion, although too often unjustified in its application. What are the things of this world? Is the West with its science and industry abandoning the things of the spirit

Or is it rather upon the road to a higher apprehension of them and a closer intercourse with them? If the phenomena of Nature about us be expressive of spiritual things, of the same spiritual being of which our life also is an expression, then can the study of natural phenomena be other than a study of the spirit? If the laws which obtain in the kingdoms of the metals and the plants and all other kingdoms which provide the craftsman either with "raw material" or force, be divine laws, can there be no spiritual advantage to the craftsman in his close acquaintance with them, his exact conformity to them? The precision of Nature enforces precision on hand and brain; the sense of natural qualities heightens appreciation; the worker loves his tools, his material and his product; and no man feels himself more in harmony with life, sees greater ideas, or undergoes a sterner discipline. The wisdom of philosophers is grounded in facts known to the labouring man, such for instance as that fire burns and water wets; and the virtue of mankind is founded upon the knowledge over which the worker stands perpetual sentinel, that Nature keeps faith with us, and allows no concessions for favour or forgiveness.

The time has gone by for easy distinctions between the sacred and the secular, the spiritual and the material. Aristotle's saying, "Man is a social animal," is seen to have its religious as well as its scientific or philosophical significance. The sense of a common life with humanity is in some sort the goal as it has long been recognised as one of the highest rewards of individual existence. The service of society is a sufficient justification for any man or woman's

life, and society has its own way of ascertaining how it shall be served. Science and trade, for instance, are the inventions and demands of the common fellowship of men responding, no man knows altogether how to the dictates of experience.

The mystical account of society,—that it is a whole and not an aggregate, a spirit and not a combination or a machine,—finds now-a-days the readiest acceptance. Immersed in the sea of common endeavour, common belief, or common feeling, the individual finds himself floated on waves of ecstasy beyond the narrow, selfish limit which tire him. This is the secret of the longevity of churches and many other forms of human association. Out of the consciousness of these things a piety springs up and a type is registered as that of the good citizen. Then occurs a wonderful phenomenon. Men arise who deny piety in the name of piety itself, and seem to be filled with the same ecstasy as the observers of the ways which they challenge, or even with a keener ecstasy. They can be carried so far upon the wings of their zeal as to suffer martyrdom, all men upbraiding them; until it is seen that the iconoclast was more pious than his persecutors. Thus the readiest way of serving society is not always the truest way, and the most seemingly obvious spirituality may be the nearest to its nominal opposite. The one test of true citizenship and spirituality of mind is usefulness, and that not of the ornamental kind such as the philanthropist's, but of the matter of fact kind, such as the shopkeeper's.

P. E. RICHARDS.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

CHAPTER XIII.

MURAD BAKHSH CROWNS HIMSELF.

MUHAMMAD Murad Bakhsh, the youngest son of Shah Jahan, was the black sheep of the family. He had been tried in Balch, the Persian, and

Guzerat, and he had failed everywhere.

A foolish, pleasure-loving Murad Bakhsh, and impetuous prince, his character had not improved with age. Though too old now to plead the excuse of youth and inexperience, he had not learnt to apply himself to business.

or to bridle his passions. Worse still, he had not the gift of choosing capable agents, or even of treating them with the necessary confidence and honour when he happened to get any such men.* Unscrupulous flatterers swayed his counsels, and made his Court no place for honest and self-respecting men. But Murad had also the virtues of his defects. Careless of every thing else, he was indifferent to money, and his outbursts of violence or sensuality alternated with fits of liberality. Such irregular and indiscriminate gifts from a capricious master could not, however, win lasting devotion or true gratitude. Secondly, he had the reckless valour of a soldier. Place him in the field of combat, let him face the enemy's array, and the former pleasure-seeker would assume an entirely new character; the martial spirit of Timur would fire his blood, he would resistlessly force his way to close grips with the enemy, and, amidst the carnage raging round him, forget every other feeling save the fierce delight of slaughter. Waverers, no doubt, took heart from the example of such a leader, and a charge when pressed home by a prince of the blood often scattered the enemy's ranks. But his personal valour was a poor compensation for his lack of generalship. The doughty fighter did only the work of a lieutenant, and failed to afford his troops the far-sighted disposition, cool guidance, and timely support which we expect from the supreme commander.

Knowing the prince's incapacity, Shah Jahan had tried to remedy the mischief by sending to him Ali Naqi as his revenue minister and chief counsellor. This officer,† conscious of his own ability and honesty, and proud of enjoying the Emperor's confidence, looked down with scorn on the flatterers and boon companions

who formed Murad's Court. He was strict even to harshness in conducting the government, and his honesty and vigilant care of the public revenue raised against him a host of enemies among those who wished to profit by the prince's ignorance and extravagance. As the whole administration was under Ali Naqi's control, he was also envied by the other nobles posted in Guzerat. His draconic punishments left him without a single friend in the province.

And soon his enemies got their chance. The news of Shah Jahan's severe illness and retirement to impenetrable privacy, as well as of Dara's virtual usurpation of the Imperial authority, reached Murad towards the close of September, and he immediately set about raising troops and calling up his officers from the districts to take counsel with them. Among these arrivals was Qutbuddin Khan Khesghi, faujdar of Pattan, the mortal enemy of Ali Naqi. A conspiracy was soon formed between him and Murad's

is convicted of treason by means of a forged letter

favourite eunuch against the hated minister. A letter in Ali Naqi's hand and

seal, professing adhesion to the cause of Dara, was forged and given to a courier, who contrived to get himself arrested by Murad's road patrol, without betraying its real authorship. Murad was revelling in his pleasure-garden when the intercepted letter was brought to him a little before dawn. The prince, who had not slept off his night's debauch, was in no fit mood to reflect wisely or to detect a plot of a type most familiar in Muslim history. He burst into wrath and ordered Ali Naqi to be dragged to his presence. The minister was reading the holy book when he got the summons, and hurriedly put on his Court dress as he went. Murad sat on a chair, spear in hand. Bridling his anger for a moment he asked Ali Naqi, "If a man plans treason against his master, what should his punishment be?" "Death," replied Ali Naqi promptly and boldly. Then Murad flung the letter to him as proof of his treason. The minister read it, and, fearless through consciousness of his own innocence and good service, he scoffed at his rivals who had forged such a cunning instrument, and taxed his master with lack of wisdom in not being able to see through the

* He quarrelled with his guardian, Shah Nawaz Khan, during his viceroyalty of the Deccan, and was consequently removed from the province. (Waris, 38a. Khafi Khan i, 704).

† My account of Ali Naqi and his murder is based upon Khafi Khan, ii, 7—9, Isardas, 10a and b, Kambay, 6a. The date of the murder was most probably some day in the first week of October, as confirmation of the news reached Aurangzib (returning from Bidar) on 29th October, and the first rumours had come some days earlier (Adey, 201b). *Alaungmyethazan*, 135.

largely sent to know his true friends from his foes.

This was too much for Murad, who had been so long quivering with pent-up wrath. Starting up he ran Ali Naqi through with his spear, shouting "Wretch! in spite of all my favours you have turned such a traitor!" The eunuchs present fell on the unhappy victim and completed their master's work. The reign which began with this tragedy was to end in one equally horrible. For the murder of Ali Naqi Murad had to atone with his own life-blood, four years later, in a dismal prison, before the pitiless eyes of enemies, without a single friend or sympathiser by his side.

The honest minister having been removed from the path, the reign of lying flatterers and eunuchs began. Murad was enlisting troops in large numbers and needed money badly. So he sent an eunuch named Shahbaz Khan with 6,000 troopers and war material to levy contribution from the rich port of Surat. The detach-

ment easily occupied the town which had no wall around it at this time, and began to plunder the citizens (early in November).† But the Imperial treasury enriched with the custom duties of the greatest Indian port of the age, was situated within the fort, where the chief merchants had also deposited their wealth for safety. As the sea flanked the fort of Surat on three sides and its walls bristled with guns and swivels at every yard's interval, its capture was no easy task.

* If we can trust Khafi Khan's gossip, Ali Naqi fell a victim to a *fajir's* curse. "Ali Naqi was so strict in administration and chastisement that for a trivial fault he would order the offender's bile to be squeezed out. One day they brought to him a *fajir* arrested on suspicion of theft, and the minister, without making any investigation, ordered his bile to be pressed out. The *fajir* under torture turned his face to the heavens and cried out 'You are slaying me unjustly. I pray that you too may meet with a similar fate under suspicion.' But we must remember that a *fajir's* gaze is the counterpart of all disguises in India and the one first adopted by criminals trying to escape the officers of justice.

† Isardas, 103 and 112. In *Adab*, 2035, Qabil Khan writes that Aurangzeb's officer returned from Murad and reached his master, south of Bidar, on April 11th with the news that Murad's army after burning the city and district of Surat was engaged in besieging the fort.

‡ Descriptive of the fort of Surat in Isardas, 103.

Shahbaz Khan first tried to convert the commandant of the fort, Syed Tayyib, through his friend Mirza Khatun, by saying that the astrologers had predicted the throne for Murad, and therefore to resist him was to court one's own ruin. The honest *qiladar* held firmly to his duty, and when Shahbaz advanced with his force to attempt an assault, he drove him back by a smart discharge of artillery. So

Shahbaz had to encamp at a safe distance and begin the slow and tedious work of cannonading. But his guns being light pieces, no harm was done to the fort walls, and the siege* dragged on for weeks. Four or five big guns sent from Junagarh were too long in arriving. Success could be secured only by other means. Under the guidance of some Dutch artificers, he ran mines. The garrison tried to discover and destroy them, but without success. One of the mines crossed the wet ditch a yard below its bed, and reached the base of the outer tower technically called the Sher Haji. The chamber was filled with 50 *manas* of powder and the charge fired (20th December). The explosion was terrible. Forty yards of the wall, with 40 swivel guns, 600 artillery-men and some kinemen of the *qiladar*, were blown up. Syed Tayyib retired to the citadel, but disheartened by his losses and hopeless of being relieved, he surrendered on condition of a free passage to Delhi.

The fort with its treasures and guns passed into the hands of Murad, whose exultation at it knew no bounds. Shahbaz Khan assembled the merchants

Faiyas-ul-qawaniin, 421. William Finch in 1600 thus describes it: "The castle of Surat is on the south side of the river... well walled, and surrounded by a ditch. The ramparts are provided with many good cannons, some of which are of vast size. In front of the castle is the *maiden* [or esplanade]."

* For the siege of Surat Fort, Isardas, 112 and 61; Tavernier, i, 328-329; *Faiyas-ul-qawaniin*, 421, 422 (mine fired on 20 Dec.), 423, 430, 461, 462; Khafi Khan, ii, 7 *Alamgir-namah*, 124 (mine). In a letter to Shahbaz Khan, Murad demands that he had merely sent his son (4,000 footmen and 1000 guns) to draw his salary assigned on the Surat treasury as usual, when the *qiladar*, being in Dara's interests, shot the fort gate in their face and opened fire on them; and that in the same time a letter from the *qiladar's* son at Surat had informed regarding the death of Shahbaz Khan. Murad orders to have some money to his eldest son (Tavernier, 422).

and demanded from them a forced loan of ten lakhs of rupees. After much higgling the amount was reduced to one-half, and this sum was advanced to Murad's agents by the two richest merchants of the city, Haji Muhammad Zahid (the headman of the traders) and Pirji Borah, on behalf of the entire mercantile community of Surat. A bond for the amount, stamped with Murad's seal and endorsed by Shahbaz as security for repayment, was delivered to these two.*

The despatches of victory and the keys of the fort were presented to Murad at Ahmadabad on 26th December. But money was a more acceptable present and he pressed his officers at Surat to send all that they could loaded on fast camels;† for, in the meantime he had crowned himself and begun to bestow offices and rewards and to enlist new troops on a scale that soon exhausted his treasury.

When the news of Shah Jahan's illness was followed by no tidings of his recovery, but letters from Delhi came fitfully and then stopped altogether, Murad's suspicions

Murad forms an alliance with Aurangzib against Dara. He deepened into certainty. He concluded that Shah Jahan was already dead,

and so got ready to contest the throne. It was necessary to look round for allies, and none was nearer to him than Aurangzib, his immediately elder brother, governing a neighbouring province and united to him by a common hatred of Dara. On 23rd December, 1652, he had met Aurangzib,‡ then journeying to the Deccan across his province of Malwa, and the two had evidently formed a vague friendly understanding against Dara. But their plans now took definite shape in the shadow of the Emperor's approaching death. Curiously enough, on almost the same date (middle of October) both brothers suddenly remembered that they had not corresponded with each other for a long time past; their brotherly love welled out; and each wrote to the other a letter mentioning in a neutral

tone the news of Shah Jahan's illness. But each letter was carried by a confidential messenger who was charged with personal communications which it was unsafe to put down in paper. The two letters crossed each other on the way. Murad also wrote (19th October) a letter to Shuja proposing an alliance, and it was sent through Aurangzib's province, who helped the courier to proceed to Bengal and entrusted to him a letter of his own to the same

Their frequent purport.* The correspondence thus began went on and also with briskly. To hasten the Shuja.

carriage of letters, relays of postal runners were established between Guzerat and the Deccan. Murad stationed two men every ten miles all the way from Ahmadabad to the Deccan frontier, (end of November). Aurangzib continued the system eastwards to his own seat of government, and also proposed to Shuja a similar regular and joint service for the prompt conveyance of letters,—his men supplying the relays of runners from Aurangabad to the frontier of Orissa, and Shuja's servants taking charge of it from there to Rajmahal. Each prince also sent confidential agents to the Courts of the other two.‡ Where hearts are set on one purpose, an agreement is soon arrived at. Correspondence with Shuja was slow and interrupted owing to the immense distance and lack of roads, and hence only a general agreement was formed with him. But between Aurangzib and Murad letters passed quickly, and the two soon matured a plan of concerted action. For secrecy of correspondence Aurangzib sent to Murad as early as 23rd October a key to the cypher to be used in future.‡ From the very beginning Murad places himself helplessly under Aurangzib's guidance. In letter after letter he asks for his brother's advice as to his own future steps, and writes, "I am ready to advance. Inform me of your wishes and I shall act accordingly." Indeed, so wholly did Murad enter into Aurangzib's policy of throwing a religious cloak on their war of personal ambition, that his letters assume a sanctimonious

* Khafi Khan, ii. 7, 250-251. According to *Adab* (2052) the contribution imposed was 7 lakhs, of which a part was realised and a bond taken for the remainder. The money was collected from the merchants in the city long before the fall of the fort.

† *Faiz-e-ul-gawasin*, 426, 425.

‡ *Faiz-e-ul-gawasin*, 412; *Adab*, 224.

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 1692 and 1, 1702; *Faiz-e-ul-gawasin*, 433-434, 447.

† *Adab*, 1712, 2052 and 1; *Faiz-e-ul-gawasin*, 421, 422.

‡ *Adab*, 1695; *Faiz-e-ul-gawasin*, 421.

and calculated to make a name in the eyes of the people of his province. He was a man of great strength, the gay and cheerful, and he was as the champion of the faith. He was a man of the holy faith, and he was a brother as the Mullahs of the very term adopted by the Court-historians; and he was a man of confidence about his future success in reliance on the strong religion of Islam. In short, he was familiar with the phraseology of one who would soon become a *Padishah Ghazy*, or Emperor waging war on infidels.

While his diplomacy was thus making happy progress and Shahbaz had sent him the first fruits of the loot of Surat city, Murad felt that further delay was a mere waste of opportunity. His action was also hastened by the astrologers who declared with one voice that at 4 hours 24 minutes after the sunrise of 30th November there was such a conjunction of auspicious planets as would not happen again for many years to come. The moment was too precious to be lost. In all hurry and secrecy, at the time indicated Murad mounted a throne in his Hall of Private Audience, with only a few trusted officers as witnesses. Then he appeared at the public *darbar* and conferred titles, posts, and rewards, — the last being as yet in the form of promises only. The news was imparted in absolute confidence to his general Shahbaz in the besiegers' camp before Surat, with instructions to communicate it to one another high officer only. The public coronation took place on 5th December with as much pomp and rejoicing as the low state of his finances would permit. The new Emperor took the title of *Masuwajaddin*; his name was publicly read from the pulpit, he issued new coins of his own, and conferred on his officers high-sounding titles like *Mushafgar*, *Khan*, *Patil*, *Jang*, *Sultan*, *Nizam*, *Khan*, and *Imam*. In the district towns, too, the new Emperor's titles were proclaimed from the pulpit, and the hand played various parts. An army with

gifts was sent to Persia to announce the glorious accession. The *amirs* hastened to Court to pay their respects to the newly risen *Sug*. Murad then changed affected the royal style in his letters. On 29th January, 1658, his victorious troops from Surat joined him at Ahmadabad; he was now quite ready to start for Agra, and waited impatiently for Aurangzeb's signal.

Before Murad could leave his province and embark on the perilous contest for the throne, there was one matter of supreme importance to be settled. Where was he to leave his wives and

children in safety? No man could foresee the distant result of the struggle. He might wade through his brothers' blood to the throne, and then all would be well. Or, he might fail; and then would come a day of unspeakable misery for him and his family: the luckless claimant would be done to death in a gloomy prison; his head would be severed by the rude hands of slaves, critically examined by his victorious rival, and finally exposed to the public gaze; his widows would be dragged to the loathsome bed of their husband's murderer; his tender children would be consigned to dungeon and either drugged with opium into imbecility or strangled to death when they came of age.

Murad, therefore, looked about for some stronghold where his family and those of his chief adherents might reside in safety during his absence and even hide over any temporary reverse to his arms, some refuge to which he himself might gallop for shelter after the wreck of his army on an adverse field. Junagarh, at first contemplated, was rejected as too far off. Champanir was finally chosen.

From the very instant Murad was for drawing the sword and throwing the scabbard away, while Aurangzeb urged on him a cautious and temporising policy. Murad proposed that the brothers should march at once from

* *History of Aurangzeb*, p. 115. See also *History of Aurangzeb*, p. 114.

† *History of Aurangzeb*, p. 115.

‡ *History of Aurangzeb*, p. 115.

to South and attack Dara before he had time to consolidate his power and win over the captain of the Imperial army posted far and near. Aurangzib pressed him not to take any compromising step or set up the banner of revolt openly, but to wait, to dissimulate, and to send hollow friendly letters to Dara, till they should know for certain that Shah Jahan was dead. He, therefore, condemned Murad's siege of Surat and public coronation as acts of too precipitate and open a character. But to such remonstrances Murad replied that Shah Jahan was already dead and that Dara's cunning hand had forged their father's style of writing and affixed the Imperial seal to the letters issued in Shah Jahan's name. He rightly pointed out that no reliance could be placed on the letters from their agents at the capital reporting the old Emperor's recovery, because the houses of these agents were watched by Dara's men and they were compelled to write to their distant masters false news at the dictation of Mir Salih, the brother of Dara's secretary, Raushan-qalam.* In letter after letter, up to the actual starting for Northern India, we see Murad all fire and haste, while Aurangzib is cold and hesitating. Murad urges passionately but in vain, "To wait for true news from the Court is to lose time and assist our enemy;"—"The sooner you advance from Aurangabad to Burhanpur, the better for our work and truer to our agreement";—"We are losing time and letting our business suffer, by waiting for certain news of Shah Jahan. Our enemy is growing stronger (in the meantime)";—"Let us start together for Agra. It only remains for you to give the order."†

Aurangzib had suggested to Murad that a diversion should be made against Dara by instigating the Persians and Uzbaks, to invade Afghanistan, which was then a province of the Moghal empire. This infamous counsel to bring a foreign enemy in to settle a domestic quarrel, was at first rejected by Murad as unnecessary; "As I know that the Persians, even without any prompting on our part, will make a move

* *Adab-i-Imam* and *As-Sikr-i-Pajman-i-gamshin* 415, 416.

† *As-Sikr-i-Pajman-i-gamshin* 415, 416, 417, 418, 419.

to wreak vengeance for the past, it does not seem proper for us to show eagerness and to direct them (to an invasion of India). A little later Murad changed his mind, and reporting the rumour of the death of Shah Jahan, begged armed aid from the Persian King. The latter replied that he had massed 30,000 men in Qandahar besides another force in Khurasan, in readiness to intervene in India, but in the meantime he was sending a high officer with some presents as envoy to Murad, in order to learn the real state of affairs in Hindustan. After his coronation (December) Murad sent a letter to Shah Abbas by the hand of Taqarrub Khan, to announce his accession and press for military assistance. The Shah in reply assured Murad of his friendship and stated that he had already warned the Persian generals and nobles to be in readiness and had ordered provisions to be collected for a four or five years' campaign in India, and horses to be sent to Farah, Bist, and Qandahar, and would despatch a force of musketeers by sea to Surat to aid Murad, while the rest of the Persian army would march inland through Qandahar to Kabul. These promises either the Shah did not mean to keep, or they were rendered unnecessary by Aurangzib's rapid and decisive success.

From the first Aurangzib had volunteered to help Murad; but on what terms? Evidently the understanding was that after their common enemy had been vanquished, the brothers would divide the empire among themselves. Yielding to Murad's request

Terms of part. Aurangzib sent him the *narabiy* between following definite and Aurangzib and solemn written agreement. Murad.

just before the march into Northern India:

"Whereas the design of ascending the throne has now been set on foot, the standards of the Prophet have turned their faces

* This account of the negotiations with Persia is based on *Taj-i-Muhammadiyah* 415, 417, 418, 419, and *As-Sikr-i-Pajman-i-gamshin* 415, 416, 417, 418, 419. The Shah also intrigued with the Persian nobles and received from Dara a petition for aid and request to conquer Burhanpur. *As-Sikr-i-Pajman-i-gamshin* 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

† *As-Sikr-i-Pajman-i-gamshin* 415, 416, 417, 418, 419.

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received a confidential messenger from Aurangzeb and the news of the latter having arrived in the neighbourhood. Then Murad resumed his march and next day he joined Aurangzeb on the way, a few miles north-east of Dipalpur. The armies of the two brothers were now united,

because the enemy was at hand and a battle was imminent.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

miles west of Dipalpur and 46 m. south of Kachnua (Sheet 36 S. E.) There is a place named Muradpur 7 miles west of Dipalpur. Dipalpur, 28°30' N. 75°30' E. about 24 miles S. S. W. of Ujjain.

EDUCATION OF INDIANS 1833—1853

THE Anglicists were triumphant, for Bentinck issued the resolution "that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." The authorities were averse to diffuse education among the masses of the Indian population. Lord Bentinck himself was not in favor of widely educating Indians. His successor Metcalfe had expressed himself strongly in favor of education. While recommending an improved system of revenue settlement, he wrote as follows:—

"Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections! The world is governed by an irresistible power which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of man against the operations of its almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India, and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, blows and execrations of mankind."

But as Governor-General of India, he did very little to promote education. Of course it was from considerations of "enlightened selfishness" that it was thought necessary to give some sort of education to Indians. Such education was to be given as would produce cheap clerks and useful subordinates for service in the different

departments of the State. With that object in view, Lord Hardinge wrote a Minute, dated October 10th, 1844, extracts from which are given below:—

"The Governor-General, having taken into consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit but to enable the State to profit as largely as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit."

The sum appropriated to education was very inadequate. Mr. J. C. Marshman, in his evidence on 21st July, 1853, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories, said:—

"It was stated in the House of Commons that the sum appropriated to education by the Government of India did not exceed £65,000 sterling a year; but in a series of papers published at the India House in the present year, the sum was stated at between £70,000 and £80,000. Dr. Wilson, in his evidence, I see, has brought in the sum of 10,000 rupees appropriated to Scinde, and 70,000 rupees to Sattara, which were evidently not included in that calculation. The sum, therefore, may be taken at £60,000 or £65,000 sterling per annum. If you compare the sum thus devoted from the revenues of India to the object of public instruction, with that which is voted by Parliament annually from the revenues of England for education in this country, I think it will be found to be very considerably disproportionate. If you assume the revenues of England at £10,000,000 sterling, and the sum appropriated annually by Parliament at £400,000 sterling, which I think

of Kaye's Selections from the Writings of Lord Bentinck.

"The Government has taken from the 1,000,000,000
 of the population of India, we ought to obtain
 100,000,000, and therefore if we have only 50,000,
 it is only according to that proportion, some
 25,000,000 below the mark. But even that
 is insufficient for the wants of the country, and I
 think that if it were quadrupled, or increased
 to 200,000,000, it would not be found too much for the
 necessities of the country; and it is especi-
 ally to be desired that there should also be an attempt
 at some time, to make those additional funds go
 as far as possible by a new mode of appropriating

Then he was asked —

Q. "What mode of dispensing educational funds is India do you contemplate?"

In reply be said—

If we could also borrow the plan adopted by the Privy Council of Education in this country, of giving Grants-in-aid to the various institutions in India, these funds might be made to go much further, and that this would be a more appropriate mode of expending any additional funds which might be voted, than by exclusively following the present mode. It is scarcely possible for the Government in India to undertake the care and the responsibility of managing all the institutions which will be necessary for the diffusion of knowledge, and there is a general desire in India, in the minds of almost all parties, that the Government could be prevailed on to adopt the principle of Grants-in-aid; that is, they should determine to give pecuniary assistance to the existing institutions which are not connected with the State, in order to enable them to increase the sphere of their operations. In that case it would be necessary for the Government to prescribe the course of study, and send down every year the books which should be read, and that an inspector should be employed to visit every school thus taken under the patronage of the Government, three or four times a year, and make a report of the progress of the children; the Government aid to the institution, being proportioned according to the report made by the inspector. This would produce the double effect of giving an extraordinary impetus to the cause of education in India, at the same time that it would give the means of support to these institutions which can scarcely obtain adequate amount of support from local subscriptions."

The witness was a son of the well-known Seminole Missionary—one of the trio—Ward, Mr. Marshman. When he made that recommendation of Grants-in-aid, he had an ulterior end to serve. What this was may be gathered from the answer to a further question when he said that—

"The Government would thus be enabled to give maximum aid to Christian efforts and institutions, without in the process infringing that principle of religious freedom which has been always stressed and which is a very great element of our political

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private enterprise was not left to the Government of Bengal, for the cause of education in the most notable institution established during this period was the Hoochly College. This was founded with funds furnished by the munificence of a Muhammadan gentleman named Haji Muhammad Musam. This seminary of learning has done much for the education of Muhammadans and one of the most notable Muhammadans of Bengal—a man of very humble origin—owed his education to this institution. The Right Honorable Mr. Syed Amir Ali was one of the alumni of the Hoochly College.

During the twenty years under review the Indian Government as in the previous twenty years did very little for the diffusion of general education among the people of this country. That was left to the people themselves. And to their credit let it be said that they performed their part very creditably. The vernaculars were shamefully neglected. A Christian Missionary like Dr. Duff even went the length of advising the Government to preserve strict neutrality regarding the vernaculars, that is to say not to give any helping hand for their cultivation. True it is that the general Committee of Public Instruction of The Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in their Report for the year 1845, wrote:—

"We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th of March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were fully and prominently admitted by all parties, and the measure submitted for the decision of Government was concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other. We therefore conceive that the phrase 'European literature and science,' English education alone, and imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language, are adopted merely to secure the preference to European learning, taught through the medium of the English language, over Oriental learning, taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, or over the instruction of those nations who receive a liberal education in our seminaries. These considerations lead us to understand from the construction of the bill, that the object of the measure is to secure a preponderance of European learning, taught through the medium of the English language, over Oriental learning, taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, or over the instruction of those nations who receive a liberal education in our seminaries. These considerations lead us to understand from the construction of the bill, that the object of the measure is to secure a preponderance of European learning, taught through the medium of the English language, over Oriental learning, taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, or over the instruction of those nations who receive a liberal education in our seminaries."

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statement, in deciding the question between the two languages is to take any notice of the vernacular language, and consequently, we have thought that nothing could reasonably be inferred from its omission from such notice.

"We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language, which is always very improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the learning of the West, is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge before they can transfer it to their own language. We trust that the number of such translations will now multiply every year. As the superiority of European learning becomes more generally appreciated, the demand for them will no doubt increase, and we shall be able to encourage any good books which may be brought out in the native languages by adopting them extensively in our seminaries."

It is stated in the *Calcutta Review* for June, 1854, No XLIV, p. 305 :—

"In Bengal, with its thirty-seven millions, the Government bestows 8,000 rupees annually on *secular Education*! One-third the salary of a collector of the revenue! As much is expended on prisoners in jails. How different is it in America. *Wentworth* in his *Educational Institutions of the United States*, remarks:—

"In America, popular education has from the beginning been based upon the idea of citizenship, x of philanthropy. There the gift of education the people has not been considered merely as an act of charity to the poor, but as a privilege which every citizen as such, had a right to claim, and a duty which, by virtue of the social contract, every citizen owes himself to fulfil; and for the purpose of bestowing such education, (that is to say, the minimum of knowledge which every citizen ought to possess), the State is entitled to tax the community; whereas, the higher branches of education, which only a small number of the people have the means of acquiring, have been looked upon as matters concerning only one individual who are entitled to avail themselves thereof, and have in consequence been left to private enterprise; the general force of circumstances, and a consciousness held out by the emoluments bestowed by the State on its servants, being regarded sufficient inducements to those who apply to enter the public service to acquire the necessary knowledge." —

"The necessity of popular education is evident, it while it is true that the more educated the people, the more intelligent the government of the State, there is no doubt that the mass of the population is too ignorant to be able to exercise their rights as citizens, and that the State is obliged to provide for the education of its subjects."

But, as shown by the evidence of Mr. Halliday, no encouragement was given the authorities in India to the contrary. Their cultivation was left to the natives. And how creditably they performed their task is evident from the evidence of Mr. J. C. Marshman before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories on 21st July, 1853. He said:—

"The difficulty which was felt 10 or 12 years ago regarding books for a course of vernacular education is rapidly disappearing; and at the present time, if the Government were prepared to give suitable encouragement, that is to say, to the extent of £1,000 or £1,500 sterling, for the translation of the books which might be required, in the course of three or four years it would have as complete a vernacular school library as could be desired at present.

"Those who have been opposed to vernacular education, and are for confining all their exertions to English instruction, have, been in the habit of deprecating translations ; but there can be no reason why a translation of a good work on history, or geography, or astronomy should not be quite as useful as the original. Our own literature, although it contains the finest classics, is at the present time enriched by translations from the German, and that literature itself began three or four centuries ago in translations. If the Committee will allow me, I will read a short extract from Wharton, who in his 'History of English Poetry,' says, 'Caxton, by translating and publishing to be translated a great number of books from the French, greatly contributed to promote the state of literature in England.' This was the mode in which our literature, now so rich and complete, commenced, and it is the mode in which vernacular literature, more especially for schools, must commence in India. I think it is worthy of remark, that as the natives do necessarily receive their knowledge of our laws, in which all their interests are bound up, through the means of translations, there can be no reason whatever why they should not be able to receive the main facts of history, geography, and astronomy through the same medium.

But the Indian authorities did nothing to encourage the cultivation of the vernaculars. Perhaps it was not considered politically expedient to do so. Or it may be that some of the Anglicists were so opposed to the vernaculars and thought it probable that these languages could be easily lost. For the Chairman asked Mr. M. J. Som-

"863a. There has been an idea that the spoken English will gradually supersede the use of the colorful dialects in India, and destroy the opportunity of cultivating them; do you share that opinion?"

Mr. HAWKINS in reply said:

"We want to do everything we can to help you get back in shape. It's important to us."

Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, and Polish languages respectively. Would any of the nations using these languages tolerate a proposition, that no translations should be made into them, because they are used by a limited number? Are we to have no translations made from German or French into English, because the number of readers is limited? So far from it—we see even our American friends devoting a considerable expenditure of time and money to a series of translations from German into English, even though only a limited number will avail themselves of these.

"2. 'The Bengali is the rude dialect of a semi-barbarous race.'—We leave the Bengalis themselves, on the ground of patriotism or nationality, to deal with the latter part of this proposition. But, we ask, can that be a rude dialect, which has been made to convey, expressively and suitably, the truths of natural history, chemistry, natural philosophy, mental philosophy, and above all, which has been found fully equal to express the mysterious dogmas of revelation, the lyric effusions of Isaiah, and the lofty strains of the minor prophets of a Scripture? Besides, the Bengali, in its derivation from that noble tongue, the Sanskrit, possesses unbounded resources for borrowing terms and phraseology and is gradually increasing in its capabilities. The Moslem power has not been able to extirpate it, and all the energy of an Aurungzebe could not drive it from the homes and hearts of the people. By its close affinity with their venerated Sanskrit, it preserves the lingering rays of the long-faded glories of their ancient literature. Without touching on its merits as a translation, we would refer to Yates's translation of the Bible in Bengali as a monument of the degree of elegance and expressiveness to which the Bengali language has attained.

"3. 'We ought to teach all the natives through English; and then translation would not be necessary.'—We do not now treat of what is *desirable*, but of what is *practicable*. We think it very desirable that there were only one language in the world, and regret that the confusion of tongues ever took place; but we have to deal with a different state of things. We are in a country, where the Europeans are but a handful compared with the natives; where we have to encounter the antipathies arising from difference of race, creed, manners; and where, with few exceptions, the Hindus regard us with jealousy, though conscious of the benefits we have conferred. We have therefore to do with the *practical*. Ample supplies of books are imported from England for those natives who understand English. Are we to do nothing for the millions in the present generation, who will have no opportunity of reading these books? The Calcutta Bible Society has spent probably more than four lakhs of rupees in Bengali translations of the Scriptures, but an intelligent reading of the Scriptures requires other books explanatory, as the Bible abounds with references to subjects of Geography, Natural History, Ancient History, Jewish customs, &c. Now, these books have to be translated; and, if translations are to be condemned, it virtually amounts to condemning translations of the Scriptures, and to condemning likewise the exertions of Missionary societies, who in rural districts have to instruct the people through the medium of their own language. Indeed, if England itself, which possesses such a rich indigenous literature, has provided so many transla-

tions from other tongues into its own, a similar Bengali, with its poor vernacular literature, requires translations much more urgently.

"4. It is said, that 'translations do not convey the full force of the original.'—Very true; and this is simply an argument for advising all, who can do so, to read original works, to do so; but leading ideas and historical facts admit of being easily transferred into another tongue, and particularly into such a language as Bengali, which has such unbounded resources in compounding terms. But even in the most difficult class of works to be translated, *viz.* the political, the English people insisted on having translations, as in Mickle's *Lusiad*, Carey's *Dante*, Pope's *Homer*, Fairfax's *Tasso*, Dryden's *Virgil*, &c. *Unless a design is entertained to extirpate the Bengali language, translations must be adopted.*

Let us hear on this question the voice of History. We have seen lately that, the Protestant Church had been established in *Ireland* for three centuries, and hitherto has proved a signal failure in one of the objects it had in view, *viz.* to unite England and Ireland by one religion, as well as one language—and that, after the experiment has been tried for three centuries on the part of protestants of conveying religious knowledge solely through English, they now admit that a wrong step had been taken, and that they should have begun with education and translations into the Vernacular, as had been the practice of the Romish priesthood there. Among the *Welsh* the feeling even now is so strong, that their remonstrances succeeded in inducing the Government lately to appoint a Bishop, who could preach in Welsh. The English church has been a comparative failure in Wales, owing partly to its clergy not being acquainted with the language of the people, and despising the Vernacular. We are not advocates ourselves for perpetuating the colloquial use of the Gaelic and Welsh. We think it far better that Ireland and Wales should use the noble English language; but we adduce it to show how difficult it is to eradicate a Vernacular language, and particularly when it is identified with the historical recollections and literary glory of a people. Queen Elizabeth proscribed under a severe penalty the use of the Irish language; and the Mussulmans applied every means to extirpate the Vernaculars of India. What have been the results, with respect to the Bengali in particular? It is increasing in richness and energy of expression every day, and is now much superior as a language, to what English was in the days of Chaucer.

In Italy, the indigenous tongue was the Latin in Roman days, the use of which has been maintained subsequently with all the influence and supremacy of the Church of Rome. All the municipal acts of the towns were recorded in Latin; public acts, edicts, deeds, education, literary and scientific transactions, all were carried on in Latin. Cicero and Livy wrote their most elaborate works in Latin, denigrating the "lingua vulgare", the language of the mob.—(their Latin works are now forgotten, and only what they have written in the vulgar language survives). Everything, therefore, seemed to favour the perpetuation of the Latin.

But was the formation of the Italian Vernacular, which rose on the ruins of the ancient Latin, promoted? Not the influence of one man gave the impulse. Dante wrote in the vernacular, and by so doing, he gave the impulse to the Italian language, and by so doing, he gave the impulse to the Italian language, and by so doing, he gave the impulse to the Italian language.

THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS

and Public Works Departments induced the Government of India to establish Medical and Engineering Colleges in this country. The Medical College of Calcutta was established in 1833 during the regime of Lord William Bentinck. The first Indian who joined it and broke the trammels of caste prejudices by performing dissections on human bodies was the celebrated Pandit Madhu Sudan Gupta.

Regarding him, Mr. Frederick John Mouat in a lecture delivered before the Society of Arts, London, in March, 1888, said,—

"No man deserves more to live in the history of benefactors of his country than Pandit. Madhu Sudan Gupta, of the Medical College of Calcutta, the first Hindu of high caste who dissected the human body in public, a feat of courage and humanity impossible to surpass, when the conditions of Hindu life are considered."

It cannot be denied that medical education was the best means of the destruction of the superstitions and prejudices of the Indian community. The establishment

then of the Medical College has been incalculable good to the Indian society and has been the most useful factor in the social reformation of the country. It was the students from the Medical College of Bengal who were the pioneers of Indian students in England and by their brilliant achievements in the Colleges and University of London proved to the natives of England that Indians could hold their own in every walk of life. The Indian Medical Service was the first bureaucratic fort whose strong wall was successfully breached by the assault of a pure-blooded Indian.

The Engineering College at Rurki was established in 1847 by Mr. Thomson, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, whose name it bears, for the training of subordinates required for the Ganges Canal, which was then being constructed. It has also done good work, but now it has become the stronghold not of un-blooded natives but of "statutory" natives.

THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS

AND THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA
COMPANY'S CHARTER IN 1853.

UP to 1843, whatever the Indian authorities did for education was in a very half-hearted and perfunctory manner. They were, to speak the truth, afraid of educating the people of this country. One Captain B. Page in his Memorandum dated East India House, April 9th, 1819, published in the Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1821, Vol. V. (Military) pp. 485-486, writes:-

"I would suggest good conduct (of natives) with
honour, the same old story."

He was a member of the Communist Party, was democratic in his views, and was a member of the American Union for Peace. He was a member of the American Union for Peace, and was a member of the American Union for Peace.

vants of the East India Company who thought likewise and were therefore strait of imparting education, as knowledge is power.

From the date of the attainment of political power after the battle of Plassey in 1757 down to 1853, that is for nearly a period of 100 years, the Christian Indian authorities always discussed in all its bearings the question of the education of Indians. Was it wise and safe to educate the heathens of India?—that was the question which was often and often asked by the Christian administrators of India. Sir John Macaulay from his place in the House of Commons in 1833 :—

"We shall never consent to administer the gospel to a whole country, to a people who are ignorant of the people whom God has appointed to possess it, and the wretched purpose of converting them, without first consulting the people. We will not permit ourselves to be imposed on by the missionaries of other churches."

we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer these questions in the affirmative? Yet few of them must be answered in the affirmative, by every person who maintains that we ought persistently to exclude the natives from high office. The path of duty is plain before us: it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honor."

But an opinion has been expressed that Macaulay was not sincere in what he said. Writes Mr. Digby in his "Prosperous British India," p. 61:—

"The climax is reached by Thomas Babington Macaulay, then Member for Leeds, who was in himself—as Law Minister in India, a Member of Parliament afterwards—to show that much of what he said was of the tongue merely and not of the heart."

The Indian authorities, it has been said, were afraid of educating the people of India.

Even so late as 1853, some of the Anglo-Indian witnesses examined before the Select Committees on Indian affairs were not in favour of educating the natives of India, for they thought that would make them disloyal. Take for instance the evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons on 4th August, 1853, of Major M. J. Rowlandson who described himself as Persian Interpreter for seventeen years under several Commanders-in-chief at Madras and also being Secretary to a Board, and to a Committee for the public instruction of the natives of that presidency. The questions and the answers which he gave to those questions are reproduced below:—

"9745. Will you state to the Committee whether you regard the operation of the Government system of education as being favorable or otherwise to the best interests of the natives of India?—The result of my experience has led me to think that it is not favorable.

"9746. Do you or do you not regard the exclusion of the Christian Scriptures, even from a class which parties might voluntarily attend in the schools supported by the Government, as a course which ought to be adopted or recommended?—I think not, from the result of my experience: and, on these grounds, that I have observed in the native pupils that while, so to speak, there was an aggravation of their capacity for evil by the elevation of their intellects, there was not a counteracting principle to prevent the assertion of that increased capacity for evil. I have seen native students who had obtained an insight into European literature and history, in whose minds there seemed to be engendered a spirit of disaffection towards the British Government.

education of the natives in India has a tendency to render them inimical to the British Government. I believe that such is the tendency of the Government system of education.

"9776. Will you explain to the Committee what you consider to be the cause of that and what is the nature and object of their enmity to the Government?—My impression is this, that as the native of India gains an insight into the history of British India, and into the history of Europe generally, an idea is conveyed to his mind that it is something monstrous that a country like India should be possessed by a handful of foreigners; and hence, there naturally almost springs up a desire in his mind to be instrumental in setting that country free from this foreign dominance, and there being no counteracting principle, nor any sense of the duty of obedience, the natural result is a feeling of disaffection to the British Government.

"9777. Is that feeling found to exist in persons of a military class, or those who are generally supposed to be pacifically disposed?—I think I have observed it both in Mahomedans and Hindoos, particularly in Mahomedans.

"9778. Such a feeling is found to exist, notwithstanding their deep conviction of the integrity of the administration under British rule, and the mysterious character of the British power?—I think the two things exist together; one is felt by the people at large, especially by the Hindoo community, and the other I have observed in the individual instances to which I have more prominently alluded; in fact, it is the almost uniform result, as far as my experience goes, of their being enlightened *morally* in European literature.

"9779. Would not the same historical knowledge lead them to suppose that, even if they could shake off the English yoke, they would only become the subjects of military adventurers from the north, whose yoke might be still heavier?—I believe reflecting Hindoos feel that they are gainers by the rule of the British Government, contrasting their present condition with what they suffered under their former Mahomedan rulers; but with native students, in the Government Schools, I repeat, one sees that the effect upon the native mind is this; there appears to be a feeling of insubordination and disquiet at the thought that they should remain under the dominion of a handful of Europeans, and from a love of change, and in the hope that in the struggle they might themselves come more to the surface, or uppermost, we find that this result is this feeling of disaffection.

"9780. Would not they be inclined to think that the result of the withdrawal of the British would be a state of anarchy?—I can quite conceive that they may think that possible; but with the hope of present advantage, and a general feeling of dislike to foreign rule, particularly when they become acquainted with the secret of the formation of the British Empire, a sense of disaffection is created, and a hope excited that in the change of masters, or in the change of rule, they may receive some personal benefit."

This gallant officer no doubt represented the views and opinions of a very large class.

* *South Report from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, 1853, pp. 117-119.*

"9775. You have expressed an opinion that the

of his co-religionists and compatriots. But there were others, who did not share his views.

Thus Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Halliday, who rose to be the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was asked the following question :—

"878a. Is there any ground for the supposition that the spread of education is dangerous to the British Government?"

His answer was :—

"None whatever; on the contrary, it appears to me that the spread of education must assist the Government. The educated classes, I think, feel themselves, and must feel themselves, more bound to us, and as having more in common with us, than they have with their uneducated countrymen, apart from the general fact that it is more easy to govern a people who have acquired a knowledge of good and evil as to government, than it is to govern them in utter ignorance; and on the whole popular knowledge is a safer thing to deal with than popular ignorance."

The same witness mentioned how anxious the people of Bengal were to receive the benefits of English education. He said,—

"I am quite sure that the people of Bengal are in a state, ready, not only to second, but to anticipate any effort which the Government might make on the subject. The condition of Bengal, with regard to English education, is peculiar; the desire for it is becoming a craving, the people look for it most anxiously, even those of a very low class. In obscure villages, to which you could scarcely have supposed the name of English education would have reached, you find persons joining together, and making attempts to establish schools and obtain teachers, to the best of their means, and anxiously looking for assistance; at the same time doing a great deal for themselves according to the means at their disposal. It is also a curious fact, that among the Bengalees, unenergetic as they are, in many respects a very extraordinary degree of energy prevails in favour of English education among those who have received it; it appears as if a reasonable inoculation of English education among them begets a strong desire to inoculate others, and to spread it to the utmost of their power. It is a very creditable point in their character. You see constantly men who have received a good education at our institutions going forth, and at great pains and with expense, exerting themselves to the utmost for the sake of spreading knowledge, for the mere sake of the good which arises from it. It is very desirable, I think, that the Government should take speedy advantage of this extraordinary fact in the present history of the native mind in Bengal; and by doing so, I believe you might spread education energetically, and very advantageously, at a comparatively small expense."

As said so often before, the Government played a very secondary part in the dissemination of education in this country. The

people themselves took the initiative and paid for their education. Could the Government now do anything to stop the flowing tide or say "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther?" No, it was impossible for the Government to do so. Hence, they were obliged to look the danger—if imparting education to Indians were so—in the face. Yet, not in hot haste, did they take any step in the matter of the spread of education in this country. For nearly a century they discussed well this question—in all its pros and cons—before they arrived at any decision regarding it. On the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, for the last time of its existence, in 1853, several witnesses were examined before the Parliamentary Committees to give their opinions whether it was desirable to impart education to the inhabitants of India. Mr. J. C. Marshman in his evidence before the Lord's Committee on the 16th June, 1853, was asked by Lord Montagu of Brandon :—

"6566. You have given to the Committee many important recommendations, coupled with the expression of a strong opinion as to the necessity of extending education in India, and with the expression of your judgment of the inadequacy of the present resources applied for that purpose; do you apprehend any danger to British connexion in consequence of the extension of education in India?"

In reply, Mr. Marshman said,—

"I have never thought that there was any danger whatever to our political supremacy connected with the spread of education in India. I do not think that the loyalty of the natives has been in the slightest degree impaired by the amount of education which we have already communicated to them. Perhaps some of the Members of the Government may think that there is an incompatibility between the idea of a despotic Government and a free Press, and that hereafter there may possibly be some difficulties arising from the circumstances of the freedom of the Press; but even those who entertain that idea never suppose for a moment that there is any danger to our dominion from the general education of the natives."

Then he was asked by Lord Weymouth—

"6567. There is no indisposition on the part of the Government of India to extend Grants for Education?"

Mr. Marshman in answer said—

"I believe that the Government of India would rejoice if they had the permission of the authorities in this country to enlarge the educational institutions; but they are of course limited by the powers at their disposal, and which can not be increased without the permission of the Home Authorities."

Mr. Charles S. Trevelyan was subjected to some searching inquiry on the subject of education of Indians by the Members of the Select Committee on Indian Territories in 1875. His examination lasted for several days. Some of the questions put to him and the answers to them are reproduced below:—

“7439. [Chairman.] Are the Committee to understand, that in your opinion, the object most to be attained is to bring about a separation between India and England upon the terms most conducive to the interests of both countries; or that you think it more desirable not to bring about a separation between the two countries?”

I conceive that in determining upon a line of policy we must look to the probable eventualities. We must have present to our minds what will be the ultimate result of each line of policy. Now my belief is, that the ultimate result of the policy of improving and educating India will be, to postpone the separation for a long indefinite period; and that when it does come, it will take place under circumstances very happy for both parties. Whereas I conceive that the result of the opposite policy of holding and governing India for the benefit of the civilians and the military men employed there, or according to any view less liberal than that of doing the utmost justice we can to India, may lead to a separation at any time, and must lead to it at a much earlier period and under much more disadvantageous circumstances than would be the result if we take the opposite course.

“7441. Therefore, in recommending the progress of education, and, under proper safeguards, the employment of the Natives in the public service, you are not contemplating such a separation, but you are recommending a course which is, in your opinion, the least likely to lead to that alternative?”

I am recommending the course which, according to my most deliberate view which I have held for a great many years, founded, I believe, on a full knowledge of the subject, will be most conducive to the continuance of our dominion, and most beneficial both to ourselves and to the Natives. I may mention, as a familiar illustration, that I was 19 years in India, and that the first six years were spent in the country, the first four at my headquarters, and the other two at Calcutta. The first six years represent the six months of pure Asiatic life, and there were continual wars and rumours of wars. The only form which native rebellion assumed, up the country was plotting against us and poisoning combinations against us and so forth. Then I came to Calcutta, and there I found quite a new line of things. The object there was to have a few towns to have municipal institutions, to promote English education and the employment of the Natives and the improvement of that sort.

“7442. Lord Montagu of Brandon. Then, supposing you at the close of the 18th century, either the introduction of the education and employment of the Natives, or the improvement of the towns, or the improvement of the government of the Natives, which of these three objects, in your opinion, will lead to the least likely to bring about the continuance of our dominion?”

Decidedly the improvement of education and the employment of the Natives. I cannot be doubtful what ever upon that question.

It is not necessary to make any further extracts from his evidence. Mr. Charles Trevelyan succeeded in convincing the noble and honorable members of the Committee of both Houses of Parliament that there was not only no danger, but it would be expedient for the safety of British rule in India and maintaining the political supremacy of England in the East to educate the inhabitants of India, especially in English and to anglicise them.

Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, who was President of the Council of Education, as a witness before the Lord's Committee on the 7th July, 1885, was examined as follows:—

“7450. Lord Montagu of Brandon.] Do you anticipate any danger to the connexion between England and India by the extension of education amongst all classes of the subjects of the Queen in India?”

“No; I look upon it as a bond of union.

“7451. Will you state your reason for that opinion?”

“My reason is, that their own literatures, the Sanscrit and the Mahomedan literatures, are of such a character as to excite the minds of those who study them against the dominion of infidels, as the Mahomedans would say, and of Mechas as the Hindoos would say. The influence likely to be exercised by education in our literature and science is, of course, of quite an opposite kind, calculated to inspire respect for us, as their teachers, who bring them up to the level of the most civilized nations of the world.

“7452. Would not the gravitation of the educated classes be all in the direction of the civilization of Europe, rather than the turbulence of Asia, and about the of Asia in a state of revolution?”

“I think entirely so. I think the change we are educating more perfectly well than their own dependence is upon us; and that if we were suddenly to leave the country, they would immediately have to resort to the warlike classes. They are getting weary of that, I think, and that that feeling would not will consist for a great number of years, at least, in the protection of the British Government.

“7453. Earl of Shaftesbury. Do you think that we can educate the Natives without introducing religion from reaching the religious classes?”

“No; I do not think so.

“7454. Lord Shaftesbury. Do you think that the Natives will be more influenced by the coming of the Christian religion, than by the coming of the English language and the employment of the Natives in the public service?”

“I think the Natives will be more influenced by the coming of the English language and the employment of the Natives in the public service, than by the coming of the Christian religion. The Natives will be more influenced by the coming of the English language and the employment of the Natives in the public service, than by the coming of the Christian religion.

THE GIZEH PYRAMIDS

THE GIZEH PYRAMIDS

EIGHT miles outside Cairo, on the other side of the Nile, by the edge of the great Lybian desert, stands the Necropolis of Gizeh—one of the seven wonders of the world—with its three chief pyramids, a number of lesser and smaller ones, some temples and tombs and their eternal guardian the Sphinx. You take the electric tram from the Ataber-el khadra and passing through modern and old Cairo you cross the Nile and past the Gizeh Zoological Gardens enter the beautiful shady avenue of Acacia trees. The tram flies along this straight avenue for five miles to the Pyramids. You see their soft smooth outline piercing the clear blue sky and on either side of you stretch the vast cultivated plains. You are now close to the Pyramids and looking up you see they are no longer smooth but rough with huge cumbrous steps three feet high. At one time they were really smooth and the outer facing was covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphs. But they have been violated again and again by sacrilegious hands in search for treasure and antiquities and the mediæval builders used them as quarries. But time and iconoclasm beat themselves in vain against these Pyramids and you gaze on them today and wonder even as the world has wondered for thousands of years before you at the marvellous power and knowledge and unimagined skill of these ancient Egyptian builders—the first builders in the world.

Were these Pyramids intended merely as tombs for the burial of kings or were they also colossal temples in whose sombre recesses were performed the great mysteries of old and whose walls often witnessed the initiation scenes of the members of the Royal family?

The great Pyramid of Khufu or Cheops is in front of you dominating a desert of sand and gravel up to the height of 480 feet. With the aid of the great stone blocks and

can climb to the top. But what wonderful things happen to you then I cannot tell. You go up a few steps to the entrance and descend along a smooth narrow passage 320 feet long leading to a subterranean chamber 90 feet below the base of the Pyramid. You don't go quite so far as that but about less than half way down, turn aside and go up round the wonderful old granite door, which has successfully defied all attempts to force a way through it. Beyond this huge block you crawl up a dark narrow slippery passage and emerge—not into daylight—but into the Great Hall—a sloping gallery 151 feet long, 7 feet wide and 25 feet high. Here at last you can stand upright: the guide lights a piece of magnesium wire and as it blazes you look up and around this Hall, and observe its smooth clear stone sides, its wonderful stone roof and with nervous fingers touch the walls. The light goes out and you are left in the fearful stillness and mystery of it. The darkness is there—you can feel it, grasp it—it covers you, envelopes you and chokes you. You hear the deep heavy breathing of your guide as of some hunted animal. You wipe the perspiration off your brow and gaze again into the darkness. It lifts and you see the silent stately priests in their long white flowing robes moving majestically up and down the great Hall. There by the walls on either side stand other calm immovable priests occasionally holding mysterious converse with each other. You see the young trembling Nubians and you hear the slow distant sound of some strange intoxicating chant. You can stand it no longer, you lift up your hands and close your eyes and ears to hide away these awful revelations starting you down with mortal fear and panic!

At the bottom of this great Hall a horizontal passage leads to the beautiful little Queen's Chamber, below which, at the top of the horizontal passage, leads to the larger King's Chamber. It is in the

exact centre of the Pyramid and contains an empty sarcophagus. In the side walls are two circular openings of the air shafts which have been traced to the inner sides of the Pyramid. The stone slabs in the walls are each 18 feet long. Above this chamber are five small chambers.

You are glad to get out into the open air again and grateful for the jug of cool clear water a little boy waiting outside offers you. Go round the first pyramid and look up the second, the Pyramid of Khafra, notice the part of the smooth casing that is still left at the top, and then you hurry away incontinently to the Sphinx. There it sits today as millenniums ago—calm, dignified, unruffled; serene and contemplative; symbol and expression of the universal spirit. The face, though sadly mutilated,—it was once used as a target by Mameluke soldiers—is still full of dignified expression. Puzzled humanity for generations has gazed long and intently at this monument of an ancient civilisation and an ancient culture. And you also, child of humanity, gaze on it today in wonder and astonishment. Would you read its secret? Would you dare grasp the key of knowledge and open its mysteries? You see in it what you take to it. See in it then, if you will, the duration, the permanence, the continuity of human tradition and of human culture. See in it the enduring love which alone supports and inspires humanity in all its struggles, ennobling its failures and justifying its successes. The Sphinx has sat there watching across the desert the toiling, scrambling millions of humanity. It has watched humanity rotting with its overgrown pride and power, its ignorant prejudice and wanton desires. It has watched humanity trying at first feebly wildly incoherently to shake off its cruel chains, straining at its cramping bonds man-created and man-imposed; and it is watching today with infinite pity and love born of age and antiquity the troublous and stormy sunset of the day of strife and selfishness—who knows perhaps it will be there still, watching for the dawn of the New Age of a new conception of life—yet ancient as creation (since indeed, properly speaking, there is no other) the life of heart, the life of friendship and attachment, Society forming freely everywhere round

this—knit together by this, rather than by the old Past Nexus?"

Close by is the so-called Temple of the Sphinx—interesting because of its sumptuous alabaster walls and flooring. It is an excellent example of the simple and massive architecture of the ancient empire.

The temples of the ancient Egyptian whether dedicated to gods or kings—th earthly representatives of Osiris—were regarded as dwelling houses of these gods and kings. Hence the temples were built in the model of dwelling houses—square chambers roofed over and with a fence in front of it. Sometimes as in the tombs of kings at Thebes the central chamber was surrounded by other chambers in which the funeral offering were placed. In the case of temples dedicated to gods—if there was an ark (the god to be carried in procession) the temple had two doors—otherwise if the god was immovable the temple had, as at Fayaun and Deudera, just the ordinary columns and forecourt.

A little further on is Campbell's Tomb which the guidebooks say was so called after H. B. M. Consul of that name at the time it was discovered; but the Bedouin claim it is the Tomb of Kamble, an Egyptian princess. At right angles to the main chamber there is a long shaft in which the family retainers were buried. Another tomb the Tomb of Palms, is also interesting—its stone roof is very ingeniously and realistically carried to resemble palm trunk lying side by side along the whole length of it.

Just beyond it is the third pyramid built by *Men-kaw-ra*. I climbed half way up and so will you if you are wise. But while we are both resting there let me explode some popular misconceptions regarding Egyptian architecture, pyramids and mummies.

Impatient man saw in Egypt only the funerary monuments of ancient Egyptian existing, and hastily concluded they had nothing else to speak of. He soon elaborated the theory that the Egyptians were overpoweringly haunted by the idea of material immortality, of the intimate and essential connection between the soul and its earthly body even after death, that they ever strove, by mummifying and hiding it away in great pyramids, to pre-

serve it in fact. He found support for his theories in some Greek writer who observed of the Egyptians "they called their houses, hostels and their tombs, eternal dwelling-places." Now observe where the grievous error comes in. It lies in ignoring Father Nile who in his terrible and mysterious wrath rises up every year and floods the surrounding country washing away hamlets and villages and burying towns under the deposit he leaves behind. The Egyptian perforce lived in the valley, lived precariously, uncertainly, in constant terror of the floods but was buried in the deserts far away from its reach. Thus we have to-day existing only those of his works that are not washed away by the river—i.e., his temples and tombs.

Somebody said the Egyptians always mummified their dead bodies. And succeeding generations have kept on repeating this parrot cry. The Egyptian had not one but four different beliefs with regard to life after death. First that the soul would not go very far but remain near the body and live practically the same sort of life as before. Hence tombs were built on the model of dwelling houses and food and drink were placed therein. So even to-day the Fellah places food offerings on the graves of the departed. Or secondly the soul might go to the great kingdom of Osiris, the God of the Dead. In that kingdom the life was similar to that on earth. So they placed in the tombs even little statuettes of servants so that they might serve the departed soul in the kingdom of Osiris. Then again the soul might go to the kingdom of Ra, the Sun God, sailing in his boat round the world in the sea of air or celestial ocean. To reach him the soul would need a boat of its own. So little boats with miniature sailors were placed in the tombs for the use of the soul. Or lastly the human entity was regarded as composed of seven principles—the earthly body being one of them and an essential one. The soul would at some future time be reunited with this particular body which therefore must be carefully preserved. This last idea which gave rise to the process of embalming was by no means a universal belief amongst the Egyptians but a late and somewhat apothodox idea.

The body was prepared for burial in

many different ways. In prehistoric times it was simply dried in the sun. Later on various ways of embalming came into use. The body was first allowed to dry and then kept steeped in resin or cedar oil; sometimes it was salted—it was covered with any substance which would exclude air from the body. Sometimes the flesh was carefully removed and wrapped up in its separate covering. This process was a very difficult one requiring great care and skill. For not the least tiny bone might be broken.

There is yet another common superstition—that a pyramid is the only and invariable form of an Egyptian tomb. Now nothing could be farther from truth. At one time the tombs were simply round holes excavated in rocks and the body was placed in it in a doubled up position. Later on it took the form of round chambers in which also the funeral offerings were placed for the use and service of the departed soul. The bodies were placed sometimes on their back, sometimes on their side according to the race to which he belonged while living. The Cairene to-day invariably sleeps on his back. In time these round chambers came to be roofed over and covered with a layer of earth. Then layer after layer is added till it takes the form of the Step Pyramid at Sakkara, the oldest pyramid existing. Once the pyramid idea is developed we get the whole pyramid built in one process according to one original, definite and complete plan. Dr. Lepsius offers another explanation, plausible and with certain elements of fanciful interest in it. He says—

"Before the actual building of a pyramid was begun a suitable rocky site was chosen and cleared, a mass of rock being left if possible in the middle of the area to form the core of the building. The chambers and galleries leading to them were next planned and excavated. Around the core a truncated pyramid building was made, the angles of which were filled with blocks of stone. Layer after layer of stone was then built around the work, which grew larger and larger until it was finished. When a king ascended the throne he built for himself a small but complete tomb pyramid and a fresh coating of stone was built around it every year that he reigned. And when he died the sides of the pyramid were life-long flights of steps which his successor filled up with right-angled triangular blocks of stone. The door of the pyramid was walled after the body of its builder was laid in it and thus remained a finished tomb. Near the core of the pyramid the work is more

carefully executed than near the exterior, that is to say as the time for the king's death approached, the work was more hurriedly performed."

Having mentioned this theory we may safely reject it in favour of the theory I have given before, which is that of Monsieur Petrie—the great Egyptologist.

Thus we see that the common idea of the Egyptian monotony of funeral architecture and funeral ceremonial is a popular myth supported only by superstition and ignorant tradition amongst savants and guide-book writers.

But I am forgetting. I really went up the Pyramid of *Mes-hut-ru* not to sermonise but to watch the glorious sunset—a joy which I had long promised myself. For it is only in Egypt that there are real sunsets. And so I sat there drinking in the intoxicating perfume of the desert air, watching the sparkling sands stretching away far as the horizon and in the cloudless western sky the fierce, crimson radiance of the distant setting sun.

R. N. AINGAR.

NOTE ON THE BUDDHIST DENIAL OF THE SOUL

BY PROF. HOMERSHAM COX, M.A.

THERE seems to me to be a striking resemblance between the following passages, one from a Buddhist classic, and the other from a modern scientific treatise on psychology. The Buddhist book is the "Questions of King Milinda" written according to Rhys Davids "in Northern India, at or a little after the beginning of the Christian era." The passage is as follows in Rhys Davids' translation:

"Now Milinda the king went up to where the venerable Nāgasena was, and addressed him with the greetings and compliments of friendship and courtesy, and took his seat respectfully apart. And Nāgasena reciprocated his courtesy, so that the heart of the king was propitiated.

And Milinda began by asking, 'How is your Reverence known and what Sir is your name?'

'I am known as Nāgasena, O king, and it is by that name that my brethren in the faith address me. But although parents, O king, give such a name as Nāgasena, or Surasena, or Virasena, or Sihāsena, yet this, Sir, Nāgasena and so on—is only a generally understood term, a designation in common use. For there is no permanent individuality (no soul) involved in the matter.'

Then Milinda called upon the Yonakas and the brethren to witness: 'This Nāgasena says there is no permanent individuality

(no soul) implied in his name. Is it now even possible to approve him in that?' And turning to Nāgasena he said: 'If most reverend Nāgasena, there be no permanent individuality (no soul) involved in the matter, who is it, pray, who gives to you members of the Order, your robes and food and lodging and necessities for the sick? Who is it who enjoys such things when given? Who is it who lives a life of righteousness? Who is it who devotes himself to meditation? Who is it who attains to the goal of the excellent way, to the Nirvāna of Arahatsip? And who is it who destroys living creatures? Who is it who takes what is not his own? Who is it who lives an evil life of worldly lusts, who speaks lies, who drinks strong drink, who (in a word) commits any one of the five sins which work out their bitter fruit even in this life? If that be so there is neither merit nor demerit; there is neither doer nor causer of good or evil deeds; there is neither fruit nor result of good or evil Karma. If most reverend Nāgasena, we are to think that were a man to kill you there would be no murder, then it follows there are no real masters or teachers in your order, and that your ordinations are void. You tell me that your brethren in the Order are in the habit of addressing you as Nāgasena. Now what is that Nāgasena? Do you mean to say that the hair is Nāgasena?'

'I do not say that, great king.'

'Or the hairs on the body, perhaps?'

'Certainly not.'

'Or is it the nails, the teeth, the skin, the flesh, the nerves, the bones, the marrow, the kidneys, the heart, the liver, the abdomen, the spleen, the lungs, the larger intestines, the lower intestines, the stomach, the faeces, the bile, the phlegm, the pus, the blood, the sweat, the fat, the tears, the serum, the saliva, the mucus, the oil that lubricates the joints, the urine, or the brain, or any or all of these that is Nāgasena?'

And to each of these he answered no.

'Is it the outward form then (Rūpa) that is Nāgasena, or the sensations (Vedanā), or the ideas (Sanna), or the confections (Sankhara) or the consciousness (Vinnāna) that is Nāgasena?'

And to each of these also he answered no.

'Then is it all these Skandhas combined that are Nāgasena?'

'No! great king.'

'But is there anything outside the five Skandhas that is Nāgasena?'

And still he answered no.

'Then thus, ask as I may, I can discover no Nāgasena. Nāgasena is a mere empty sound. Who then is the Nāgasena that we see before us? It is a falsehood that your reverence has spoken, an untruth!'

And the venerable Nāgasena said to Milinda the king: 'You, Sire, have been brought up in great luxury, as befits your noble birth. If you were to walk this dry weather on the hot and sandy ground, trampling under foot the gritty, gravelly grains of the hard sand, your feet would hurt you. And as your body would be in pain, your mind would be disturbed and you would experience a sense of bodily suffering. How then did you come, on foot or in a chariot?'

'I did not come, Sir, on foot. I came in a carriage.'

'Then if you came, Sire, in a carriage explain to me what that is. Is it the pole that is the chariot?'

'I did not say that.'

'Is it the axle that is the chariot?'

'Certainly not.'

'Is it the wheels, or the framework, or the ropes, or the yoke, or the spokes of the wheels, or the goad, that are the chariot?'

And to all these he still answered no.

'Then is it all these parts of it that are the chariot?'

'No, Sir.'

'But is there anything outside them that is the chariot?'

And still he answered no.

'Then thus, ask as I may, I can discover no chariot. Chariot is a mere empty sound. What then is the chariot you say you came in? It is a falsehood that your Majesty has spoken, an untruth! There is no such thing as a chariot! You are king over all India, a mighty monarch. Of whom then are you afraid that you speak untruth?'

And he called upon the Yonakas and the brethren to witness, saying: 'Milinda, the king here has said that he came by carriage. But when asked in that case to explain what the carriage was, he is unable to establish what he averred. Is it, forsooth possible to approve him in that?'

When he had thus spoken the five hundred Yonakas shouted their applause and said to the king: 'Now let your Majesty get out of that if you can.'

And Milinda the king replied to Nāgasena and said: 'I have spoken no untruth, reverend Sir. It is on account of its having all these things, that it comes under the generally understood term, the designation in common use, of "chariot."'

'Very good! Your Majesty has rightly grasped the meaning of "chariot." And just even so it is on account of all these things you questioned me about—the thirty two kinds of organic matter in a human body, and the five constituent elements of being—that I come under the generally understood term, the designation in common use of "Nāgasena."'

The other passage is from Ebbinghaus' Psychology. This is one of the best textbooks of scientific psychology, the psychology that is to say, not of a literary metaphysician but of a physiologist.

'A simple example will show that things may exist not independently, but only in connection with what bears them, although this bearer has no separate existence from that which is borne. Consider a plant. It has roots, branches, leaves, cells, bark, flowers, fruits &c. Just as with physical productions, so what the plant has, does not exist in isolation and independence, but

only in mutual connection and borne by a substratum or subject to which it is attached. Separated from one another and from their bearer leaves and flowers are in reality no longer present. They only keep the name and superficial appearance a little while. But who is the bearer of all this and what is merely borne? Who the subject which has all the single unimportant things and gives them their basis and connection? A separate simple being, independent and distinguishable in its existence from that which it has or bears? A reality outside of and behind the mere partial realities that have just been named? Nothing of the kind. But that which has the leaves is the complex consisting of roots, stem, bark, branches, &c., and again that which has the roots, is for the most part the same complex, namely stem, bark, branches, leaves. The plant has in its green parts peculiarly constituted cells containing chlorophyl, but the being which has, is in its general constitution not at all different from what it has, it is itself again only a complex of cells, the total of all the remaining cells which do not contain chlorophyl. In general: all the single components, members, functions of the plant only exist as something, in some way, connected together and borne, but the being that bears and has them is nothing else than the *totality* of that which is borne and had. Not their sum as is often said with a malevolent distortions of this conception; it is not a case of simple juxtaposition; but a many-membered totality, arranged in a definite manner and united together to form a single whole. If we take away from the plant all that we say it has or bears we have taken away the plant itself. It is not that the proper bearer still remains although impoverished in its possessions and utterances; nothing whatever remains. In every special case where we speak of certain partial realities of the whole complex we consider these as accidental and transitory and the remaining parts as the real essence of the whole. The bearer is then that totality which we do not care for the moment to describe and analyse

more carefully. We readily see the essence of the whole, its proper nucleus, in those members (such as roots, stem, branches) which shew themselves relatively persistent and unchanged, or—what comes to the same thing—are of especial importance for the conservation of the whole. But these are only differences in the momentary point of view; differences of nature do not exist and are not intended.

So and not otherwise, I say, is the case with the bearer and subject of the psychical, with the "I." Bearer and borne are here too not different in nature and independent of one another. But that which according to immediate experience is present and has now this thought now another, for the moment sees the blue sky where a little while before it saw clouds, is nothing else than the rich totality of all the sensations, thoughts and wishes, which are connected and interact with those first mentioned. That I look on the one as the fundamental and haver, and on the other as the transitory and had, is merely a matter of the momentary point of view. Ideas of a certain past, plans of a certain future, are something which my "I" has, and considers as something separated from itself, when they come to the foreground of the psychical life, but they belong to the "I" itself, and help to make up its being when something else takes up that foreground."

To put the matter shortly; we may distinguish the "I" from *any particular* sensation. A man may say "I have a toothache" and distinguish the "I" from the "toothache." So too we may say "A chariot has a wheel" or "A plant has leaves." But there is no "I" apart from the totality of interconnected sensations, thoughts, memories, expectations, any more than there is a chariot apart from the whole formed by wheel, framework, yoke, &c., or a plant apart from the whole formed by leaves, stem, root, &c.

The Buddhist denial of the soul is, if I am not mistaken, not found in any other school of Indian philosophy, nor was it expressed with the same clearness in European philosophy before Hume.

KARL MARX: A MODERN RISHI

"AND UNTO THE POOR, THE GOSPEL IS PREACHED." (ST. MATTHEW).

IN this short essay, I propose to tell young India the story of the life and work of a great European Rishi, a saint and sage, whose name is revered today by millions of men and women in all countries of the West. Such a study will show us that saintliness does not consist only in repeating religious formulae and singing hymns, and that the hardest *tapas* can be performed out of a penance-grove and without sitting in the midst of four burning logs of wood under the burning sun. It will also lead us to the discussion of vital problems of human welfare and set us thinking. It will teach us not to confine ourselves to the writings of Kanāda and Kapila, Sankarāchārya and Rāmānuja in our search for wisdom, but to turn to the great modern thinkers for guidance in our social, moral, intellectual and political difficulties. Modern civilisation has been built up by the devoted labours of a group of heroes and heroines at the head of vast numbers of energetic people, and Marx is one of this coterie of thinkers and workers, whose names are household words in Europe.

Modern India has a personal tie too, that links Marx's name to her destiny, for Marx's favourite grandson, Mr. Jean Longuet, one of the most prominent French journalists, is a staunch champion of India's rights and aspirations, and always supports new India's claims in his daily paper, "L'Humanité" of Paris. Monsieur Longuet is the son of Karl Marx's eldest daughter, and used to comfort the last days of the great philosopher in the early eighties. Young India does not know the full value of Mr. Longuet's services to her cause, but time will reveal all. There is nothing hidden that shall not be made public.

We shall understand Karl Marx's life and doctrine better, if we try to put our-

selves in a reflective mood first. We shall then be able to see the world as it appeared to him. Each of us views the world from his particular angle. To the preacher, the world is full of sinners; to the cobbler, it is full of shoes that require mending; to the king, it is full of subjects. And thus every one lives in a world of his own. Karl Marx regarded the world from his own standpoint, and we must comprehend it before we can profit by his great work.

Karl Marx devoted his life to the solution of the problem of poverty. Poverty is an evil of the first magnitude all over the world. It is the curse of the race. It blights moral growth and dwarfs the intellect. It is the root of slavery and disease. It has been the enemy of progress and civilisation from the earliest times. Now poverty may be due to various circumstances. It may be the result of geographical and meteorological conditions, as in Siberia, Greenland and Arabia. It may be caused by overpopulation as in China. It may be aggravated by ignorance of the principles of agriculture, as in India and Mexico. It may be the consequence of political disorder and chronic social unrest, as in the republics of South America. It may be the necessary outcome of political conditions, as in medieval France and some regions of Asia. Or it may be due to the economic conditions of production and distribution, as in modern Europe.

These causes of poverty are not mutually exclusive. A people may be tormented by drought and locusts, fleeced by money-lenders, plundered by feudal lords, and robbed by banditti in one and the same country. But scientific study requires a complete analysis of the different causes, which are not mutually connected by a tie of essential relationship, though they may exist simultaneously.

Karl Marx did not deal with all the causes of poverty that have been enumerated above. He confined himself to one phase of the

question. He asked himself, "Why are the masses of the people in modern Europe so poor and miserable?" And he chiefly concentrated his attention on those countries in which the factory system had been established in the last quarter of the eighteenth century or later.

Thus Marx was not a philosopher in the sense that he attempted to find an answer to the ever-present question of whence and whither, that has baffled the minds of men since they began to think. He was not a moral teacher or a religious enthusiast, nor was he prepared to offer a satisfactory synthesis of all the forces and phenomena of life for the guidance of humanity. He was a gleaner in one field. He chose a modest work and applied all his energy to its completion.

The problem of poverty has been before the world ever since the first monera sprang to life in the depths of the ocean. Does not Darwin inform us that nature does not produce sufficient food for all the creatures that are born? Thus our scientific commanders tell us that the commissariat arrangements of the world are woefully defective. Animals live in a state of chronic famine and consequent civil war.

Man too was in a similar condition in the primitive epochs of his history. Hunting was his sole source of food, and he was the prey quite as often as he was the hunter. But with the advent of the pastoral stage, the condition of things changed. And when the miracle of agriculture was wrought, giving man one thousand grains in place of one and thus feeding multitudes with a handful of corn long before the alleged feat of Jesus, man's poverty was a thing of the past. Plenty reigned everywhere.

But fate was mocking his hopes. For now we have to solve this great riddle: How is it that man has been in an abject state of poverty even after the discovery of agriculture? Far back as we may go, we find the majority of men in the grip of vile poverty. Greece, Rome, China, Persia, and all other nations of antiquity saw this horrid spectacle, and remained silent. The philosophers of India did not condescend to attend to it. They lived on the corn of the peasant, and then turned round and blamed him for his attachment to such gross material things as crops and cattle. They

did not see that all philosophy is ultimately dependent on manure. So illogical a position surprises one who reflects on the severely rationalistic spirit of Hindu philosophy. A system of philosophy that does not deal with economics is like a tower without foundations. For it is clear that a man must be born and then must eat and grow before he can attain *mukti*, *nirvana*, salvation, perfection or any other goal that religion may propose for him. Modern Europe recognises this truth, and Marx has put the whole world under a debt of gratitude by pointing out the fundamental importance of economics in human history.

Just as humanity was baffled by poverty even after agriculture had filled her granaries, so she has eaten dry crusts and worn rags even after the remarkable inventions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have increased man's productive powers a hundredfold and made nature a humble vassal of his will. How is it that while the world is rich, the people are so poor? This was the problem that Marx wished to solve for modern Europe, where poverty had no right to exist, as science had improved agriculture and industry beyond the wildest dreams of the utopia-builders of the past. But the people of Europe were in Marx's time sunk in wretched poverty, and the same state of things exists now. For Marx is not so far removed from us. He was born in 1818 and died in 1883.

The educated classes of India have no idea of the horrible destitution of the mass of the people in Europe. The Mogul Emperors, in their pride of power, carved on the walls of the palace of Delhi the romantic legend:—"If there is a Heaven on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here." And as I walked about the slum quarters of Paris and New York, the old reminiscences awoke in my mind with an altered refrain:—"If there is a hell on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here." Let the young men of India reply why one man like Andrew Carnegie can give away £36,000,000 in charity, while forty-four persons, who were arrested as vagrants the other day in New York, had only Rupees 5 among them for all their worldly belongings. How is it that England is the richest country in the world but full one-third of the English people live

on the verge of starvation year in and year out? How is it that while English exports and imports are increasing by leaps and bounds, many workmen have to cut their children's throats and commit suicide every winter, because they have nothing to eat? How does it come about that while the rich idlers are going so far afield as Biskra, Algiers and Khartoum for their holidays, the poor people are dying of consumption by thousands for lack of proper food and fresh air? How does it happen that while the sun never sets on England's vast empire, he also does not set on her filthy slums? All these questions troubled young Marx's mind day and night, and he resolved to sacrifice his life and a brilliant career to help the workmen of Europe out of the soul-destroying disease-breeding poverty in which they dragged on their wretched existence. It would be an error of language to say that they lived.

But that is not the whole of this great problem. Let us try to think why the idlest persons in the world are the richest. Why should a coolie who works all day earn only 3 annas, while a shareholder of a cotton mill earns an annual dividend of hundreds of rupees, though he may sleep away the whole time? How is it that the farmer, who feeds the whole world, cannot feed himself? How is it that the peasant, who toils in rain and sun is always poor and in debt, while the village money-lender grows fat and rich by sitting cross-legged in his shop and writing something from time to time in his ledger? How do you explain the strange anomaly that the man who risks his life in getting a pearl from the bottom of the ocean in the Persian Gulf, never wears it himself and never becomes wealthy, while the merchant who sells that pearl in Bombay or Calcutta lives in a stately mansion and enjoys all comfort and social esteem? How can you account for the fact that the workmen, who bring all the coal out of the mine in England or India, will always remain the same dirty, poor, despised beggars that they are now, while the shareholders of the companies that sell the coal will rise from millionaires to multi-millionaires and from multi-millionaires to billionaires as time passes on, while they have never seen the mine, and in many cases do not even know

where it is? How is it that the hardest and the most dangerous kinds of labour are the worst-paid in all countries of the world? These awkward questions must be answered somehow or other.

In ancient times, people did not see the way out of this maze. So they preached charity to the rich, and patience to the poor, with the consolation of Heaven thrown in as a reward of poverty in this world. Thus Jesus saw clearly that Dives and Lazarus represented an unnatural state of things, but he could only threaten Dives with hell-fire and cheer Lazarus with the prospect of sitting in Abraham's bosom after death. At the same time, the ancient philosophers recommended cynical renunciation and self-starvation. Wealth is fleeting: it cannot be equally and justly distributed; it cannot be kept safe against the avarice of kings and the skill of burglars. So they resorted to the heroic remedy of abolishing it altogether. But they could not carry out their precepts in practice, for the only logical outcome of their doctrine was suicide for all and everybody. They loudly condemned all economic activity, but lived on the fruit of other people's economic exertions. They mistook an impossible and stupid retreat from the field for a great victory. Even the ascetic, who ate only a grain of rice every day, did consume a certain quantity of rice in order to live and show his contempt for all rice-cultivators. Thus the ancient world only suggested foolish remedies, and could not diagnose the disease. The problem of the inequality of material conditions bewildered it, and it ran away in haste. Some tried to ascribe these evils to the deeds of a former life. But the modern world seeks some less recondite explanation of the phenomenon. It takes the bull by the horns instead of fleeing before it. No saint or philosopher can live on ideas or divine grace. No amount of virtue will save a man from consumption or the plague, if he is ill-fed and weak. Transcendental philosophy has feet of clay, like Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, for the natural needs of the body suffer saint and sinner alike, and even the Yogi cannot flourish without a certain minimum of protein, carbohydrates, and water within twenty-four hours. For Dives! For Dives!

What vulgar worldliness it is to connect salvation and *multi* with wheat and lentils! But facts are facts, and I never read of a philosopher or religious idealist, who could live on air or logic. Thus the old solutions of the perennial problem of poverty were entirely inadequate and ridiculous. Let us see how the modern world grapples with it. And let us study Karl Marx's contribution to the intellectual treasures of the human race in this province. (Karl = "Charles.")

Karl Marx was born on Tuesday, May 5th, 1818 in the German town of Treves. His father was a lawyer of repute, and had been converted from Judaism to Christianity early in his career. Karl was the brightest of his sons, and the fond father formed great hopes of his future career. Karl was sent to the Universities of Bonn and Berlin to study philosophy and jurisprudence and qualify for a profession. The romantic lad wrote poetry and planned some novels, but found that poetry was not his vocation. He turned to philosophy and became a follower of Hegel, though he maintained a very critical attitude and finally rejected the idealistic element of the Hegelian system. He passed through a period of painful intellectual and spiritual unrest,—the storm after which all great spirits find the calm of settled convictions and purposes in life. But his idealism annoyed his father very much, and we find the old Jew addressing grave remonstrances to the philosophically-inclined son on his imprudence in neglecting his worldly prospects. The successful man of the world wished his son to be like himself. But Karl was born to other things. It is pathetic to read in one of his father's letters the following sermon on the importance of money:—

"Complete disorder, silly wandering through all branches of science, silly brooding at the burning oil-lamp; turned wild in your coat of learning and unkempt hair... Only on one subject, I am still in the dark as to your views, and on that subject you are shrewd enough to keep silent. I mean that cursed gold, whose worth to a family man you do not seem to grasp at all... though you unjustly claim that I do not know, or do not understand you."

Karl did not mend his ways, and even wrote a thesis that would certainly have lost him his doctor's degree, for which he had worked so many years. His revolutionary ideas had made him unpopular

with the authorities, and his chances of securing a professor's chair were very small indeed. His father's disappointment at seeing his son wander away into the thorny paths of politics and philosophy can be better imagined than described. His mother too felt the loss keenly, as she had cherished the hope that her dear Karl would win wealth and rank by means of his rare intellectual gifts. Little did she dream that he would pass his life in exile and poverty, and that his remains would rest far from the family vault in a humble grave across the water. But the struggle between paternal solicitude and youthful idealism is not an uncommon occurrence. Every young philosopher was not blessed with a philosopher for his father. India too knows this domestic strife, which makes one home dark but spreads light over the land. Is not Buddha the great exemplar of this eternal conflict? Karl too was born to wring his parents' hearts with sorrow, but to give to the world great tidings of joy. He who belongs to himself cannot belong to the family: he who dotes on the family cannot work whole-heartedly for the world. Some one must weep in order that all may laugh. This rule of vicarious suffering holds good under all circumstances.

In 1843, Karl married Johanna Bertha Julie Jenny von Westphalen, a beautiful lady who had been the playmate of his childhood, and who fully reciprocated his tender affection. It was a social sacrifice for her to marry Karl, as she came of a rich and noble family, while Karl was a penniless graduate. But love is stronger than the world. The marriage was a happy one, and Jenny stood by her husband in all his trials and troubles till death parted them 38 years later. Brave as Karl Marx ever was, his wife was braver still, and there is no doubt that her love and gentleness cheered and soothed him in his exile and bitter poverty. As we shall see, Jenny loved the cause of the working-classes as passionately as Karl, and sacrificed two children with as much heroism as any Abraham offering Isaac to God, or Agamemnon immolating Iphigenia for the public good.

In 1842, Marx adopted political journalism to earn his livelihood and disseminate his political ideas. Germany was at that time

ruled by a wretched despotic bureaucracy, at the head of which stood the King of Prussia. There was no popular liberty. The constitutional movement of the early nineteenth century had left no permanent results behind. The numerous petty states were governed in the same manner, though sham constitutional assemblies existed in some of them. All the advanced thinkers of Germany were engaged in a campaign against this despotic and irresponsible system of government. Karl took his position in their ranks, and his brilliant contributions to the "Rhenische Zeitung," (The Rhenish Gazette) attracted much attention. He was made editor-in-chief, and conducted the paper with great courage and skill. His sledge hammer blows directed against the government soon drew down the wrath of the police on him. In April, 1843, the paper was suppressed. Marx wrote to Ruge, his friend and collaborator,—"The cloak of radicalism has fallen, and the almighty despotism stands naked before the eyes of the entire world." Ruge replied:—"The entire press of Germany could not, on account of one or two officials, nor even the King, be suppressed... If the opposition in the publishing world wishes to open new battlefields, it must do so outside of Germany."

Marx saw that he could do nothing within the country. He had become interested in the French writers, who preached communism as a cure for the poverty of the working-classes of Europe. He also grew discontented with the merely political Liberalism, which did not include economic measures for the relief of the poor peasants and working classes in its programme. He resolved to study economics and the theories of the French communists. So he left Germany and went to Paris—that Mecca of all lovers of freedom, the centre of knowledge and art, liberty and achievement, the mighty moral workshop of the world. With his arrival in Paris began a new period in his life.

He became the editor of a new radical journal, the *Vorwärts*, published in Paris to further the German political movement. He continued his relentless attacks on the Prussian Government. The Prussian bureaucracy took alarm and requested the French Government to suppress the paper.

Tyrannical governments are always very obliging to one another, and France was at this time governed by a corrupt monarchy under Louis Philippe. In January, 1845, M. Guizot, the French Minister, expelled Marx and the other contributors of the journal from Paris. Marx went to Brussels with his wife and child, and met other German political exiles who were living there. His three years' stay at Brussels brought him into touch with associations of German communists, and first gave him an opportunity of allying himself with the forces of communism on the continent. He established a German Workingmen's club, and secured the editorial control of the "Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung", a radical paper published by German exiles. He lectured to workingmen on the principles of political economy, and carried on an extensive correspondence with the radical leaders of France and Germany. He also tried to organise the various scattered communist societies in one great league. He entered into relations with the German Communist Club of London, and induced its members to transfer their headquarters to Brussels, so that the movement might have the benefit of his personal guidance. He then established a "Communist League", and wrote a manifesto which is to this day famous as "The Communist Manifesto", of which we shall hear more anon.

The "Communist Manifesto" was brought from the printers on February 24, 1848, and on the same day the world learned that a republican revolution had broken out in Paris and that the King of France Louis Philippe had fled from Paris in disguise. M. Guizot, the Minister who had expelled Marx from Paris in 1845, also sought safety in foreign parts. A Provisional Government was established, and a Republic was proclaimed.

Meanwhile, the Prussian Government had been trying to persuade the Belgian authorities to expel Marx from Belgium, but with no success. At last, in February, 1848, the spread of communism among the working classes frightened the Belgian government, and Marx was arrested and ordered to leave Belgian soil at once.

But fortune favoured him this time. The revolution in France had led him and other to Paris. In fact the French government

through one of its members, had begged "the brave and loyal Marx" to return to the country whence "tyranny had banished him, and where he like all fighting in the sacred cause, the cause of the fraternity of all peoples" would find welcome. Marx spent some months in Paris, and returned to Germany to start a democratic newspaper, the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" of Cologne ("New Rheinisch Gazette"). The first issue of the paper was published on June 1, 1848. Marx's friend Engels wrote about his brief stay in Paris:—

"I saw Paris again, during the short fleeting weeks of the republican delirium, in March and April, when the workers ate during the day their dry bread and potatoes, and at night planted 'trees of liberty' in the boulevards, had displays of fireworks, and sang the Marseillaise, and when the bourgeoisie hid themselves in their houses and sought to assuage the rage of the populace."

The New Rheinisch Gazette was no more popular with the government of Germany than its predecessor, which had been suppressed in 1843. In the course of the summer of 1848, a Democratic Congress was held at Cologne; Marx took an active part in its proceedings. Albert Brisbane, an American socialist, was also present at it, and left a pen-picture of Marx at the Congress, from which we quote the following:—

"I found there Karl Marx, the leader of the popular movement. The writings of Marx on Labour and Capital and the social theories he then elaborated, have had more influence on the great socialistic movement of Europe than those of any other man.... He was just then rising into prominence; a man of some thirty years, short, solidly built, with a fine face and bushy black hair. His expression was that of great energy, and behind his self-contained reserve of manner were visible the fire and passion of a resolute soul. Marx's supreme sentiment was a hatred of the power of capital, with its spoliations, its selfishness, and its subjection of the labouring-classes.... As I remember that young man uttering his first words of protest against our economic system, I reflect how little it was imagined then that his theories would one day agitate the world and become the important lever in the overthrow of time-honoured institutions. How little did the contemporaries of St. Paul imagine the influence which that simple mind would produce on the future of the world. Who could have supposed at that time that he was of more importance than the Roman senate or the reigning Emperor—more even than all the Emperors of Christendom to follow? In modern times, Karl Marx may have been as important in his way as was St. Paul in his."

The heavy arm of the German government was not long in falling on the intrepid

journalist and political "agitator." On Feb. 7, 1849, Marx and other colleagues were tried on the charge of having labelled the public prosecutor and some constables in certain comments on their official actions. Marx conducted his own defence and spoke for about an hour. His speech was really an indictment of the ministry. He concluded it with these memorable words:—

"Not only does the general situation in Germany, but also the state of affairs in Prussia, impose upon us the duty to watch with the utmost distrust every movement of the government, and publicly to denounce to the people the slightest misdeeds of the system.... In the month of July alone, we had to denounce three illegal arrests.... It is the duty of the press to step forward on behalf of the oppressed and their struggles. And then, gentlemen, the edifice of slavery has its most effective supports in the subordinate political and social functionaries that immediately deal with private life—the person, the living individual. It is not sufficient to fight the general conditions and the superior powers. The press must make up its mind to oppose *this* constable, *this* attorney, *this* councillor. What has wrecked the march revolution? It reformed only the highest political class, but it left untouched all the supports of this class—the old bureaucracy, the old army, the old courts, the old judges, born, educated and worn out in the service of absolutism. The first duty of the press is now to undermine all the supports of the present political state."

The defendants were acquitted by the jury. But two days later, on Feb. 9, 1849, Marx and his associates were again tried for inciting to armed resistance to the King's authority. This was a much more serious affair. Marx made a brilliant speech in his defence, and the jury who again brought in a verdict of not guilty, sent one of their number to thank him for the very instructive lecture that he had given them! In May, 1849, there were risings in Dresden and other places in the Rhine provinces. The patience of the Prussian Government was now exhausted. Marx was ordered to leave Prussia and the Gazette was suppressed by administrative order. The last issue of the paper appeared on May 19, printed in red ink and containing a stirring "Farewell" poem.

Marx again left his native land and went to Paris. What happened next can best be described in his wife's words. Her diary gives us a vivid record of the daily sufferings of the household on account of their harrowing poverty. Here is one extract from it.

"We remained in Paris a month. Here, also, there was to be no resting place for us. One fine morning

the familiar figure of the descendant of police appeared with the announcement that Karl, 'as usual' (and his wife) must leave Paris within twenty-four hours. . . I again gathered together my small belongings to seek a safe haven in London. Karl had hastened thither before us."

Mr. Marx arrived in London toward the end of June, 1849, and in July her fourth child, Henry, was born there. Speaking of this event, Mr. J. Spargo, the learned biographer of Marx, says that the child was

"cursed from birth by the black monster of poverty and doomed to the early death which is the fate of so many thousands of poor children."

This boy died early in 1852, a victim, or rather a martyr of poverty. Mr. Spargo rightly says:—

"It was the first time that death had visited the humble home, and the blow fell upon the parents the more heavily because they knew that their little one, who had sucked blood from his famished mother's breasts, was literally slain by poverty."

The family were reduced to the most gnawing poverty, almost to destitution, during their first few years in London. Bread was often the only food they had, and Marx had to forego his share of it to let the children eat a full meal. He would go and study in the British Museum, faint from hunger and cold. He earned a little by writing ill-paid articles for reviews. The struggle was bitter indeed. Once he applied in a railway office for the position of clerk, but was rejected on account of his bad handwriting! It will be remembered by posterity that one of the greatest German philosophers and writers could not become even a railway clerk! Later he was appointed London Correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and was paid £1 a week for his services. This sum was for months the only income of the family. Indian readers, who have visited England, can imagine how a family could live on this pittance. Even the technical scholars of the Government of India get £3 a week (of course including college fees). The couple lived in two rooms, one of which was the sleeping room, while the other served as kitchen, study and drawing-room. Illustrious visitors found Marx in these humble lodgings, as they came to pay their respects to him, or ask his advice on important questions of political and social organization. We shall

quote from Mrs. Marx's letters some extracts describing their life in London:—

"Nobody can say of us that we ever made a noise about what we for years have sacrificed and had to endure; very little, or never have our personal affairs or difficulties been noised abroad. . . to save the political honour of the paper (the *New Rhenish Gazette*) and the civic honour of his friends, he allowed the whole burden to be unloaded on his shoulders, all the income he sacrificed, and in the moment of his departure he paid back the salaries of the editors and other bills—and he was expelled by force from the country. You know that we did not keep for ourselves; I went to Frankfurt to pawn my silverware, the last we had; at Cologne I sold my furniture. . . . you know London and its conditions well enough. Three children and the birth of a fourth! For rent alone we paid 42 thalers a month. . . . our small resources were soon exhausted. . . . The keeping of a wet nurse for my baby was out of the question, so I resolved to nurse the child myself, in spite of the constant terrible pains in the breast and the back. But the poor little angel drank so much silent worry from me that he was sickly from the first day of his life, lying in pain day and night. . . . so I was sitting one day, when unexpectedly our land-lady stepped in, to whom we had paid 250 thalers during the winter, and with whom we had a contract to pay after that the rent to the owner of the house. She denied the contract and demanded £5, the sum we owed for rent, and because we were unable to pay at once, two constables stepped in and attached my small belongings, beds, linens, clothes, all, even the cradle of my poor baby and the toys of the two girls, who stood by crying bitterly. In two hours, they threatened they would take all and everything away. I was lying there on the bare hard floor with my freezing children. . . . The next day we had to get out of the house. It was cold, raining and gloomy. My husband was out hunting for rooms. Nobody wanted to take us in, when he talked of four children. In the end, a friend helped us. I sold my bedding to satisfy the druggist, the baker, the butcher and the milkman, who got scared and all at once presented their bills. The bedding was brought to the sidewalk, and was loaded on a cart. We were able, after the selling of everything we possessed, to pay every cent. I moved with my little ones into our present two small rooms in the German Hotel, 1, Leicester Street, Leicester Square. . . . Do not believe that these petty sufferings have bent us. I know only too well that we are not the only ones who suffer, and I rejoice that I even belong to the chosen privileged lucky ones, because my dear husband, the support of my life, yet stands at my side."

It would be a sacrilege to add any comments on this story of a wife's heroism told by herself.

In the spring of 1852, the afflicted couple lost their infant girl Francisca, who was born the year before. The mother's diary records the terrible destitution of the family at this time. Here is an extract, which shall surely one day figure in the acts of

the Bible of emancipated slaves is like to come:—

In the summer of the same year—1852—our poor little Emma died of severe bronchitis. Three days before her little child wrestled with death. Her little coffin lay in the small back room: we all of us slept on the front room, and when night came, we made our beds on the floor, the three living children close by us.....The death of the dear child came in the time of our bitterest poverty. Our German friends could not help us.....In the anguish of my heart, I went to a French refugee who lived near and who had sometimes visited us. I told him our sore need. At once with the friendliest kindness, he gave me £5. With that we paid for the little coffin in which the poor child sleeps peaceful."

At this time, too, occurred the amusing incident which has immortalised a pawnbroker who was too zealous for the rights of property. It happened that Marx wanted to pawn some old silver spoons, which his wife had inherited as heirlooms from her aristocratic ancestors and which bore the crest of the House of Argyll. The pawnbroker's suspicions were roused, when he saw his ragged German client in possession of such precious wares, and he wanted to have him arrested by the police. It was with some difficulty that Marx escaped arrest after offering the necessary explanations to the police. We know that pawnbrokers figure in the biography of Mazzini too. Evidently Europe owes much to these despised custodians of other people's goods, for the movement of freedom was helped out by them at the most critical periods of the lives of its heroes! Marx also used to borrow small sums at the exorbitant rate of 20 to 50 per cent. for interest! This shows how capitalism, represented by its meanest hirings, unconsciously wreaked its vengeance on its bitterest enemy, who was labouring to abolish rent, interest and profit from the face of the earth. Once or twice Marx even thought of going into business, as he could not see the suffering of the little children. But the brave wife dissuaded him from this step, which would have been a severe blow to the movement. She encouraged him to adhere to his literary work, and thus saved him from the grievous error that he wanted to commit. In a letter to Mrs. Weydemeyer, dated March 12, 1867, Mrs. Marx writes:—

"The first year after the loss of my dear Emma, I felt as if I had been struck by lightning, and I was left alone, for the first time, without

children, whose pictures are engrained in our hearts with such deep sorrow. Then the first American crisis came, and our income sagged to half (from the *New York Tribune*). Our little Emma had to be screwed down once more, and we had even to incur debts....And now I come to the bitterest part of our life, from which the only light and happiness was shed on our existence—our dear children. The girls are a constant pleasure to us, owing to their affectionate and unselfish dispositions. Their little sister, however, is the idol of the whole household. A most terrible fever attacked me and we had to send for a doctor. On the 20th of November he came, examined me carefully, and after keeping silent a long time broke out into the words: 'My dear Mrs. Marx, I am sorry to say, you have got the small-pox—the children must leave the house immediately.' You can imagine the distress and grief of the entire household at this verdict.....I had scarcely recovered sufficiently to be able to leave my bed, when my dearly beloved Karl took sick. Excessive fear, anxiety and vexations of every sort and description threw him upon his sick-bed. But, thanks heaven, he recovered after an illness of four weeks. In the meantime, the *Tribune* had placed us at half-pay again.....To you, my dear friend, I send my warmest regards. May you remain brave and unshaken in these days of trial. The world belongs to the courageous. Continue to be the strong faithful support of your dear husband, and remain elastic in mind and body.....Yours in sincere friendship, Jenny Marx."

In these simple notes, we see the whole situation at a glance—the little household, racked by poverty and sickness, haunted by worry and care, but lit up with the light of love and resounding with the laughter of lovely children. All that the heart could give to take the sting out of misfortune and daily privations was vouchsafed in the most abundant measure. And they were happy, the great thinker and his devoted wife, who knew her duty so well, and discharged it with such constancy. Often they would walk up and down the room, hand in hand, singing German love-songs as they used to do when they were young—far away in the old country, beneath the summer trees in bloom.

"O woman! in our hour of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou."

In spite of such hardships, Marx always refused to accept any remuneration for his lectures on political economy to the workmen of London. He was content to take nothing from the poor labouring class, whose service he had so often rendered. It was during these years of abject poverty that he wrote his *Capital*, the greatest of his works, and the

offer Marx an indirect bribe in order to wean him from the people's cause and undermine his influence in the movement. It was a clever move, but it failed. Bismarck employed Marx's old comrade, Bucher, who had gone over to the side of the Government and now enjoyed Bismarck's entire confidence. Bucher had kept up friendly relations with Marx even after accepting his official appointment. He wrote a carefully worded letter to Marx, dated October 8th, 1865, in the course of which he said:—

"The 'Staats Anzeiger' ('The State Intelligencer') desires to obtain regular monthly reports concerning the movements of the money market..... No limitations are set regarding the length of articles..... kindly write whether you agree to undertake this, and what compensation you desire..... *Progress will have changed many times before it dies; therefore he who wishes to serve the nation during his lifetime must rally round the Government.*" (The italics are ours.)

The sting of the letter is in its tail. The concluding sentence discloses the real object of this bid for Marx's literary work. But Marx saw through the scheme. He knew that dependence on the Government even as an independent contributor to an official organ would place him in a very equivocal position before his followers. He did not desire to have anything to do with a Government newspaper, even as a reporter of the movements of the money market. He therefore refused the offer, though he was in such pressing need of financial relief. But he would not earn money at the sacrifice of even the slightest interests of the movement. He put even the shadow of principle before his personal necessities. For in this case, he was conscientious to a very nice degree indeed. Bismarck's round-about plan of bribing the leader of the people's party thus fell through.

In 1864, Marx, in conjunction with other comrades, established the "International Workingmen's Association," which wielded much influence in the politics of Europe for six or seven years. Mazzini was a delegate of the Italian workingmen, but he withdrew from the Society after some time, as he did not agree with all its principles and methods. The association's mission has had the good fortune to be known in history simply as "The International"—a name which now like a charm was now

on the ardent spirits of France, Italy and Switzerland. It held annual congresses in various towns and formulated resolutions and programmes. But its greatest value lay in its effect in promoting the unity and solidarity of the working-classes in different countries. Marx's battle-cry "Workingmen of all countries, unite" reverberated throughout Europe. "The Times" said of the movement that "since the time of the establishment of Christianity and the destruction of the ancient world, one had seen nothing like this awakening of labour." The leaders of the associations were persecuted by several governments, but its power grew greater every year. At last the Franco-German War of 1870-71 and the disturbances of the Commune of Paris destroyed its usefulness by depriving it of its most active members and frightening its other supporters. There was also a split between the pacific and constitutional section represented by Marx and the violent revolutionary wing led by the Russian philosopher, Michael Bakunin. The upshot was that the association languished, and was finally dissolved in 1876.

Marx's literary activity was immense. He wrote articles, pamphlets, letters, treatises, and manifestoes to further the movement. Some of these productions were mere polemical pamphlets against various opponents, and were not worthy of Marx. Others, like his small book on "Price, Value and Profit," and his larger work, "A Critique of Political Economy" are of permanent value. But the great work on which his fame chiefly rests is "Das Kapital" (capital), which has been called the "Bible of Socialism." The first volume was published by Marx in his lifetime. The second and third volumes were completed from Marx's notes by his friend, colleague and comrade, Friedrich Engels, after his death. Friedrich Engels's devotion to Marx forms one of the brightest episodes in the story of socialism. His generosity relieved Marx of the petty cares that had embittered the early years of the philosopher's sojourn in England. Engels's name is inseparably associated with that of his great friend. And no one thinks of Marx without thinking of Engels too. The book "Das Kapital" has many faults, but it is quite a masterpiece. It has been the intellectual property of the socialist

campaign in all countries. Marx was very sad that he could not finish it before his death.

In 1881, Marx lost his beloved wife. On March 14, 1883, he too passed away, sitting in his arm-chair, with a smile on his lips. He had suffered much from illness during the last thirteen years of his life. Overwork, bad food, worry and mental strain had shattered his constitution. Liver troubles and insomnia, the inevitable companions of all thinkers on their journey through life, had undermined his health for many years. Ill-health is the penalty of intellect. Rousseau, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Comte, and so many other philosophers have had to fight against it every day of their life. Marx could not evade this law. He was buried in Highgate cemetery, where his wife already reposed in peace. A few years ago, it was proposed to erect a monument to his memory over his grave. One of his disciples wrote at the time:—"Marx's monument exists already—not in hammered brass or sculptured stone, but in human hearts. The whole international socialist movement is his monument, and each new victory of the socialist forces, raises it higher."

Let us now turn to the ideas and theories that Marx gave to the world, besides his own personality and that of his heroic wife. I am one of those who do not attach much importance to these theories, and regard them as one-sided and defective. Their usefulness consists in supplying the justifiable aspirations of the labouring-classes with a nominal theoretical basis. Rousseau's theory of a social contract was historically and logically untenable, but it served to establish the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which was the crying need of the times. Even so Marx's theory of the class-struggle and his theory of value are not very accurate or convincing, but they represent the present practical ideal of the working-classes and harmonise with it. Hence they must enjoy great popularity. As Prof. William James said, a theory is only a tool to work with.

I shall speak of Marx's three chief ideas before passing on to a brief exposition of the practical aspect of communism. Marx holds that economic conditions exercise an almost absolute influence on man-

kind, moulding its political institutions, and even its religious and literary life. Methods of production lead to great changes in the entire social structure, and in ideas and ideals.* This view is called the "*materialistic conception of history*." It is only a half-truth, but Marx put it forward almost as the whole truth. It follows that society obeys certain laws of evolution, which depend on industrial conditions. Social evolution is therefore analogous in many respects to biological and physical evolution: it is governed by immanent laws, which must be discovered. We should work in harmony with these irresistible tendencies that are inherent in society and push it forward. This conception of social evolution is fatalistic, and in this respect resembles that advanced by Herbert Spencer. I only state this view in order to disagree with it. Society is not an agglomeration of molecules, and man is not a machine. Social evolution is not a continuous process. There is no law of social progress visible anywhere. Human history is moulded by natural environments and by man's will. Carlyle's theory of civilisation as a product of personal influences is much nearer the truth than that of mechanical scientific evolution advanced by Marx and Spencer. Marx admitted the potency of social choice in evolution, but he regarded the "laws" of progress as predominant and gave a secondary position to human volition. This interpretation of history is vicious and misleading. History reveals no law or process or even a tendency. Change is the only law discernible there. The rest is chaos, which great men try to turn into cosmos.

The second doctrine with which Marx's name is connected is *the theory of the class-struggle*. History is a record of class-struggles, and these struggles have been the great evolutionary forces in the past. The Communist Manifesto says:—

"Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition

* F. Engels says in the introduction to the Communist manifesto of 1848—"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, had the social organisation necessarily following from it; from the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight.... Our epoch of the bourgeoisie (i.e., the middle classes), possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society, as a whole, is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other, Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

Thus Marx elevated one phase of historical evolution to the rank of a universal law. There have been classes and class-wars: but that is not the essence of history, nor indeed its mainspring. Class-struggle is only one part of the whole drama. And I repudiate the idea that society is divided into classes by any hard and fast line of demarcation. It is not class-selfishness, but social co-operation based on the appreciation of a higher ideal, that has been the motive force of progress at all epochs. Marx himself changed his tone later, when he attempted to secure the co-operation of the middle-classes in the "International." This theory of classes was a dangerous boomerang indeed, for many workingmen argued that Marx should be expelled from the movement, as he was not of their class: he was a "bourgeois" (middle-class man)! Thus do false theories come home to roost.

Marx's third achievement in the field of social philosophy is *his analysis of surplus value*. Marx saw that the capitalist grows rich, because he pays the workingmen less than the full value of the product that they manufacture. His profits represent the surplus value, of which he robs the workingman. Marx has displayed much ingenuity in developing this idea, which seems to be the soundest part of his work in the province of pure theory. But I am not much interested in the stupid economics of a stupid system. And Marx's exposition of value is open to grave objections from the standpoint of orthodox political economy. *There can be no scientific theory of value under the present absurd regime.* On this point, I cannot speak with much certitude, for I do not like to wallow in all the filth and mire of the present predatory economic system. I know that the workingmen and peasants are sweated and deprived of their dues: I know that the manufacturers and landowners fatten at their expense: I know that society suffers enormously by leaving production to selfish greedy capitalists.

Indian readers will now ask, "But what

is this communism, which Marx loved so much?" Communism is a very simple affair. It declares in the first place, that land should not belong to any one man, family or corporation, but to the whole community collectively. For land is the source of food, clothing, fuel and medicine. The earth is really our mother. If some men take possession of it to the exclusion of others, these latter must become the slaves of the landowners for bread. The landowners may also use the land for selfish purposes; they may make parks for their pleasure; they may cultivate beetroot for their profit while the community wants wheat; they may leave it to their sheep and cattle, while men are perishing of hunger. Thus private property in land leads to slavery, poverty and social strife. Land is no man's property. This natural law was understood by all communities in the early stages of their history. But strong and wily men arose, and appropriated large tracts for their own use. Then they compelled others to work for them and called them "tenants." Communism aims at making land the property of the whole community, held and administered by a universal republican State for the benefit of all. The welfare of all is the highest law.

Further, Communism lays down that private capital shall be abolished and money-power along with it. If you think for a moment, you will see that money is a great magician indeed. If a man accumulates Rs. 50,000, his children, grand-children, and great-grand-children to the fortieth generation can live comfortably on the interest of the money without doing any work at all, and the original sum will remain intact all the time. Is this not some juggler's feat? Again, take a merchant who has Rs. 10,000. He buys many maunds of ghee (clarified butter) from all the village-producers, and sells it in town, thus making a profit of, say, Rs. 2,000. He repeats the process several times, and at the end of some years, he is a *lakhpati* (owner of Rs. 100,000). Now consider that this man has done absolutely no work of any kind.* He simply paid the villagers who produced the ghee, and then sold the ghee to the retail-dealers of the town; he remained sitting in his shop all the time.

* Is that true?—Ed. M. R.

his good fortune is due to his possession of the money to start with. Now what is the secret of this strange power of money? Does its interest and profit spring from magic or suddenly and spontaneously? Let us take the case of a manufacturer, who buys certain shares in a factory. He goes to see the factory: he may be ignorant of its whereabouts. He may go on a tour round the world. But his shares bring him a handsome income all the same at the end of the year. How do you explain this curious fact? And side by side with these advantages for the possessors of money go many disadvantages for those who do not possess it. For the labourers who work in the factory, the villagers who produce the ghee, the small shop-keepers who sell it to the people, the engineers who keep the machinery going,—all these men, who do the whole work, always remain poor and hungry, and what is worse, dependent on the goodwill of the employers and the wholesale merchants. How is this? It is simply the wonder-working power of money. Money is the goose that lays the golden eggs. The more we think, the more the conviction is forced on us that money has been one of the most disastrous inventions of the human mind. Humanity has committed suicide with this weapon. The first man who issued a coin was guilty of treason to the race. When a poor man jingles a coin in his pocket, he is like a prisoner playing with his fetters. For it is the device of gold, silver, leather, or nickel currency that has made the rich richer and the poor poorer. It is the coin that enables a thrifty or crafty man to command the labour of others, and make them his servants. Communism therefore first communalises land; but that is only half the solution of the problem. It next proceeds to abolish private capital, and money, which is the policeman of capitalism. Capital is always represented by money—so many rupees, or pounds sterling. No man can accumulate fish or bread or fruits in order to enslave others afterwards, for all articles of food are fortunately perishable. That is a very beneficial provision of nature indeed. But the invention of currency enables one man to lay up a store of coins, which are like so many carbide lamps to be used in his wars against others. Under the new system

place to paper. But the essential principle is the same. Private property in land leads to exchange—exchange requires money; money in its turn becomes an article of private property, and thus can be used to exploit others. So the process goes on. St. Paul said: "Love of money is the root of all evil." He made a little mistake. He should have said: "Money is the root of all evil." For money is the cause: love of money is largely an effect. So long as money exists, most men will love it, in spite of all sermons and warnings. When despotic monarchy existed, men were bound to intrigue for power. Its abolition has also cured mankind of the love of intrigue, for an appetite feeds on its object. In countries where titles of nobility exist, love of rank is widespread. In America and France, no one thinks of rank now, because there is no rank to be had. Thus money itself intensifies that passion for its possession, which has been so much deplored by all religious preachers. So long as proper food, clean lodgings, recreation and even medicine are to be got only with money, men will hanker for it, for poverty is not merely a misfortune under the present system; it is equivalent to a sentence of death. When men had to defend themselves against the assaults of the violent, and every man had therefore to carry a gun on his shoulder or a sword in his belt, it was impossible to persuade society that the love of weapons was a sin. For the love of weapons was the result of the love of life and health. And no religion will, or should, eradicate the natural healthy instincts of joy in life and physical well-being. Instead of impressing the love of life and health, we should destroy the enemies of life and health—germs, dirt, poverty, mutual violence and other similar pests. The ancient religious teachers fought backward in the search of social welfare: we fight forward. They said, "Don't love money. As life and health depend on money, don't love life and health." We say: "Abolish money, and make the best of life and health, which will no longer depend on money." Thus Communism is an important and indispensable factor in the moral progress of mankind. Religious

* All the means are provided for us to obtain money—how do we obtain it? We must work without ceasing for money, and then we can buy what we need.

teachers who neglect economics build on sand. Economic arrangements exercise a profound influence on moral life—and Marx is entitled to our gratitude, not because he explained the relation of economics to ethics, but because he concentrated his attention on economics and vastly exaggerated its importance. Then idealists began to examine his theories and found that there was a substratum of truth in them. Thus Marx has indirectly helped the art of ethics too by his fanaticism for economics.

I have contented myself with mentioning only the central principles of communism, so as to show how it attacks the great evil of private property in land and capital, with its brood of money, rent, taxes, interest and profit. Production and distribution are to be carried on by a universal republican State, and the products divided justly and equally* among all citizens. This ideal was preached by Marx: of course he had his own pet notions about details, like every other communist thinker. But the fundamental doctrine is the same. Minor differences are not important.

Karl Marx's greatest work was not the publication of his treatise on capital, or the composition of numerous pamphlets, or even the establishment of the various associations which he founded and dissolved in his lifetime. He may have thought that this activity was his chief claim on the gratitude of the world. But we can estimate the value of his work better. Few great men know themselves. Marx was a benefactor of humanity, because he was the first thinker of modern Europe who had faith in the working-classes. Socialists before him fancied that communism was a boon to be conferred by the refined and educated philanthropists on the poor ignorant labourers. They thought it would come from above. This idea is still found among such bodies as the Fabian Society of England or "Christian Socialist" associations. Marx was the first man to lay down the formula that the emancipation of the working-classes must be achieved by themselves. "He who would be free, himself

* We do not understand how "equal" distribution of products can be just. For supposing private capital and private property in land were abolished, would all men even then be equally intelligent, skilful and industrious, so as to be entitled to an equal share of products?—Editor, *Modern Review*.

must strike the blow." His great appeal was addressed to the hearts of the working-men, to the latent manhood in them, of which they themselves were not conscious: "Workingmen of all countries, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain." Years have passed by: men have come and gone: but this passionate cry of the leader who believed in the ignorant and dirty labourers still raises them to the full level of manhood. Such insight is given only to men who have suffered for a cause: it does not come to arm-chair reformers or learned professors preaching from the snug comfort of the study. Marx had to pass through poverty and want himself before he could learn that the highest moral impulses lie buried beneath the ragged clothes and the dirt-begrimed countenance of "the man in the street." In all epochs of social change, this is the great service that a leader renders to the people. He teaches them to believe in themselves by telling them that he believes in them. They think they are weak: he tells them they are strong, for he puts his trust in them. This is the secret of all moral reform. When Jesus healed a man of disease, he asked him, "Dost thou believe in me?" But when he healed a man of moral weakness, he said: "I believe in thee." He did not say these words, but his actions spoke louder than words. Buddha said to the barber: "Yes, you can come with me." And the barber's heart at once rose to the height of the call, merely because the master thought him worthy. Rousseau told the oppressed, ignorant and timid serfs of eighteenth-century France that they were worthy of sovereignty. It sounded like mockery. But lo! the words awakened all the sleeping manhood within them, and these rough unlettered half-starved slaves of the nobles became valiant, self-respecting citizens within one generation. Muhammad said to the Arabs: "You can conquer the world." And so they did. The great man, who perceives that all men, even the rudest and the poorest, are capable of the highest moral growth, is the saviour of society. He knows the source of human nature. He evokes power in those who are apparently weak, he makes heroes out of the scum of the earth. And therefore was Jesus a friend of publicans

and sinners, a leader of fishermen and outcasts and erring sisters. Therefore Buddha preached in the vulgar tongue, and drew to himself those who were despised by the philosophers as ordinary men and women. Therefore were those great words uttered: "The stone which the builders rejected became the head of the corner" :—"For God has chosen the weak things of this world to confound the mighty, and God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and things that are nought to confound the things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence :"—"The first shall be last, and the last first."

What Rousseau did for the people of Europe in the eighteenth century, Marx and others did for them in the nineteenth. His insight reveals his moral grandeur, for he was a very learned man, born and bred up among the rich; he might have despised the brutish stupid labourers and fancied that reform would come from above, from the cultured and intelligent classes, who could understand history and philosophy. But he was a moral giant, and saw that the common men always understand love, equality and heroism much better than the

sophisticated ease-loving educated classes. Social and political progress is born of love and devotion, not of pedantry and oratory. Marx first inspired the downtrodden and despised labourers with a great hope and a mighty purpose. Thus was real modern Social Democracy born. Thus "was the gospel preached unto the poor."

In criticising Marx's views and actions, we must bear in mind Dr. Johnson's tribute to Goldsmith :—"Let not his faults be remembered. He was a very great man." Marx's name will be cherished by generations yet unborn. And his wife and children will share his glory. When poverty and slavery are no more, and the last shreds of private capitalism are consigned to the scrap-heap of the past, humanity will remember that they who brought it out of the wilderness were often faint from lack of food. Mothers will tell the story of that mother, who offered her children on the altar of the cause, so that little children should play and laugh in the golden age to come. Some one must suffer that the world may be helped. Reader, will you be that one?

HAR DAYAL.

THE DOCTRINE OF SIN

[FROM THE HINDU STANDPOINT.]

IT is perhaps not so easy to treat the conception of sin from the Hindu standpoint as to treat it from the Christian point of view. In Christian theology the term sin has a definite meaning, with perfectly clear outlines, though we now sometimes meet with a tendency to import in this conception other shades of meaning not particularly its own. Sin means there 'offending against the will of God' as expressed in the Revelation or more properly in the celebrated Ten Commandments. J. Muller is inclined to think that sin essentially consists in the violation of the Two Commandments: Love God and love thy neighbour, for "on these two hang all the law and all the prophets."

In Hinduism also we have Revelation or

"Sruti" i.e., that which was heard or received. The word "Rishi" comes from a root which means to see. The Rishis are not the makers but the seers or recipients of Eternal Truths.* God is the fountain-head of all truth. He is the light that shines on the other bank of all-pervading darkness.† He supported the Vedas (supreme knowledge) when everything else was engulfed in the Final Flood.

Sin, therefore, consists in offending against Truth. Hinduism is always inclined to maintain the primacy of reason and truth over will and sentiment. The word Pápa is not restricted to the disobedience of divine command, but is a generic term

* कथं नमस्कृतम् ।

† न पश्यति; नमः पश्यति ।

including the moral and legal aspects of guilt. It is quite possible that it originally meant the violation of the Divine precepts as embodied in the *Sruti* and then it came to mean quite generally any form of guilt, in keeping with the etymological sense (पाप means that from which people should save themselves).* "The essence of sin," says Julius Muller, "consists in the estrangement of man from God, in a want of love to him."† The word "पाप" however, besides referring to this estrangement principally connotes the violation of the laws of Truth and of conduct of which the *Shastras* or the *Regulative* (sacred) Books are the preceptacles.

The idea of "Sin" is based upon the threefold relation of self, God and salvation. A knowledge of self and an insight into its destiny must precede a true understanding of what one should do and what avoid. A man who has but a crude conception of the self and its numerous relations can never have a proper conception of its shortcomings and failures. The true idea of this life and its significance leads to the idea of the next. It is the future that glorifies the past. The idea of an hereafter,—of a परलोक—where all our actions attain their fruition and all our thoughts unmistakably bear their consequences, dominates the Hindu's consciousness of the duties and responsibilities of this life. परलोक casts its shadow athwart the river of life. The one true goal of the Hindu is salvation—freedom from bondage—that "grand far off divine event" to which all his aspirations and strivings tend. The Hindu's standard of conduct has very little direct reference to this life. The present life is regarded as an evil. Things are not what they seem. The human soul is here made to see a ghostly ballet of shadows and unrealities. This almost Platonic conception of Reality influences the Hindu's appreciation of conduct. He turns away with disappointment from the chains of this life, and centres all his yearnings in the conception of an Ideal Good, Ideal Truth and Ideal Beauty—i.e., God. There-

fore the idea of self and its salvation becomes closely interwoven with the idea of God, not only as the highest ideal of Truth etc., but also as the Supreme Arbiter of man's destiny. God's will coincides with all truth and all good. Any violation of this will marks a departure from the road to salvation and is consequently denominated "Sin." In one sense, therefore, the doctrine of sin is directly connected with the religious aspect of a man's life. But religion is not an aspect of a man's life; his whole life is taken up by it. It forms the warp and woof of the web of Indian life.

From the birth of a Hindu down to his death, तैव i.e., of the first three classes निवेद्याः, यज्ञानात्मी जन्मन् त्रिवारद्वयः—विष्वक् कृतिः, his life is one long tale of purifications, sacrifices, observances, rites and penances. The pious Hindu patiently passes through all these in the hope of terminating the endless cycle of births and deaths. Anything that stands between God and man or anything that tends to set back the hands of time in his progress towards the final deliverance constitutes a sin.

I do not mean to say that this all-pervading influence of religion has nowhere led to casuistry or even ridiculous punctiliousness in the conduct of life. When it is seriously contended that cutting a tree is a sin and is expiated by three days' fasting and penance*, one cannot but wonder if the Hindus have had any adequate conception of sin. It is undeniable perhaps that the endless sacrifices of the *Purva Mimansa* for the purifications of the body or the intricate and bewildering variety of atonements laid down in the *Smritis* is the result of a human tendency to go to extremes in every matter. Exclusive attention to manners is responsible for the European's punctiliousness about etiquette. Similarly it is possible that overzealous regard for a spiritual significance of every action may have produced the cast-iron system of sins and their atonements which the *Smritis* familiarise us with. The noble idea of a Theocratic state seems to me to be exaggerated in the hands of the highly imaginative teachers of the East and their wily commentators. Society is above all a living and organic growth

* I consider that among all the terms that bring out the sense of guilt, such as दुष्कृत, पाप etc., पाप comes nearest to the conception of sin.

† The Christian doctrine of Sin.

* See *Mahabharat, Santi Parva*.

and any one who attempts to have it bound up by inflexible rules all round, must pay the penalty by smothering its life and growth.

A good deal of difference is found to prevail among the different sects of Hinduism as to the origin and nature of sin and also as to the condemnation of particular sin. It is a well known fact that some religious sects of the Hindus, though avowedly following the tenets of the Samhitas for the maintenance of social order, have introduced into their esoteric cult practices and performances not particularly of an elevating character. This seems to me to be one of the reasons of the moral decline of Vaishnavism. It may be mentioned here that Brāhmoism was not only a protest against the worship of many gods, but also against the numerous practices prevailing among the Hindus of the time of Ram Mohan Ray and Debendranath.

But the question of sin not only troubles the theology of the East but also its metaphysics. In a short paper like this it is not possible to give anything more than a passing reference to the treatment of the doctrine of sin by the metaphysical systems of India. Philosophy views in close connection with the problem of sin other questions of a speculative character, e.g., theory of a personal God, theory of reward and punishment, the problem of human freewill, and the corresponding theory of man's responsibility, &c.—questions which have formed in every country the subject of much heated controversy. The Sankhya exempted the Purusha not only from all virtue and vice but from all actions. Virtue and vice belong to matter or Prakriti.* The constituent qualities of matter, viz., Satwa, Rajas and Tamas explain the origin of virtue and vice. True knowledge—moral and intellectual—springs from Satwa, temptations follow from the Rajas, the effects of Tamas are delusion, error, and ignorance.† The Sattva-guna prevails when Rajas and Tamas are controlled. This state expresses the virtuous life, and its opposite sinful life,

viz., when Tamas prevails by superseding the Rajas and the Satwa.

The Vedantic Pantheism also places God above the distinctions of virtue and vice. Like Spinoza, the Vedantin speaks of virtue and vice as belonging to the finite and modal existence—to the jurisdiction of Māyā and not to the Absolute. In fact, Pantheism in every form annuls the doctrine of sin. If everything is taken up in the being of God, there can be no sin. If individual souls are fulgurations from the divine Fire, then the imperfections of the individuals are temporary and unreal. They result from Māyā to which are due the limitations of the individual. If the limitations are removed, true divine nature of the individual emerges at once. "If we take away limitations from ourselves, there is nothing left but God." (Geulinx: Metaphysics.)

The Yoga system of philosophy prescribes certain physical and mental exercises by means of which the bondage of the soul falls away.

The Purva Mimamsa believes in sacrifices as a means of purifying the body.

It must not be supposed, however, that this diversity of opinions among the Hindu sages has left the matter in a state of chaos altogether. There is a permanent under-current running through this wild variety of opinions and explanations, viz., the universal recognition of right and wrong, the necessity of self-control, and the admission of suffering into this world as the consequence of immorality.

I think it is this universal ground which made it possible for Buddhism to rear its head on the dilapidated fabric of Hinduism. Buddhism may in one sense be said to have given life to Hinduism. It preserved and fostered the spark that was almost dying out under the ashes of centuries of corrupt practices. This spark was the lofty moral tone of Hinduism, the spirit of ascetic disregard for the joys of this life, and the belief that actions are but seeds sown in one life to be reaped in another. This ascetic view of life may be regarded as the keynote of Indian morality.

The Hindus were not satisfied with insisting on purity in the abstract. The teachers made it their special object to enumerate all possible kinds of sin and to classify them according to their gravity and origin. They

* सात्त्विकं प्रकृत्यैव विद्यामयी प्रकृत्यै

विद्यामयी प्रकृत्यैव विद्यामयी प्रकृत्यै

† उक्तं ब्रह्मसंहिता नाम्नी तस्मात् तत्त्वम् ।

सात्त्विकी प्रकृतिः सात्त्विकी प्रकृतिः ।

not merely mentioned the cardinal virtues but also the deadly sins of which the killing of a Brahmin forms the first and drinking the second. From these sins of the first order down to the most trivial act of indecorum or any action that is likely in any way to interfere with health or happiness the Hindu lawgivers did not omit a single item which can in any sense be termed an evil.

The Sins are roughly divided into three classes. Bodily, verbal and mental. Bodily sins are further sub-divided into destruction of life, theft, and lust. Under the second class fall those acts that offend against the virtue of truthfulness:—Evil talk, hard words, malicious speaking and falsehood. The mental sins are three in number: the thought of misappropriating what is not one's own, the thought of mischief against any form of life, and ill-will(?).

These sins not only affect the doers themselves but also those who in any way mix with them. Just as one pitcher can be filled with water from another, so are the sins communicated from the sinner to any one who touches him, or speaks, or sleeps, or lives, or dines or sits or travels with him.* The company of sinners is therefore a fresh source of sins. Even the king who, according to oriental ideals, is responsible for the morals of his subjects, acquires one-sixth of their virtues and sins.†

In the matter of defining particular duties, the Hindus do not seem to have laid down an unalterably fixed standard for all. The social hierarchy of castes requires that different castes should leave different duties assigned to them. For on the proper discharge of these duties, the social organisation necessarily depends. The Brahmin's duty consists in study and meditation. The Kshatriya's duty is to fight. The Vaisya's duty mainly consists in tending cattle, as the Sudra's does in the service of the three twice-born classes. However the caste-system may have arisen, the different castes must have subsequently come to have well-defined duties, the violation of which constituted sin. The Brahmin degrades himself from his position if he

takes to arms. A Sudra was killed by India's ideal of a king for practising *tapas* (तपः), which in a Brahmin constitutes a virtue. The question may arise as to whether caste system was ever so rigidly and unalterably fixed as to bring about a relativity of sin. It seems to me undeniable, however, that the Brahminical oligarchy was rapidly tending to the crystallisation and consolidation, of this institution, which, however, good and useful at its inception, soon passed into the "do-not-touchism" prevailing even in modern times.

Another principle of relativity introduced into the conception of sin is the division of a man's life into four *Asramas* or stages—the pupilage, the domestic life, the forest life, and the ascetic life. Each of these *asramas* has got peculiar duties assigned to it. What is meat at one stage, may be poison at another. A householder for instance is permitted to do certain things which if done by a *Brahmachari* would be viewed as sins. In Hinduism, therefore, the essence of morality rests on the distinction of castes and stages of life. (वर्णानुसारेण).

A passing reference may also be made to the division of time into *yugas*. In the *Krita yuga*, people were naturally moral; hence the standard of right and wrong was very severe. But the present *Kali* age is marked with the decline of morals, and so the standard of right doing is very low indeed. People have got an innate depravity—virtue forming only a quarter of the total assets of his nature as a moral being. This quarter of virtue is, we are told, steadily on the decline, till at last in the fulness of man's sins, the whole world will be involved in one common ruin—the Final Flood, out of which the world will again spring up afresh after a nightmare of corruption as it were. Aristotle, we know, was a believer in cycles. He thought that the age of civilisation is followed by the age of barbarism, which again is followed by civilisation, &c. This conception of eternally repeated cycles profoundly affects the Hindu conception of Duty and Sin. Charity or Benevolence is the principal virtue of this depraved age.

It is hardly necessary for me to allude to the familiar distinction of *Adharma*, i.e. higher and lower grades of intellect or more properly, the higher and lower stages of

* अनायासेन सन्निहितं पापं पापीनां
पापं पापीनां सन्निहितं पापं पापीनां ।

† अनायासेन सन्निहितं पापं पापीनां
पापं पापीनां सन्निहितं पापं पापीनां ।

the development of a man's consciousness, which is supposed to constitute a very important step in the true interpretation of virtues and sins.

But amid this relativity of moral laws, the Hindus succeeded in reaching a universal, necessary and constant basis of duty. They regarded the *summum bonum* to consist in the final bliss, beatitude or salvation, which was to be attained only by annihilating the passions and impulses which involve us more and more in bondage. To escape from this bondage is the highest ideal of Hindu Ethics. The Body is the prison house of the soul. It is the dead leaven to the progress of the soul—a fatal clog to the spiritual wheel. The Hindu teacher was therefore very anxious to prove that the soul was very different from the body, spirit from matter;—not in the sense, however, in which Descartes sought to part them asunder, but for a very different object. The body is the source of the imperfections of the soul. It is subject to the influence of gravitation, and falling, it drags the soul down below. There is an innate depravity in man, and sin is absolutely universal. Even a saint is potentially a sinner. Crimes are not sins, but the results of sin. Sin is always due to imperfection and the body is the very principle of imperfection attached to the soul. Or as Samuel Clarke puts it: "Certain irregularities in the moral world follow from the finite nature of things." The body is to be crucified in order that the soul may live. This gave rise to the practice of tormenting and mortifying the body in a ruthless manner. The body is the source of desires. It is these desires that lead us astray from the path to salvation. They are never satiated, they drive us hither and thither till we fall into the quagmire of abject degradation and irreparable sin, never perhaps to rise again. Desires must be annihilated, in order that the endless series of births and the attendant suffering may cease. "Every living being is impelled by Pravritti, but Nivritti produces the noblest fruits." The fruits of actions perish only with the actions themselves. Karma is the string that knits together the endless series of births. Karma must be ended anyhow. Actions are bound to terminate when the desire for consequences

is gone. Do you then abnegate yourself and cease to think of the consequences of your actions. Do your duty for duty's sake and leave the consequences to God. This is the categorical imperative of Kant,—the निष्काम कर्म—desireless action—of the Bhagabat Gita. The renunciation of the world and of self taught here is in completeness superior to that of European monasticism.

It is not true to say that the Hindus had no idea of some of the modern standards of morality—for instance the *utilitarian standard*. I can prove satisfactorily that in the matter of legislation the Hindu teachers were largely influenced by utilitarian considerations. But they would not let morality rest on the private judgment of individuals. In one of the numerous striking passages in Santi Parva (Mahabharat), Vyasa distinctly formulates the utilitarian standard: "If any one tries to subvert the established religion or establish something contrary to religion, it is the duty of every one to destroy him immediatly. It is positively a duty to kill a man, if by such an act a family can be saved,—to extirpate a family to make a kingdom free from danger... sometimes virtue looks like vice, and vice like virtue.* It is not unfair to tell a lie in order to save a life, to accomplish any work of the preceptor, to bring about a marriage, and to satisfy a woman.† But this utilitarian criterion did not find favour with the Hindu law-givers. The spirit of utilitarianism is to make an appeal to individual experience, which in the Hindu system of morals does not count. Hence the duties of an individual are clearly formulated for him by the Master and an appeal to the sacred books is final. The end does not justify the means, and a bad action is not encouraged, as a rule, on the ground that it promotes common good. "If a man robs another and does good deeds with the proceeds, he is responsible for his sin;

* एकं कृत्वा यदि कुर्वे विद्वानां पादनाशकं ।

कुर्वे कृत्वा च पादं च न क्षुप्येयमवाक्यम् ॥

चपलैरपि प्रवीरिषि कश्चिदपि नरादिषु ।

प्रवीर्यात्प्रवीर्योक्तिं तत्र न च निरुपिता ॥

वसिष्ठसूत्र—११ अ. ।

† महाभारत—वसिष्ठसूत्र ।

the merit belongs to the person robbed."* Here there is no hesitancy, no casting up of the columns of the conduct-ledger. It comes as a fiat.

Expediency has very little to do with the Hindu's determination of right conduct. For his advantages and disadvantages are not of this life. They are centred in an after-life. Every action in this life has its effect upon a subsequent life. The law of causality is inexorable. This natural law of karma and the consequent theory of transmigration form inalienable parts of the Hindu conception of Duty and Sin. The idea of Merit and Guilt or demerit is determined with reference to this doctrine of karma. The individual is responsible for his actions, no matter whether done in this or the previous life. His merit as well as his demerit depends upon his individual exertions; only the kindness of Providence must crown his efforts to acquire merit with success. God must crown Virtue with Happiness (Kant).

I cannot conclude this brief essay on the conception of sin without adverting to the means of expiating sin. The means are various; but they may be roughly distinguished into popular and advanced or external and internal. The popular means include among others such external means as to do penances, perform sacrifices, to make special atonements by giving away money to Brahmins and beggars, to bathe in the Ganges, to go on pilgrimage, to read sacred books, recite mantras, or to mechanically repeat the name of God or gods. But these are very probably as means to an end—*viz.* to bring about a certain mood of mind favourable to the true expiation of sin by repentance and the resolution not to repeat the act.† This last may be called internal means of expiation. Manu enumerates several means of expiating sin: "confession, repentance, meditation, study, charity and self-control‡". Confession is admitted by the Christians and Buddhists

as a means of expiation. The Buddhist monks are said to confess their sins to each other or to their Superior on Full moon and New moon days. As regards meditation and study we may quote a beautiful saying of Mahomet: "Excessive knowledge is better than excessive praying. Better to teach knowledge for one hour than to pray the whole night." He says elsewhere: "The ink of the scholar is more sacred than the blood of martyrs."

Charity is the virtue of the present depraved age.* The most effective way of checking sin is to stimulate its opposite. This is why charity is so much extolled, but charity to be of any good as a means of expiation must be accompanied with a determination not to repeat the sinful action.

Repentance must not be understood to mean simply the feeling of remorse at what has been done, but praying to God forms its essence. Without this, repentance is of no avail. But what room is there for God's mercy in a creed in which every action is bound to bring forth its fruit, and everything follows by a sort of iron necessity? Divine justice is a more appropriate conception than Divine mercy. This is perhaps why Siva, the Ideal Good, is represented as a relentless God.

Vaishnavism emphasises the aspect of Divine Mercy. The Ramanuja sect of the South represents God as Himself hankering after the tears of repentance of sinners and as eager to forgive them. The Divine mercy is represented as Vishnu's wife, Lakshmi, from whose name the sect derives its common title (Sri-Sampradaya). Just as there is some difference between the Vedantic and the Vaishnavite conceptions of sin, so there is a difference in their idea of redemption, and this difference constitutes an essential feature of Vaishnavism. Vaishnavism emphasises the aspect of love to God, the idea of a personal communion with God, (प्रेम भक्तिः) more than any other creed within the pole of Hinduism and consequently believes in complete Surrender (समर्पणः) to God as the true

* अथर्ववेद परब्रह्मं पुनश्चाप्ये करोति यः

कर्मकृतं पापमोक्षदायकं धर्मिकसंस्मृतं यत् ।

† मनु—कृता पापं हि कृत्वा तस्मात् पापात् मुक्त्यर्थे

मेव कुर्वीत पुनरिति विद्वन्मा प्रवर्तेतु यः ।

‡ आत्मविनाशस्यैव तपस्यान्वयमेव यः

१. पापकृत्यर्थे पापाद् दानेन च दानेन च ।

* तपः परं ज्ञानं तु मे वेतामि ज्ञानमुच्यते

हापरे वक्तव्यार्थः दानमेव यदी कुर्वे ।

means of expiation.* Sin may be due to one's own actions, one's own depraved will, or the characteristic imperfection of one's lower nature, but redemption is attainable only through the mercy of God. This idea of Divine mercy brings Vaishnavism very near to Christianity—so much so, that some scholars seriously suggest that it is derived from a Christian source! The settlement of a Christian colony in Malabar coast in the second century supplies the necessary historical basis for their astounding theory. But the idea of Divine Mercy and Love can be traced to much earlier sources in Hinduism, only they were cast into the shade by the prevailing Pantheism of the time—somehow or other Pantheism is more congenial to the Indian mind.

The Hindu philosophers generally speak of knowledge as the true means of attaining salvation. There can be little doubt that to know one-self properly and to know God is the most rational way of combating with the evil principle in our nature. The Upanishads mention the Sun as the symbol of Brahma (Cf. Purusha in the Sun, Purusha in the Eye). The knowledge of Brahma dispels the darkness and removes the imperfection of our nature. But so far as the conception of sin is concerned, mercy seems to be more in demand. When the heart is sore, the healing virtue of mercy is more necessary. Knowledge delays, but mercy hastens the union between man and his Maker.

KHAGENDRANATH MITRA.

* सर्वपापान् परिहस्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।—गीता ।

TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Rabindra, lord of a new world of song,
 Heir of the sacred rishis of old time,
 This homage comes from a far distant clime
 To hail thee crowned amid the immortal throng,
 Whose words have power to make man's spirit strong :
 For thou hast reared a citadel of rhyme
 Great and majestic, with its towers sublime
 Above the lower mists, which to this world belong.
 Heaven sends to every people one pure soul,
 Filled with the spirit of music, who can sway
 The hearts of countless multitudes, till they
 Move at his bidding. Age on age may roll
 Voiceless, but when the singer comes, the whole
 People awake to greatness. Nought can stay
 The might of song on that victorious day,
 When nations find at length their own appointed goal.
 So wast thou sent to give thy nation birth,
 Such was the power that brought back life again
 To thy dear country. Like a gracious rain
 Thy songs poured forth upon the weary earth,
 And thirsting souls parched dry with arid dearth
 Revived. The magic of thy mighty strain
 Echoed in all men's hearts and swept amain
 Darkness and gloom away, and wakened joy and mirth.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

A PLEA FOR INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

THE publication of the second edition of Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture revives the old question of employment of Indian style in the construction of the public buildings in India.

James Fergusson was the first to place the examination of Indian Architecture upon a scholarly basis and to demonstrate on scientific lines the merits of Indian architecture as a consistent and straightforward expression of the faith and aspirations of the people of India at different stages of its civilization and temperaments. The learned antiquarian went further and contended that "he was convinced that there are principles underlying the various styles of Indian architecture which cannot be too deeply studied and that there are many suggestions to be derived from the practice of the Indian architect which cannot fail, if properly used, to be useful to European architecture."* After his return from India he did his best to popularize the claims of Indian architecture and to draw the attention of scholars and artists in England and also of the Court of Directors and the Government to do what in them lay to preserve the great architectural masterpieces of India. It was in 1860 that Lord Canning constituted the Archaeological Survey of Northern India and appointed General Cunningham in 1862 to be the Archaeological Surveyor to the Government. General Cunningham continued his labours for 20 years. Meanwhile orders were issued for the registration and preservation of historical monuments throughout India; local surveys were started in some of the subordinate Governments, the Bombay survey being placed in the hands of Mr. Burgess, who ultimately succeeded Mr. Cunningham as Director General of Archaeological Survey. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon the

department has been thoroughly reorganized and placed on a sound financial footing.

Fergusson's work has been before the public for more than 60 years, his earliest work having been published so far back as 1845. Since then the literature dealing with the subject has been prodigiously enhanced by the publication of the stupendous tomes of the archaeological survey and the other publications connected with it. Tourists from all parts of the globe have flocked to India to pay their tributes to the architectural glories of India. The Taj of the north and the pagodas of the south have earned their well-deserved meed of praise. But the tradition of the great architectural relics have been neglected and allowed to dwindle away. The appreciation of the classics of the Indian architectural remains have nothing more than a mere academic value. The masterpieces of Indian architecture have been appreciated, praised, and repaired and preserved but held to be too sacred to be invoked, followed or continued in modern house building. The architectural policy of the Public Works Department has been to steadily avoid any Indian styles in modern Indian buildings. As Sir Thomas Phillips put it at the discussion of the question at a Meeting of the Society of Arts that "it was the duty of the Government to preserve as far as possible the recollection of the great architectural works of the Indian dependencies"—and no further. That is to say there is no lesson to be received from its ancient ruins. They are not to be studied for devising new designs for modern buildings. During the last half a century various edifices and palaces, public and private, have towered in Calcutta and Bombay but the style of building in every instance has either been renaissance or some other composite style derived from Europe. It is impossible to say whether the adoption of the renaissance style with regard to public buildings in India was the result of a definite resolution

* On the Study of Indian Architecture, by James Fergusson, John Murray, 1867, p. 14.

and policy on the part of the Government or that the Government had no definite opinion in the matter at all and that "the policy was simply forced on the department by the artistic and architectural ignorance of its officers." The matter seems to have evoked some discussion at its inception, and so far back as 1867 Fergusson protested against the proposal of adopting the Doric style of architecture for the University of Calcutta. It is interesting to recapitulate the reasons assigned for the employment of the European style in public buildings. It has been said that principles and designs which govern the ancient architecture of India are specially suited for temples and mosques and other ecclesiastical buildings and they are worse than useless to meet the requirements of modern India with its growing commerce and industry, which have displaced the faith and enthusiasm which went to build the temple cities of India. In the illustrations given here it will be indicated that the Public Works Department has itself proved the fallacy of the proposition. Among the officers of the same Department Mr. Chisholm and Mr. Brassington in Madras and Sir Swinton Jacob in Jaipur have successfully adapted Indian styles to "departmental requirements."

The discussion of the question on its theoretical side by the advocates of the classic style, is still more amusing and is in the face of it too absurd to call for a refutation. To quote Mr. Roger Smith, F. R. I. B. A.

"First it is said that it (the Indian style and design) is suited to the climate, secondly that the natives can do it, and lastly that it is, and can be very beautiful. But the sufficient answer of course is that it may be all these but that it is not European, far less British."

Mr. Roger Smith admits that of the three reasons alluded to by far the most powerful is the one placed first, namely, that Indian Architecture whether Mahomedan or Hindu is the offspring of the climate and as such better fitted "than anything" he could import to the circumstances of the country." It is curious to note that even after the lapse of forty years Mr. Smith's utterances are still taken by all art experts as the last word on such an important question. Mr. Roger's opinion

accords more with the Imperialistic ideas of Lord Curzon, who, by the way, in spite of his splendid services to Indian art and archaeology evaded the problem with characteristic subtlety. He was faced with the question with reference to the erection of the Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta, but he shirked to express a definite opinion either way. In the course of his lengthy address on the Victoria Memorial he said, "It is too early as yet to speak about the style of the building, when the money has not yet been subscribed with which it is to be raised. That will have to be settled later on". At the first inception of the scheme for the memorial Mr. Havell proposed to Lord Curzon that as a preliminary measure a competent architect should make a survey of the buildings in Northern India constructed by living Indian master builders who still carry on the traditions of Indian architecture, and that after this was done the design for the memorial should be made in a living Indian style in consultation with the best native master builders that were found. Lord Curzon engaged a competent architect, but did not carry out the suggestion to investigate thoroughly the living traditions of Indian architecture for the reason that "*Calcutta was a European city and that an Indian style of building would be unsuitable there.*"

So the truth had to be told at last; it was on considerations other than that of expense that the decision was made. But it is impossible to conceive that this state of things should continue for ever. Truth will out and the Public Works Department has condemned its own policy. In December, 1902, the Government for the first time appointed Mr. James Ransome as the consulting architect to the Government of India. He held his office for five years and was succeeded by Mr. Begg. In a paper which Mr. Ransome read before the Royal Institute of British Architects in January, 1905, he condemned the tendency to transport European styles to India without regard to climatic considerations. He also expressed the opinion that neither the classic nor the Gothic style could be used to advantage. Apart from the reasons given by him, he pointed out, that

"Any European with the slightest pretension to taste



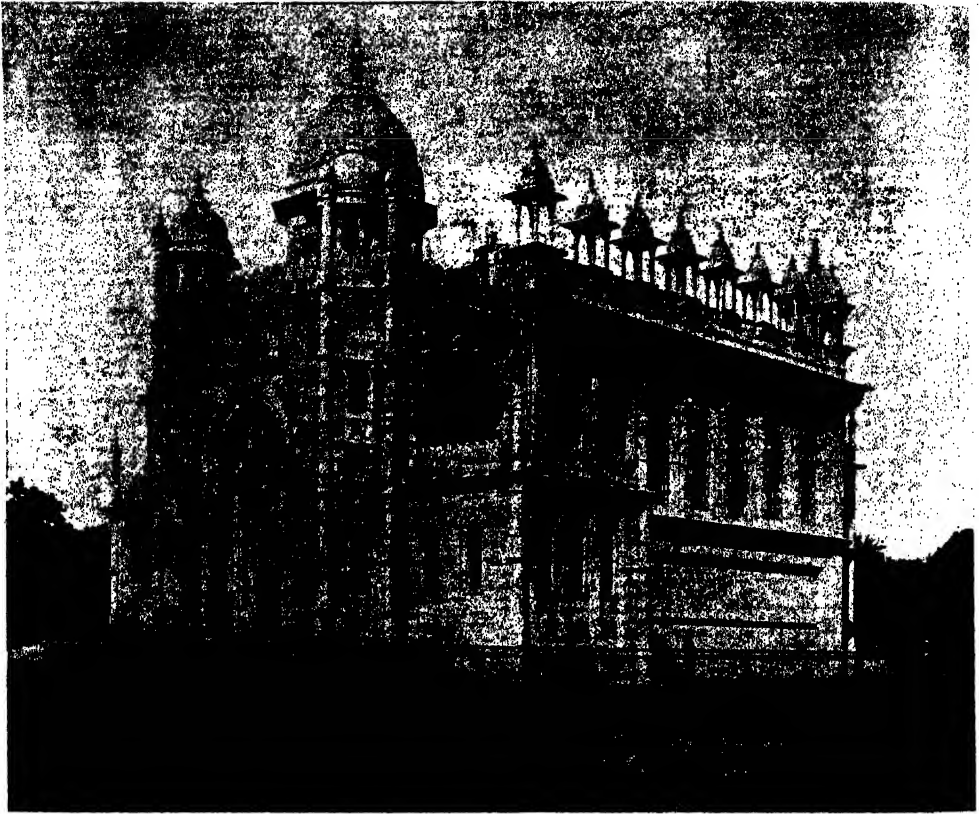
I. THE HIGH COURT OF MADRAS.

who has visited India must have been shocked by the incongruity of Doric pillars and pediments with the native environment and by the equally offensive incongruity of Gothic spires rising from amidst banana and palm trees. The offence amounts to an outrage when in one and the same building we find a medley of three different styles hailing from three different parts and periods of the world and all mixed together with nothing in common except a total antagonism to their Eastern environment. Nor is this sin against good taste and common sense anywhere insulted at every turn by exotic monstrosities which suggest a virulent epidemic of aesthetic callousness and perhaps also, the deplorable influence of the Public Works Department. Nor can the importers of these foreign styles plead as an excuse the absence of domestic models for imitation. Native Hindu or Saracenic architecture is close at hand and it offers what the alien import so conspicuously lack, an aesthetic harmony with the surroundings and a practical correspondence with the climatic conditions of the country.¹⁰

The examples of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture which have been carried out in India during the last 50 years afford convincing proofs that the living

traditions of Indian architecture in spite of all efforts to destroy it, are still lingering and are quite competent to carry out the requirements of the present day whenever a chance is given to them. I have specially selected examples of those buildings which come within the scope of official or semi-official work. And many of such buildings in the Madras Presidency, especially those in the presidency town itself, claim special notice. The building of the High Court of Madras (illus. 1.) was designed by Messrs. J. Brassington and H. Irwin, C.I.E. and was completed about 1892. Some of the other important buildings executed in the same style are the Y. M. C. A. building in red sandstone designed by Mr. Harris, Government Architect. The New Law College designed by Mr. Irwin, the Egmore Station building and the Moore Market are some of the striking edifices that testify to the fact that India under favourable conditions is still capable of reproducing her great architectural past. Of these the latest

¹⁰ Quoted from the *Statesman*, 19th February, 1905.



2. THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL, MADRAS.

example and by far the finest specimen is the Victoria Memorial Hall (illustration 2 and 3) designed also by Mr. Irwin and completed in 1908. The entire building is faced with pink sandstone and in many places sculptured in intricate geometrical design, the front elevation (illus. 3) being in this respect especially richly decorated. The ornamentation of the interior is in the same style carried out in the white polished plaster for which Madras is celebrated. The Memorial Hall is a very appropriate emporium of the artistic industry of the Southern India, at the same time it is a building architecturally worthy to perpetuate the memory of the Great Queen. It is a noteworthy fact that while the splendid architectural monuments of the Mogul period now preserved at Delhi and Agra have inspired no modern buildings in the same style in any of the

important towns of the United Provinces, the Presidency of Madras has turned to the North-West for designs of its public edifices in spite of the fact that a quite different style had prevailed in the province for centuries. In Tanjore the Collectorate Building is a beautiful Indo-Saracenic edifice designed in white and red (illus. 4). Similarly in the Municipal Markets and one or two other public buildings in Madura the style of the Mogul period has been adopted. Of the modern buildings in the north of India the best example is perhaps the Indo-Saracenic design of the Albert Hall in Jaipur (illustration 5) for which Colonel (now Sir) Swinton Jacob is responsible. The building was commenced in 1880 and completed in 1885. It is a fitting receptacle of the treasures of art forming the collection of the Museum which deserves to be called the South Kensington of India. It is executed



3. THE FRONT ELEVATION OF THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL, MADRAS.

throughout in white marble, the monotony of which is broken by the pleasing contrast of the red sandstone rails and balustrades. The whole building stands on a high plinth to which access is gained by a broad flight of steps. The beautiful decorative marble work in the corridors and the show rooms inside is one of the important features of the design.

Perhaps the best evidences that could be

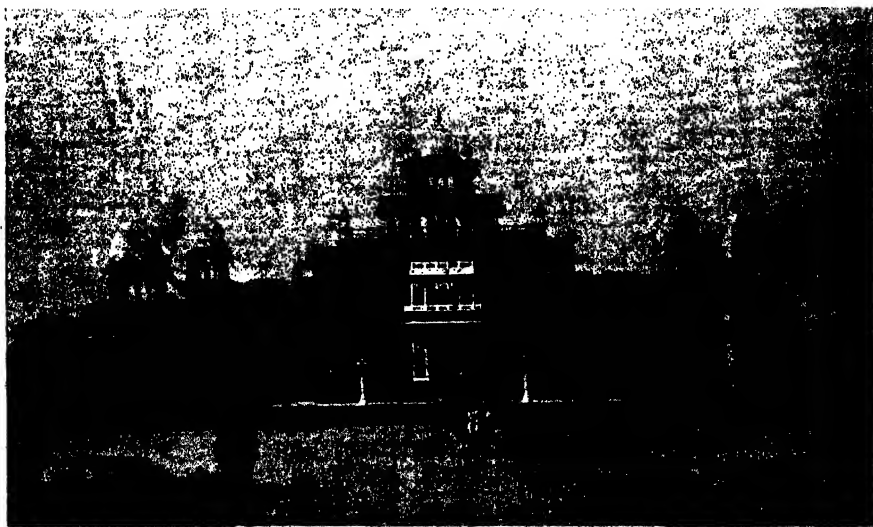
adduced in support of the plea of the subject matter of this paper are the works carried out in the district of Bulandshahar by or under the patronage of F. S. Growse, C.I.E., a Bengal Civilian. Bulandshahar* was a mean little place when he took charge of it in 1878 and had become when he left it

* Indian Architecture of today as exemplified in new buildings in the Bulandshahar District by F. S. Growse. (Benares, 1886, Part II, Preface P. iii).



4. THE COLLECTORATE BUILDING—TANJORE.

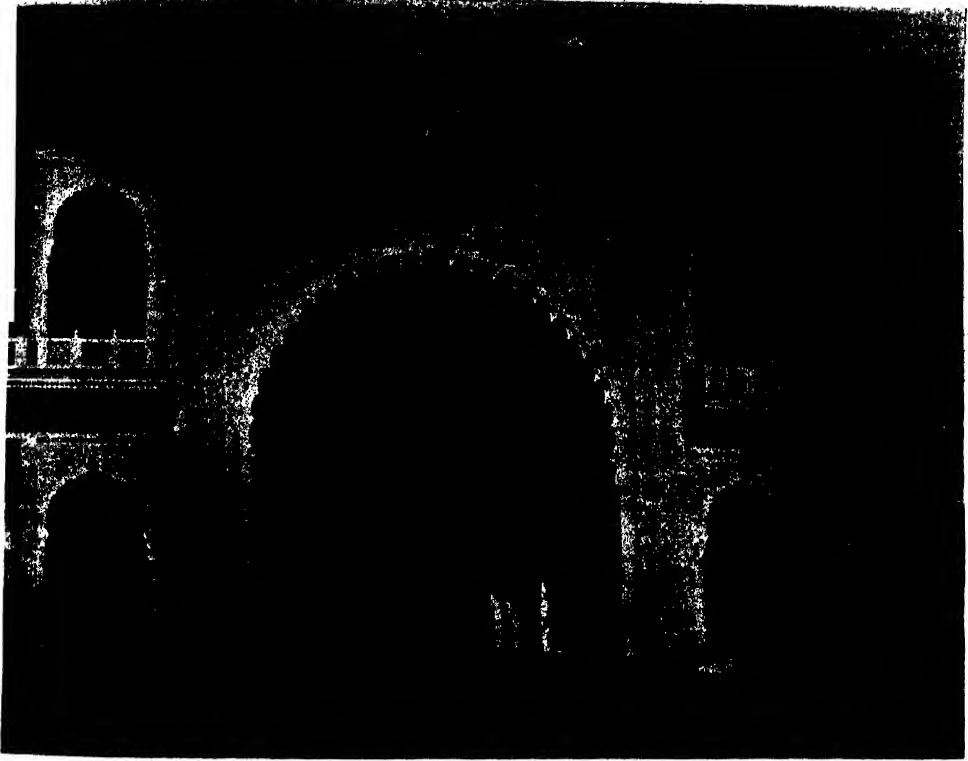
Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are illustrated a few of the specimens of these public buildings which were all executed by the native talent of the district under the inspiration and patronage of its district officer. The small wicket gate of the Municipal garden (illus. 10) and the main gate of the market are noteworthy designs. Mr. Purdon Clarke of the South Kensington Museum in a paper read before the Society of Arts called special attention to these buildings "as illustrating



5. THE ALBERT HALL—JAIPUR.

in 1884, "the most architectural modern town of its size in the province". During the course of six years all the public edifices from a tank ghaut to the district school building in the town were planned, designed and carried out by *mistris* or indigenous architects quite unfettered by the precedents of the Public Works Departments. In cuts

the latent power for true art work which exists in even the most unpromising Indian towns and which is often wrongly developed or crushed out by Government officials'. Nevertheless Mr. Grouse was taken to task by his superiors and was called upon to defend himself for having undertaken these buildings without the sanction and

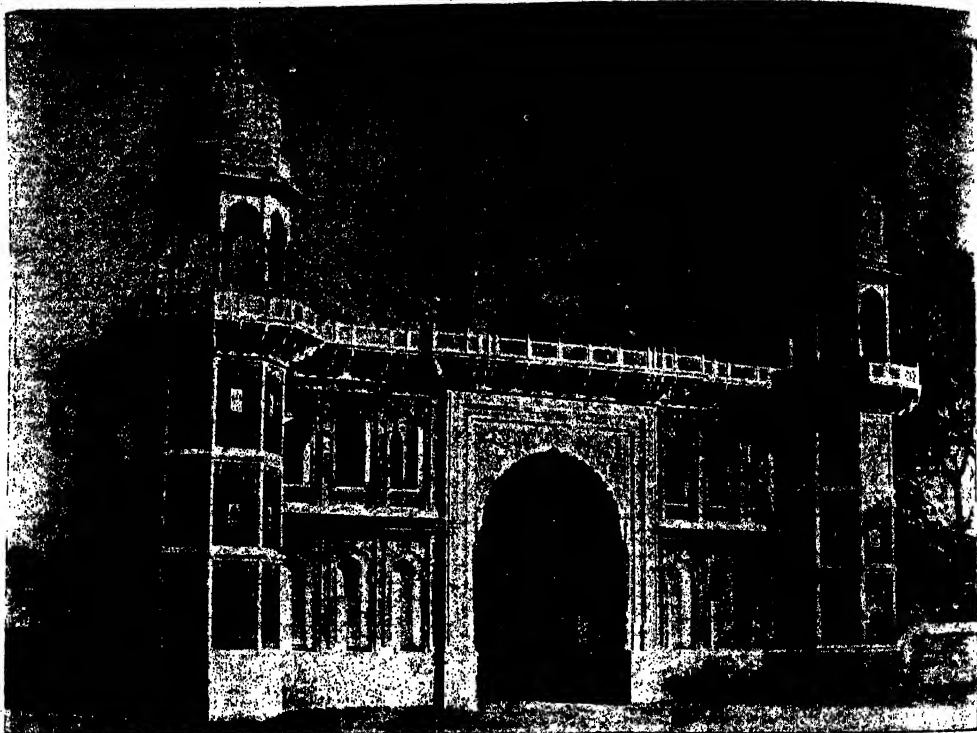


6. A BUILDING IN BULANDSHAHAH.

co-operation of the Public Works Department. He was peremptorily removed from the district, when the works he had undertaken were yet unfinished. One of the aims of Mr. Grouse had been to correct by precept and examples, the taste of the zemindars and private builders and to induce them to patronize the industries of their own districts.

"What I had still more at heart than the artistic education of the wealthy was to improve the status of the poor local artisans by securing them regular and lucrative employment, either with private individuals, or as Government servants under the District Board. I certainly demonstrated their fitness and the economy that would result from their substitution for certificated engineers but the demonstration was unavailing. The men who were working for me at the time of my transfer have I fear derived injury rather than benefit from my exertions on their behalf. I was removed so suddenly that it was impossible for me to wind up their accounts and since I left they have experienced the greatest difficulty in getting paid for the work which they stayed on to finish. They have too much respect for their art to undertake the clumsy and grotesque erections in which the

local squirearchy delight, and they are consequently debarred from private service while—to complete the frustration of all my hopes for their advancement—a circular has lately been issued which peremptorily forbids their employment under Government. Under this departmental ukase all posts of even Rs. 50/—a month in the gift of any District Board must be reserved for the holders of a certificate from the Rurki College of Engineers where no orientalism has ever been tolerated. The mistri or indigenous architect thus superciliously excluded from competition may be a skilled craftsman whose work is of sufficient merit to be transported at great expense across the sea and set up for admiration in New York or London; but in India he cannot be trusted to design or carry out the most petty work in the smallest village; the reason being that he has spent the whole of his life in acquiring a practical mastery of his art and therefore he had no time to study English and in due course obtain an engineering certificate; having done so he is at once qualified for an appointment of Rs. 250/a month, in which he will be freely entrusted with the design and execution of local works, though he may know nothing of architecture beyond the hideous "standard plans" provided by the Public Works Department. Is it not an insult to common sense to be thus liberal to bungling apprentices while a master in the art is not allowed even Rs. 50/—to supplement his Exhibition Medal and then to expect

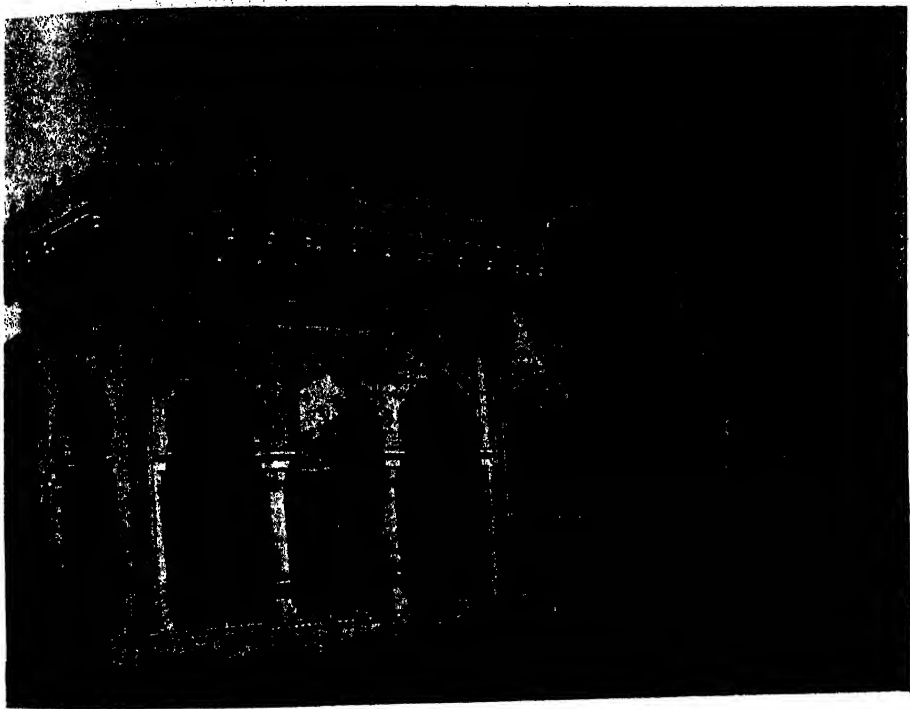


7. A BUILDING IN BULANDSHAHAH.

architecture to revive and flourish? The higher paid employee can speak English and keep accounts in the European fashion; but in the real work for which he is engaged he is immeasurably beneath his under-paid brother."

The style of architecture illustrated in the new buildings in the Bulandshahar district and as also in the other examples here reproduced is more or less Mahomedan in its origin. And although the Indo-Saracenic style has been generally requisitioned for the public buildings in modern times, it is a mistake to suppose that the Hindu style as such has altogether flagged and the traditions of Hindu architecture and their builders have entirely disappeared. I had occasion lately to study the present conditions of Indian arts and crafts in Orissa and in South India and I can vouch for the existence of a living tradition of a truly Hindu style of architecture in Bhuvaneswar and in the adjoining districts in Orissa and also in several places in South India. Mr. Havell in his monograph on stone-carving in Bengal (1906) has already

noticed the exquisite stone architecture of the Emar Math in Puri and of the temple of Biroja in Jajpur which is still under construction. These and other temples still under construction are conceived in purely Hindu style and represent the works of the best skilled architects of the present day. Their works have been appreciated by Mr. Marshall, Director General of Archaeology who in his annual report (1902-1903), p. 46, stated that "the work of the modern stone mason—a native of Bhuvaneswar, does not fall much behind the old work." An attempt was made to give these stone masons employment in connection with the restoration of the temples at Bhuvaneswar and at Konarak. But the work which the Archaeological department could offer to them must necessarily be spasmodic and temporary and unless an employment could be devised of a permanent kind it would be impossible to revive or perpetuate the art of the Indian stone carvers and builders. I know



8. A BUILDING IN BULANDSHAHR.

of a hereditary architect in Bhuvanewar who since the work of the local Archæological department had been finished, sent his son to the village school to qualify him for service as a clerk, as no further work was available for the hereditary craft on which the artist and his family had depended for their living for generations past. It is difficult to conceive why it is not possible for the millionaires and the educated gentry of Calcutta who spend large sums of money in house building every year to give the Indian craftsmen a chance to demonstrate their capacities. In this respect the endeavours of the *Nttua Cottai Chetties* of Madras, most of them illiterate for all practical purposes, put to shame the attitude in this matter of our so-called educated brethren in all parts of India. It will be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the work of restoring the temples of Southern India to even more of their pristine splendour which has been taken up and carried on for many years past by these Chetties, who have spent

enormous sums of money and kept in continuous employment a large number of the most skilful hereditary art craftsman of the Presidency. As Mr. Chatterton has pointed out—

"The work was done in a very unostentatious way and very few people knew anything about it, but a visit to some of these temples would convince any one that the Indian artisan has not yet lost his cunning and that placed in a suitable environment, he is still capable of planning as great works and bestowing upon them the same careful attention to detail as his forefathers did when the land was still under the sway of Dravidian princes."

I should like to draw attention to the architectural work that is still being carried on by these craftsmen under the employment of the Chetties at the temples of Chidambaram, Rameswaram and the Siva Kanchi Temple at Conjivarem. The work of restoration at the latter place has suddenly come to a standstill by the untimely death of the patron.

In Northern India the traditions of Hindu style still linger in Mathura, Bharatpur, Jodhpur, Gwalior and Bikanir. Specimens



9. A BUILDING IN BULANDSHAHAH.

of modern work from these places were exhibited at the Allahabad Exhibition held last year, the examples from Muttra, representing the most beautiful work of its kind. Benares as a centre of Hindu architecture unfortunately was not represented at the Exhibition probably because modern work by local craftsmen has become rare now-a-days. In illustration 11 I have reproduced a beautiful example of a stone gateway from Benares which was built about 12 years ago. The gateway was designed by Madhoprosad, an old artist in the employ of the Maharaja of Benares, and was executed by a Hindu *mistri* named Mallu. It should be noticed that some of the public buildings in Benares have, since the last few years, been designed after Indian models and although their architectural features are very modest they mark an important change in the policy of the Public Works Department. The construction of the Secretariat and other public buildings

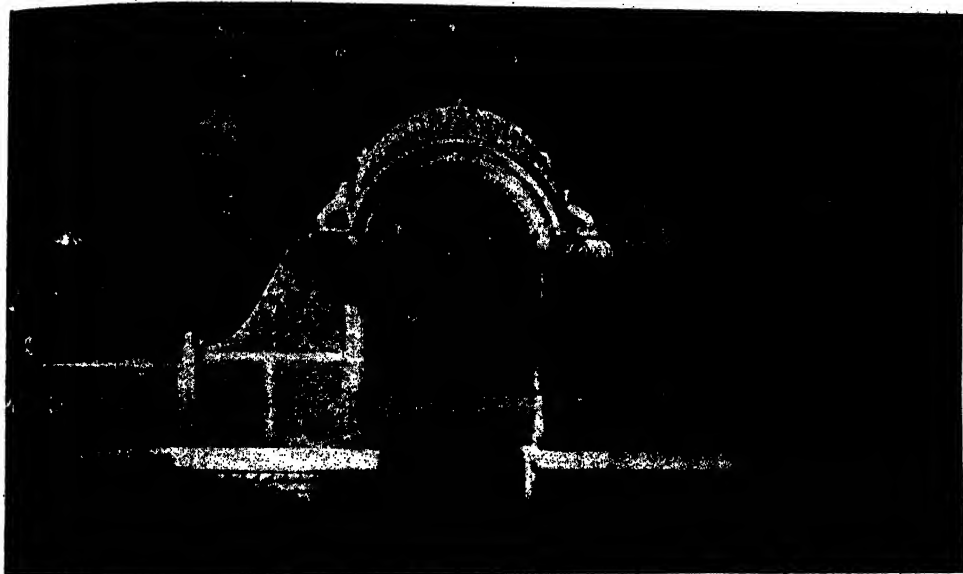
recently constructed at Dacca have revived the controversy (both inside and outside the official circle) regarding the style of architecture to be employed in Indian public buildings, and Mr. Begg in a confidential report now inaccessible to the public, recommended certain changes which it is believed are still under consideration by the authorities. The Indian Society of London has submitted a memorial to the Under-Secretary of State for India on the question as to how the still living traditions of building in India can best be preserved and applied to modern purposes. I subjoin below the reply which was received by the Society with reference to the Memorial.*

* India Office, Whitehall, S. W.,
15th December, 1910.

To The Honorary Secretary,
India Society.

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th Novr., 1910, suggesting that Surveyors of



10. GATE OF THE MUNICIPAL GARDENS, BULANDSHAHR.

The Hindu and the Mahommadan University scheme is looming in the distance and it is expected that a provision should be made there for a chair for the study of Indian architecture, art and music.

Delhi as the new seat of the Imperial Government is on the eve of an architectural rehabilitation and enormous sums will have to be spent in building new edifices. It is to be hoped that the native architects of the United Provinces, many of whom still trace their descent from the builders of the Taj, will come in for their share of rebuilding the ancient city. If the opportunity thus afforded to patronise and practically revive the great architectural industry of India is availed of in a true spirit of sympathy it would certainly constitute one of the greatest "boons" that were

ever put in the mouth of a sovereign by his councillors.

The old Imperial City is also in the throes of an Improvement Scheme, and it is very likely that many of its ugliest features will be removed and the greater portion of it cleared and rebuilt. As the portion likely to be most affected by the scheme is the Indian quarter of the town, it behoves the Bengalee and other Indian citizens of the town to rise to the occasion and to demonstrate practically their Swadeshi spirit (for which the vow has been taken again and again) by employing the Indian style of architecture in rebuilding their houses and where possible by engaging the services of hereditary Indian designers and craftsmen. For many of the hideous buildings of private Indian gentlemen of Calcutta the B. E's of Sibpur or Roorkee are responsible. In the existing state of things although it is possible now and then to find among the P. W. D. Officer and the Government Engineers architects with a preference or predisposition for Indian architecture it is rare to find among Indian graduates from the Sibpur College any Engineer or builder with any taste or respect for the styles of his own country. It was given to a Bengal Civilian, not being an expert architect himself,

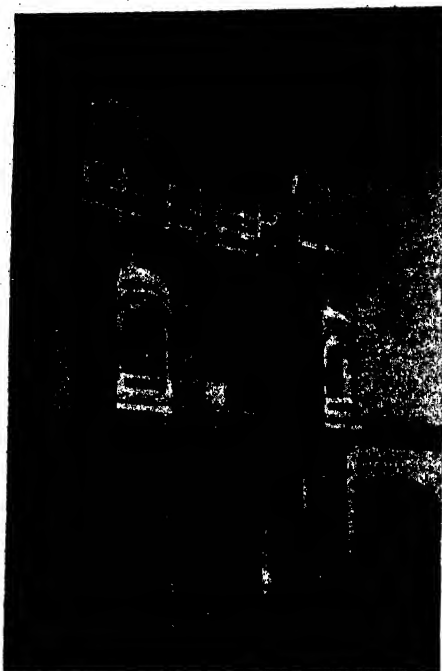
the Indian Archaeological Department should be instructed to photograph when on tour any interesting types of Modern Indian buildings and to note the names, addresses and local rates of remuneration of the principal craftsmen concerned in the design and decoration of such buildings. In reply I am to say that your recommendations will be communicated to the Government of India for consideration.

Yours,

Sir your most obedient servant,

Sd. R. R. RITCHIE.

to demonstrate the possibilities of Indian Architecture under modern conditions, while our District Engineers and alumni of the Engineering College (many of them Rai



II. A STONE GATEWAY IN BENARES.

Bahadurs) are fattening on their pension profoundly indifferent to their responsibilities and totally ignorant or oblivious of the

conditions which are stifling the life of Indian architecture today. I have known several graduates from Sibpur who could glibly recite the definitions of a Doric or an Attic column but could not tell a Jaina from a Dravidian temple. The new home of the Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta and the proposed Ram Mohun Library were not designed by indifferent officials or members of the P. W. D. but must be attributed to the best intellect of Bengal, men professing the widest culture and of refined taste who were associated with the schemes. Why was it not possible for any of them to suggest a design to be conceived and carried out in one or other of the various Indian styles of architecture? Was it indifference, ignorance or intellectual perversity? Compare with these the Baptist Mission House in the College Square, built in Indian style. Which looks better?

It is acknowledged by all experts that the fate of all the other arts and crafts of India are bound up with the future of Indian architecture. Therefore any attempt to revive the Indian art and industry must be preceded by a return to the practices of Indian architecture, which is the mother of all the other forms of art in India. Many are the calls on our nationality today: but the claims of Indian literature and service should not override the claims of Indian architecture and art. The problems of social and religious reforms are as pressing as the problems of æsthetic and industrial regeneration.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

I. A. O. S.

BY PROF. JOGINDRANATH SAMADDAR, F.R.E.S., F. R. HIST. S., M.R.S.A.

"Irish Political history has largely affected the condition of agriculture. Confiscation and settlements, prohibitive laws, penal enactments against the Roman Catholics, absenteeism, the creation for political purposes of 40s freeholders and other factors have combined to form a story which makes painful reading from whatever point of view, social or political, it be regarded. Happily however at the beginning of the 20th century, Irish agriculture presented two new features which can be described without necessarily

arising any party question—the work of the Department of Agriculture and the spread of the principle of Co-operation."—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition.

THE writer of the article "Ireland" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in speaking of Irish agriculture suggests that the present improvement is due to two causes—

the efforts of the Department of Agriculture and the spread of Co-operation. Without undervaluing the work of the Department, we may make bold to say at the outset that the improvement of Irish agriculture and the consequent amelioration of the Irish agriculturists is due chiefly, if not solely, to the I. A. O. S. or The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, which has taught the Irish peasants the great value of co-operation, the only effective means of developing self-reliance. As in India we lack greatly this essential virtue for a comprehensive upbuilding of the life of a rural population, I venture to trace in this paper a short history of the career of the Irish Agricultural Association, so that to a great extent their plans may be our plans, and their ideals our ideals, and let us hope, their results our results.

In 1894, several leading Irishmen drawn from all political parties felt that the essential thing to improve Irish Agriculture was that they should do their best to increase the economic prosperity of rural life, in order that the nation should live in closer relationship with the industries of the land. They, therefore, combined to form an Agricultural Association which subsequently was christened as the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society with the object of "organizing groups of farmers on co-operative principles and the provision of instruction in proper technical methods."

From the very beginning, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction financed the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. At first a subsidy was given for expert assistance and advice which Agricultural Organisers had to give until the Department's machinery got to work. At a later period money was paid for the promotion of general Agricultural Organisation because the Department realised how, in comparison with similar departments doing similar work elsewhere, it was handicapped by the fact that the farmers were not organised as their foreign competitors were. It is obviously easier to plant new ideas among organised farmers than among those who are not organised, so that the work of the I. A. O. S. has been instrumental, not only in improving methods of marketing, but also in helping to introduce improved methods of production. Be that

as it may, during the period of connection between the Department and the I. A. O. S. positive results were achieved. The number of societies which in 1899 was 374, with a membership of 36,683, grew in 8 years to 920 societies with a membership of 90,000. These results must be considered satisfactory.

In 1907, a new joint scheme of work was drawn up in accordance with the following resolutions by the Council of Agriculture at its Meetings on the 16th of May and 27th of November, 1906. The resolutions were the following—

(1) Resolution of 16th May, 1906:—"That in the opinion of the Council, it is desirable that the Department should promote agricultural organisation and provide the funds necessary for the purpose."

(2) Resolution of 27th Nov., 1906:—"This Meeting of the Council having regard to the unanimous resolution of the Council Meeting of 16th May, expressing the opinion that it is desirable that the Department should promote agricultural organisation and provide the funds necessary for the purpose, recommends that the I. A. O. S. which is the only existing body having a special knowledge of this work, should be aided in carrying out an approved scheme of agricultural organisation, subject to effective supervision of all expenditure in connection therewith by the Department, and that, with a view to stimulating contribution from societies, and subscribers, and then securing greater economy as well as evoking a greater measure of local effort, the subsidy granted by the Department should be in the form of a *pro rata* contribution."

As regards the contribution of the Department of Agriculture to the I. A. O. S., it was laid down that the contribution may be paid in advance in such amounts and at such times, as the Department shall approve, subject to the following contributions:—

(a) The D. A. T. I. shall authorise the advance of a sum of £3000 on account of the estimated cost of the joint scheme of work, this sum being a *pro rata* contribution of £5 to £1 in respect of £600 of estimated independent income first collected by the I. A. O. S.

(b) That in respect of any further sums received the I. A. O. S. shall be entitled to receive from and shall be paid by the D. A. T. I. a *pro rata* contributions at the rate of £2 to £1, provided that such additional contributions from the D. A. T. I. shall not exceed £1000.

(c) That in respect of any further independent income paid to the I. A. O. S. up to £400, the D. A. T. I. shall contribute *pro rata* £3 to £1.

The subsidy paid by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was withdrawn from the commencement of 1909. In fact although the Department was willing to give £2000 for 1909 and £1000 for 1910 (this to be the last contribution for the Department) under certain condition, but it was felt almost all over the country that the sooner the Association cut itself adrift from the Department the better. Indeed when men come to think and believe that the work in which they are engaged has been taken up by a benign Government, they generally consider themselves absolved from vigorous activity in prosecuting it. In fact, what a people can do for themselves is an immeasurably more important factor in national progress than what the best of Government can do for them.

A meeting was held under the presidency of Colonel Nugent T. Everard, H. M. L., President of the I. A. O. S. to discuss the question of the subsidy. In reviewing the work of the Association, Colonel Everard said that under the fostering care of the Agricultural Department, the work and progress of the Association had been really satisfactory but the most unfortunate results of the system of subsidising the I. A. O. S. out of public funds were

"First, the falling off of private subscriptions, due to the fact that the Department was, in the opinion of many, created for the very purpose of carrying out the work which the Society had attempted—that was to say, technical instruction. It was also generally understood that the Department would undertake organising work, simply because the report of the Recess Committee had shown that the best way of improving agriculture was to encourage organisation among the farmers. Secondly, they had the growing disinclination of societies to save the Department's funds by contributing freely out of their own pockets. Thirdly, there was the control, which was inevitable where public money was concerned, by Government officials, who, however, desirous of furthering the movement were bound by public rules, which were generally associated in the public mind with a liberal use of red tape, with the result that the spirit of enthusiasm was weakened and finally quenched. Fourthly, the use of public money to further the interests of the farmers was resented by a certain proportion of the trading classes, and the Society was consequently the subject of attack in the Press, on the platform and in the House of Commons."

In fact, the members felt that they ought to face the fact, that the cable which bound them to the Government Department would soon be cut, and therefore the shorter the

period during which they received the subsidy the better. "They must open their eyes," as the Revd. I. O'Donovan aptly said, "to the relations between self-help and State aid. It must be discussed not in an academic but in a practical way. In an ideal State there would have been no need for this talk." Some even went so far as to say that "the farmers of Ireland, if worth their salt, should now prove that they require no doles or subsidy to carry on a movement which discharges, to their advantage, one of the most—if not the most—important functions of any industrial or even political, movement at present in existence in this country" and that "they were too long begging and craving from the Government and that was what left Irishmen as they are." It was therefore resolved unanimously THAT THE I. A. O. S. SHOULD CONTINUE ITS WORK ON A BASIS OF INDEPENDENCE OF DEPARTMENTAL CONTROL.

The I. A. O. S. is working on splendidly under its able President Sir Horace Plunkett, that noble and patriotic Irishman, who is year after year elected its President, for "if ever an Irishman deserved the good will and esteem of his countrymen, for his unselfish and patriotic acts towards his country and people, it is Sir Horace Plunkett." The country as a whole welcomes the principle of co-operation. Some of the most successful enterprises owe their success and the promise of their future prosperity to the adoption of co-operative methods. There we have today, not an enlightened educated people, not a people educated in the methods of trade, but poor working men, small farmers, hardly better than agricultural labourers and yet among them we find keen business ability, a broad view of the general interests and a warm adherence to the principles of combination and organisation. And why? Simply because they have understood the principles of co-operation, so essential to the effective means of developing self-reliance. Their example is being followed by England and Scotland. As Sir Horace Plunkett once pithily said: "It dawned upon certain minds that what was sauce for the Irish goose, was sauce for the English gander. A little later it got abroad that what was sauce for the English and Irish geese was sauce for the Scottish gander." Thus

agricultural co-operative movements in due course followed in the other two countries. The sincerest flattery which was accorded went to the length of framing the English and Scottish movements upon the identical lines followed in Ireland and an English

and a Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society have been formed in England and Scotland.

Below is a summary of the progress of the societies started under the auspices of the I. A. O. S.

DESCRIPTION OF SOCIETY.				TOTAL.				
				31-12-05.	31-12-06.	31-12-07.	31-12-08.	31-12-09.
Creameries ...	...	...	...	275	282	288	292	301
Do. (Branches) ...	...	...	...	56	57	57	64	79
Agricultural Societies ...	...	...	...	151	159	168	166	155
Credit Societies ...	...	...	...	232	246	261	268	234
Poultry Society ...	...	...	...	25	29	32	24	18
Flax Society ...	...	...	...	9	9	15	12	9
Industries' Societies ...	...	...	...	50	51	49	36	21
Bee-keepers' Societies ...	...	...	...	18	18	18	15	15
Bacon-curing Societies and Miscellaneous ...	...	...	...	15	18	20		

Federations ...

In the above table we notice in the cases of some Societies a fall. Some Societies were removed because in the judgment of the Committee they were not worthy of a place. Such Societies had been neglected by those whose chief interest lay in making them successful and when these fell into inefficiency and decay, it was no credit to the Society to have upon its roll institution of that kind, and until those institutions could rise to a higher level and show something more in the way of Co-operative

efficiency, the I. A. O. S. would not admit them again to what they call their ROLL OF HONOUR. Indeed there are certain fruit trees which have to be pruned and the trees become all the more better for being rid of decaying branches.

In the following table another comparative statement is given showing the difference between 1908 and 1909 regarding number of members, paid up Share Capital, Loan Capital and Turnover.

DESCRIPTION OF SOCIETIES.	No. of Societies.		Members.		Paid up share Capital.		Loan Capital.		Turn-over.	
	31-12-08	31-12-09	31-12-08	31-12-09	31-12-08	31-12-09	31-12-08	31-12-09	31-12-08	31-12-09
Dairy Society ...	292	301	42,404	44,213	1,30,017	1,38,354	93,863	111,365	17,20,590	18,40,500
Auxiliary Society ...	64	79	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Agricultural ...	166	155	12,999	16,050	5,143	6,253	29,211	40,326	87,045	1,12,222
Poultry ...	24	18	6,650	6,152	2,618	2,292	4,811	4,026	72,597	64,362
Credit ...	268	234	17,403	18,422	...	...	53,123	56,469	56,004	57,641
Home Industries ...	36	21	1,612	1,375	2,154	1,267	1,231	1,450	8,479	7,666
Flax ...	12	9	552	589	97	482	1,817	3,796	589	2,286
Federation ...	4	3	238	227	4,811	6,753	13,267	6,360	2,58,145	2,59,925
Miscellaneous ...	15	15	4,081	4,633	13,922	1,501	3,053	2,834	42,925	48,987
Total ...	881	835	85,939	91,661	158,762	1,70,314	200,384	228,626	22,52,389	23,93,569

ideals which the efforts of Messrs. Havell and Coomaraswamy and the late Sister Nivedita have done so much to dispel. As the author has himself said "that a comprehensive review of the whole field of Indian Art has necessarily involved the revision of opinions expressed in earlier publications and based on more imperfect knowledge." One is hardly prepared, however, to accept Mr. Vincent Smith's History as anything like a comprehensive survey of 'the whole field of Indian Art' or a well-considered presentation of the subject. He has vainly groped among his mass of materials which he would have been well-advised to supplement and to well chew and digest. Unless all the different styles and schools of Indian painting and sculpture are studied in detail in thoroughly representative specimens either through adequate photographic reproduction or in originals the sources of which have not yet been touched much less exhausted, it is premature to attempt to arrange or classify them according to their artistic values or to trace the evolution of Indian art as one integral part of the record of the manifestation of Indian mind. Even a chronological table must be necessarily imperfect unless the gaps and blanks which intervene between the available materials have been filled up by adequate investigations. Mr. Smith has therefore been at a disadvantage at his premature labour. To take examples, Mr. Smith is obliged to base his final opinions as to the merit of Orissan sculpture on the weak and stiff figure of Vishnu from Konarak and the poor inaccurate lithographic reproductions of two figures from Bhubaneswar. To judge Orissan sculpture at its best he cannot ignore the splendid figures in *Mugni* stone in the Bhubaneswar temples, those of Ganesa, Siva Parvati, Kartikeya and Lakshmi Narayan in the main temple and the seated Parvati in the outer shrine. The equestrian statue of the Sun-God and the remarkable little figure of Ganga at Konarak have also escaped his attention as also the notable series of statues representing the *Sapta Matrikas* at Jajpur. Unless the available examples are thoroughly studied and examined in their originals it is hazardous on the part of foreign critics to express a definite opinion on the merits of these sculptures and the place they occupy in the evolution of the Indian Artistic genius. Similarly the best specimens of South Indian copper images have been inaccessible to him, as they are to all non-Hindus, and the opinions expressed on the works of less artistic merit illustrated in his book and on which they are founded must necessarily be erroneous. Excepting the two bas-reliefs from Mahabalipuram and Trichinopoly the illustrations given in the book can hardly be taken as representative of all that is best in South Indian sculpture. The estimate he has given of the South Indian bronzes could hardly have been based on the best works. In the course of a discussion of the bronze images of Nataraj, Mr. Smith comments on the limit of artistic scope in the treatment of the subject but in according the highest place of honour to the decadent and worthless specimen from Polonnaruwa (Fig. 188) he has displayed the limited scope of his own artistic judgment.

By the unnecessarily numerous photographs of the Gandhara sculptures which cumber Mr. Smith's book, he has left himself very little space to devote adequate attention to the sculptures of Java. The splendid series of photographs recently published by

the Oriental Art Society, Calcutta, have evidently not been examined by him nor has he consulted Pleyte's *Indonesian Art* (Leyden, 1901) or the two bulky volumes *Tjandi Djago* and *Tjandi Singasari* published by the Batavian Society of Java (1904 and 1909) and the fine plates of some of the best Siva-Buddhist images which they contain. The illustrations given in the book do not give any adequate idea (which one is inclined to think he has himself failed to grasp) of these remarkable series of sculptures. Even the inimitable Prajna Paramita is represented by a small poorly photograph while a full page plate has been given to the Berlin Gandhara Buddha. He is not even prepared to hazard an independent opinion on the artistic merits of these sculptures and leaves the matter to professional sculptors "who alone" according to him "would be in a position to realize how much praise is due to artists capable of executing more than two miles of stone-pictures" as if the physical magnitude of the friezes was of greater account than their artistic excellence. If he had an opportunity to study the images in Prambanum and Singasari he would have to revise his opinion that the distinctly Brahmanical art is much inferior in quality to the best Buddhist art. I should especially draw his attention to the statues of the three Apasaras, Brahma and Mahakal reproduced in the publications mentioned above. The illustrations given in the book of Tibetan and Nepalese bronzes are anything but representative and as there is nothing to shew that Mr. Smith had an opportunity to study the collection of the Calcutta School of Arts some of which are reproduced in Mr. Havell's books and in the plates published in the Technical Art Series (Calcutta) or to study the Ukhtomskij collection in original (the wood blocks in Grunwedel's book being very unsatisfactory and quite useless for artistic criticism) one is entitled to conclude that Mr. Smith's judgments are based on imperfect evidence. Mr. Smith does not seem also to have noticed the important collections of M. Bacot which were exhibited at the Musée Guimet and a critical appreciation of which was published in a small pamphlet called "*L'Art Tibetain*" (1910). Mr. Smith has also ignored the famous collection of Tibetan bronzes made by M. Gillot of Paris some of which are reproduced in the fine plates published in *Collection Tibetain première partie, Œuvres d'Art et du Haute Curiosité du Tibet*. (Paris 1904). The Nepalese brass gilt Tara and Avalokiteswar reproduced in these columns (p. 221 Vol. IX) are a few of the best specimens of Tibeto-Nepal bronzes to which many from the Calcutta collection as well the European collections above referred to might be added. The omission of the bronze *Vajra Buddha* of the Ukhtomskij collection hardly does credit to Mr. Smith's judgment and selection. The meagre notice of hardly two pages given in his book of a school of sculpture which is one of the *tour de force* of mediæval Indian Art could only be attributed to imperfect knowledge and a hasty study of his subject. It is not within the scope of Mr. Smith's publication to reproduce a very large number of specimens of each school or branch of Indian Art but having regard to their importance and artistic merit the Tibeto-Nepal bronzes and the South Indian sculptures and generally mediæval Indian Art have received a wholly disproportionate notice compared with the Gandharan Sculptures and leave the average

reader in ignorance of the merits of the styles represented by these schools. The historian of Greek art could hardly convey what is represented by the great period of Attic art if he confined his attention exclusively to the works such as the Lakoon. Similarly the historian of Indian Art could hardly present what Indian Art has aimed at and achieved if his vision is limited by the Greco-Buddhist statues of Gandhara and he ignores or deals in a summary way the periods representing the highest expression of Indian Art.

Mr. Smith's treatment of the Indian painting is also very meagre particularly the Kangra valley school. The Rajput and the other pseudo-Mogul schools have received no attention whatsoever. Very rich materials have recently been collected by Mr. G. N. Tagore of Calcutta and Dr. Coomaraswamy which admit of a very full and adequate presentation of these interesting schools. Mr. Smith has very little to say about Tibetan paintings for the obvious reasons that he had no opportunity to study them in their best specimens.

As to his general attitude towards Indian Art and its aims, although he has had to abandon the absurd views expressed by him in the Imperial Gazetteer he is as yet far from approaching the study from the point of view of Indian Artistic ideals. The Indian-ness of Indian Art is as yet a sealed book to him. It has therefore become futile for him to assess the peculiar value of the art of India as a contribution to the art of the world. The study of the various phases of Japanese and Chinese pictorialism has widened the horizon of European aesthetics which had hitherto been limited by the rules and canons of Greco-Roman Art. The study of the peculiarities of Indian Art philosophy is likely to revolutionise the theories of art forms and to widen the scope and function of art as hitherto accepted in Europe. But in vain we look in Mr. Smith's book for a scientific presentation of the peculiarities of Indian aesthetics. The suggestions of Fergusson and Okakura regarding the

existence of a pre-Asiatic Art have recently been confirmed by the rich finds of Dr. Stein which were lately exhibited in London. These paintings and other relics from Khotan open up a new point of view for the study of Indian Art in its true historical perspective. India's contribution to the Buddhist art of Asia has hardly been realised by Mr. Smith who has merely repeated the conclusions of Giles, Stien and Lecog which cannot be taken as final.

One of the reasons for which Mr. Smith has refused to look at many of the masterpieces of Indian Art and to listen to the stories which they tell is that according to Mr. Smith's conception of the function of art the many-handed and the multicephalous forms of Brahmanic conceptions are incapable of artistic treatment and cannot be regarded as works of art and he has set himself to choose only those examples in which these so-called monstrosities do not occur. The Japanese artistic canons forbid the representation of the nude; one can well imagine what adequate idea can a Japanese form of the beauty of Greek art if he refused to look at and to consider the claims of such sculptures as the Venus of Milo solely on the ground that the nude has no place in art according to the Japanese canon. Mr. Smith has suffered from a similar disqualification in rejecting on the ground of alleged monstrosities many of the best masterpieces which India has contributed to the art of the world. The artistic treatment of the terrible and the grotesque is a phase peculiar to the art of Asia for which it is worse than useless to invoke the aesthetic canons of the West. As a political contribution to the controversy of Indian Art Mr. Smith's book has some value and it fairly summarises the written literature on the subject the references being all but exhaustive, but we shall hesitate to accord to it the honour of a standard work on the subject as we are accustomed to do to the publications of the Oxford Press.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

KALIDASA

An ancient, heathen poet, loving more
 God's creatures, and God's women, and God's flowers
 Than we who boast of consecrated powers:
 Still lavishing his unexhausted store
 Of love's deep, simple wisdom, healing o'er
 The world's old sorrow, India's griefs and ours:
 That healing love he found in palace towers,
 On mountain, plain, and dark, sea-belted shore,
 In songs of holy Raghu's kingly line
 Or sweet Shakuntala in pious grove,
 In hearts that met where starry jasmynes twine
 Or hearts that from long, lovelorn absence strove
 Together. Still his words of wisdom shine:
 All's well with man, when man and woman love.

ARTHUR W. RYDER.

LEGAL PROCEDURE IN CHANDRAGUPTA'S TIME

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A.

II.

WE now proceed to consider the rules regarding witnesses. At the outset it is to be noted that agents were attached to the law-courts for secretly ascertaining if possible the real facts of a law-suit and for reporting them to the judges.* How far the information they furnished would be followed in a particular case depended, of course, upon the discretion of the judges. They had to use their discretion with great caution specially in cases like that instanced in the passage quoted below† where the depositions of witnesses were inconsistent and contradictory, and were consequently in conflict with the statement of the plaintiff, and over and above this, there was a divergence of the report of the "informants" from both the statement of the plaintiff and the evidence.

The principal check upon the indiscretions of the judges was the punishment they incurred for their laches and iniquity. The report of the informants had to be utilized therefore with great care, and with its chances of abuse minimized, it was meant to help the judges sometimes by creating suspicions in their minds which prompted them to sift into a case more cautiously and sometimes by corroborating the conclusion pointed to by the statements of the witnesses.

We find in the Arthashastra that a suit was not dismissed on the ground that there were no witnesses forthcoming to testify to the question at issue. For instance, in disputes regarding the non-payment of the wages of a labourer, he could sue his employer

even if he could procure no evidence to support his suit. And yet it is laid down that the plaintiff should receive compensation in proportion to the work done by him* Such a procedure would look strange unless we bear in mind that over and above cross-examination of the parties and overt enquiry that could be availed of in such a case there was another resource to fall back upon, viz., the secret agency for collecting information. Several such instances will occur to us as we proceed.

Let us now turn to other rules. In a law-suit, three witnesses either approved by both the parties (चक्षुः) or trustworthy (मान्यः) or pure (वचः)† served the purpose best. In a suit for debt however two witnesses approved by the parties might be sufficient but never one.

The fact of relationship with the plaintiff or defendant affected the competence of a person to stand as witness. The following persons were not eligible as witnesses, viz., (1) wife's brother (जाल), (2) helpmate (वचः), (3) prisoner (काल), (4) creditor (वचः), (5) debtor (वचः), (6) enemy (वचः), (7) dependent (वचः), (8) convict (वचः). In addition to these a few other persons could not appear as witnesses except in cases which

* Bk. III, श्रावणः, p. 184.

† मान्यः चक्षुः वचः इति त्रयम् । चक्षुः चक्षुः वा वचः इति त्रयम् । Bk. III, p. 175. चक्षुः चक्षुः, चक्षुः चक्षुः । In view of the fact that even a suit with no evidence to support it could receive hearing, it seems inconsistent to translate "वचः" by "at least three witnesses". So, it would perhaps be more reasonable to take "वचः" in the sense of "serving the purpose best"—(वचः चक्षुः वचः = वचः).

मान्यः and वचः.—It may be that they refer to two distinct classes of witnesses designated by the two names, the most marked attributes of a witness determining the class under which he falls.

* इति श्रावणः चक्षुः चक्षुः चक्षुः

† चक्षुः चक्षुः चक्षुः चक्षुः चक्षुः

—Bk. III, श्रावणः, p. 151.

did not note down what he heard in reply to his queries, tutored, or provided a party with his previous statements, he was fined the middlemost amercement. If he enquired into unnecessary circumstances, caused delay by such enquiry, postponed work on flimsy pretexts, tired the parties out of court with delay, misled them, helped the witnesses with clues or resumed the work already disposed of, he was punished with the highest amercement. If he committed any of the offences a second time he was fined double the amount and dismissed.

For an unjust fine, a *पक्ष* or *पदे* was fined double the amount or 8 times the excess of the amount over the prescribed limit, according to the nature of the offence. If a corporeal punishment was unjustly inflicted, he was condemned either to the same punishment or to the payment of twice the amount fixed in lieu of that kind of punishment. The judicial officer who brings to naught a good case or helps to concoct a false one is to be visited with a penalty eight times its value.

The scribe who took down the statements of the parties was liable to the following punishments for negligence or misconduct. If he wilfully omitted to note what was said, noted down what was not said, left out what was badly said, and rendered diverse or ambiguous what was well said,

he was liable to the first amercement or to any other punishment proportional to his guilt.

Care was taken to prevent the escape of a culprit from the law court (*पक्ष*), the *hajāt* (*पक्ष*) or the prison (*पक्ष*), as well as to prevent the abuse of the jailor's authority.*

It is not clear who tried the judges for their misconduct. It seems most likely and it is also consonant with the ancient Hindu Law-codes that the king or his associate-judges under him should try them.†

In passing, it should be noted that on the Supreme Court of Appeal the king was associated in the administration of justice with the royal priest and preceptor (*पुत्रीत नायक*).‡

Before leaving this subject, the following point should be noticed. Certain latitude seems to have been given to the superintendents of the several state-departments to summarily dispose of certain kinds of offences committed by their subordinates. How far their power extended in this direction is not clearly defined but it seems to have been confined to the offences done by the subordinates in their course of business.

* See Bk. IV, *सर्वविचारवचनम्* ।

† See J. R. A. S., Vol. II, p. 193—"On Hindu Courts of Justice."

‡ Bk. I, *राजप्रतिधि* ।

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

An English Translation of the Sushruta Samhita by Kaviraj Kunja Lal Bhishagratna, M. R. A. S. (London) (in three volumes)—Vol. I, pp. 650, Vol. II, pp. 800. Rs. 15, or £1 net per volume, or Rs. 25 in advance for the three volumes. 10, Kashi Ghosh's Lane, Calcutta.

The ancient Hindus long led the van of human civilisation. It was they who first "roll'd the psalm of wintry skies," as the immortal hymns of the Rig Veda amply attest. In the domain of speculative thought they early attained a degree of eminence, which, after the lapse of so many long centuries, still challenges the admiration of the world. The monistic philosophy of the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita, and the dualistic philosophy of the Sankhya are alike

engaging the serious attention of the modern European thinker. In the realm of imaginative literature the masterpieces of Valmiki and Vyasa, and of Kalidasa and Bhababhuti, may well vie with the noblest efforts of Athenian and Roman genius.

It was the invention of the decimal or cipher notation in India that first laid the foundation of all true mathematical science and, as MaxMuller justly remarks, made thereby the exact sciences possible, which ultimately led to the invention of the telescope, the steam-engine and the electric telegraph. The Sulva Sutras indubitably prove that the science of geometry was cultivated in India long before the age of the Greek geometers of Alexandria. In Algebra the progress made by the Hindus far surpassed that of their Hellenic cousins, and this is unanimously admitted by Western Scholars, however

medicines may differ on the question of the extent to which Hindu Astronomers borrowed from Hipparchus and Ptolemy.

The science of medicine and the allied science of Chemistry were also cultivated in India at a very early age. The hymns to the Asvins and to Rudra in the Rig Veda contain numerous references to the healing art, though precepts relating to that art occur mostly in the comparatively much later Atharva Veda. The germs of the "humoral pathology," which from the days of Hippocrates and Galen long held undisputed sway in Europe, are unmistakably traceable in the Vedas—a fact which, if it proves anything, shows clearly that the Hindu system of medicine did not borrow from the Greek what appears to be common to both. Moreover, the way in which Arrian speaks of the skill of the Hindu Physicians whom Alexander had in his camp, leaves little room for doubt that Hindu Medicine had, even at that early age, reached a much higher degree of perfection than the Greek.

That the science of medicine was sedulously cultivated during the Buddhist period may easily be informed from the inscriptions of Asoka, which testify to that great emperor's anxiety to disseminate the cultivation of medicinal herbs and plants.

From Arabic sources we learn that in the eighth century of the Christian era the works of several eminent Indian Physicians, e.g., Kankah, Sanjabal, Shanak, Mankah and Salih, were well known to the Arabs. The two last named were court physicians to Caliph Harun-al-Rashid, the celebrated contemporary of Charlemagne. It is stated that his Arabian physicians having failed to cure the Caliph of a severe disease with which he was afflicted, he sent over a man to India to fetch Mankah, who was induced by a large present to undertake the journey to Irak. On a complete cure being effected, the grateful Caliph bestowed upon the physician considerable wealth, besides a pension. Professor Wilson rightly observes that "it is clear that the Charaka, the Susruta, the treatises called Nidan on diagnosis, and others, on poisons, diseases of women, and therapeutics, all familiar to Hindu science, were translated and studied by the Arabs in the days of Harun and Mansur, either from the originals, or translations made at a still earlier period into the language of Persia." Thus the Indian system of medicine deeply influenced the Arabs, who in their turn, became the pioneers of scientific culture in Europe during the middle ages, so that in the tenth century, while the sick Christian resorted to a shrine for cure, the Maorian patient never hesitated to place himself under skilful medical treatment. Arab writers like Avicenna, Rhazes and Serapion, whose works are replete with quotations from Charaka and other Indian medical authorities, soon came to be the chief authority of European physicians and their influence lasted so late as the seventeenth century. Hindu Medical Science, with its rich repertory of simples and minerals, thus found its way into Europe through the medium of the Moors of Spain. It is now well known that the Arabs derived their knowledge of the alkalies and acids from the Indians, who were the first to make internal use of various metallic preparations—which still form a salient feature of modern European prescriptions.

During the long centuries which mark the reign of

the humoral pathology in Europe the practice of blood-letting was so much in vogue that the word "leech" came to be synonymous with the word "physician." It is perhaps not so generally known that the art of phlebotomy had its origin in India, no less than twelve different species of leeches being described by Susruta. Nor does the debt of Europe to Indian medical science end here. The beneficial effects of dhatura smoking in asthma and the use of cowitch as a remedy against worms, and of Chiretta and Baal in dyspepsia and diarrhoea have, in recent times, become known to Europe. A number of Indian drugs have already found a place in the British Pharmacopoeia, but many more still remain to be recognized by Europe. The introduction, from India, of rhinoplasty, or the artificial formation of the noses, has revolutionized the whole plastic surgery of Europe.

It is our firm conviction that the West has many things yet to learn from the East, and that whoever helps to make the Indian Medical System better known to Europe than it has hitherto been, does a real service to science. We accordingly welcomed the appearance in an English dress, some years ago, of the Charaka Samhita, the most representative work of the Ayurveda on the subject of medicine. We now hail with joy the publication of the first volume of an English translation, by Kaviraj Kunja Lal Bhishagratna, of the Susruta Samhita, the most representative book of the Ayurveda in the department of practical surgery and midwifery. The learned Kaviraj, who is a distinguished pupil of our illustrious townsman, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Dwarka Nath Sen, Kaviratna, has spared no pains or expense to make his rendering of Susruta's monumental work as acceptable to the English reader as to his fellow-countrymen at large. The get up of the book is excellent, and its style most attractive. While aiming at as close an adherence to the original as is possible, the learned Kaviraj has wisely inserted, in brackets, explanatory clauses elucidating the true meaning of a passage whenever he has found that a too literal interpretation of the text would fail to convey such meaning. The introductory dissertation prefixed to the translation is extremely interesting and evinces considerable erudition, acuteness and research.

According to a Chinese account, Charaka was a physician to King Kaniska, who is now generally held to have reigned during the first century of the Christian era, and the consensus of expert opinion seems to locate the age of Susruta a few centuries later. The learned translator of Susruta holds, however, that Susruta lived long before Charaka and adduces some ingenious arguments in support of his view. We confess our inability, in the absence of adequate data, to settle the point one way or the other.

The views set forth by the translator in regard to the correct interpretation of the terms Vayu, Pittam, and Kapha, as used in the Ayurveda, seem to us as novel as they are interesting, and we would commend them to the particular attention of all experts on the subject.

With regard to the marvellous progress made by Hindu Surgery in the days of Susruta, apart from his own individual share in bringing about such progress, there can be but one opinion. Susruta mentions no less than a hundred and twenty-five different surgical instruments and authorizes the

con to devise new ones to meet the requirements of special cases. In the chapter on the dressings, and bandages of ulcers he describes no less than fourteen different forms of bandage, besides various kinds of medicinal plasters, etc. and lint. The resources of modern-antiseptic surgery, as inaugurated by Lord Lister, with its anaesthetics, X-ray apparatus and a thousand and one delicate instruments and appliances, are, no doubt, much greater. It is, therefore, astonishing how the Indian Surgeon of yore, with his limited appliances and imperfect knowledge of anatomy, not only managed to amputate limbs, but successfully conducted lithotomic, plastic and rhinoplastic operations, as also some of the most difficult operations in ophthalmic and obstetric surgery. What a sad contrast does the low level to which Hindu Surgery has since fallen, present to the high water mark it reached in Susruta's day! At the present day, as Elphinstone remarked half a century ago, "Surgery is so far neglected, that bleeding is left to the barber, bone-setting to the herdsman, and every man is ready to administer a blister."

We quote below Kaviraj Kunja Lal's remarks regarding Susruta's knowledge of midwifery:—

"It is in the region of practical midwifery that one becomes so much impressed with the greatness of Susruta. The different turning, flexing, gliding movements, the application of the forceps in cases of difficult labour and other obstetric operations involving the destruction of mutilation of the child, such as craniotomy, were first systematically described in the Sushruta Samhita long before fillets and forceps were dreamt of in Europe, and thousands of years before the birth of Christ. Sushruta who advocates Cæsarean section in hopeless cases of obstruction, lays down that the instrument should be employed only in those cases where the proportion between the child and the maternal passage is so defective that medicated plasters, fumigations, &c., are not sufficient to effect a natural delivery. His directions regarding the management of the puerperal state, lactation and management of the child and the choice of a wet-nurse are substantially the same as are found in modern scientific works of European authors. A feeling of pride and joy moves our heart when we contrast these glorious achievements of our ancestors with the meanness of results which modern Europe has gained in this department of midwifery. In those old days perhaps there were no hospitals to huddle patients together in the same room and thereby to create artificially septicemic poisons which are now so common and so fatal in lying-in rooms. A newly built lying-in room in an open space abundantly supplied with the rays of the sun and heat of the burning fire for each individual case, the recommendation of a fresh bamboo-chip for the section of the cord are suggestions the value of which the West has yet to learn from the East."

Later on the learned Kaviraj further observes:—
"It is almost with a feeling of wonder we hear him (Susruta) talk of extirpation of uterine excrescences and discourse on the necessity of observing caution in surgically operating upon uterine tumours (Raktarvuda)."

Want of space precludes us from giving any further extracts from the volume before us or explaining the nature of its contents, and we conclude this brief notice with the remark that, apart from the medical

or scientific value of the work, the general reader will find it to be a mine of useful and interesting information, more especially the chapters on dietetics. These chapters describe in great detail the various kinds of food and drink which were used in Susruta's day, the sources from which they were obtained, the way in which they were cooked or prepared, the different kinds of vessels in which they were served, and the mode of serving out the various dishes at meals. The effects produced upon the human system—whether in a healthy or morbid condition—by each article of diet, are also fully detailed and many valuable peptic precepts are given.

ATINASH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A.

I. Indian Nation Builders: Part I. Second Edition. Ganesh & Co. Publishers, Madras, Price Rs 1.

In this neatly printed and well-bound volume of 358 pages we have short biographical sketches of a dozen prominent and patriotic leaders. Each sketch is preceded by a portrait, and followed by judicious extracts from the most famous speeches delivered by the subject of the sketch. The volume includes such names as Ranade, Gokhale, the Gaekwar, Mehta, Malaviya, Bannerjee, Rashbehari Ghose, Bepinchandra Pal, and Lajpat Ray. That the volume has gone through a second edition is proof enough that it has been well appreciated. The price is remarkably cheap. The book is sure to fulfil the writer's hope by conducing to the growth of the national feeling. We congratulate the publishers on the success of their enterprise.

II. Swami Ram Tirath: His Life and Teachings. Second Edition. Ganesh & Co., Publishers, Madras. Price Re. 1.

This book of nearly 400 pages is printed in the usual neat style of Messrs. Ganesh & Co., and is adorned with two portraits of the Swami. Though Ram Tirath died young, he sowed seeds which are already germinating in India and America, and are sure to fructify in a greater appreciation, in the fulness of time, of the Ideals of the East by the West. A direct descendant of the immortal Tulsidas, he was an M.A., in mathematics, a philosopher who had mastered all that the East and the West had to teach in that time, and above all, a practical Vedantist of a type which has now become rare even in the sacred land of its origin. He was penetrated through and through with the cosmic consciousness, altruism was the habit of soul, mastery of self and freedom from superstition were the lessons he preached, and practised to perfection. A collection of his speeches and writings is sure to prove useful to those who want to lead the religious life.

III. The Confessions of a Graduate: by Keshaviah L. Osa, B.A., Second Edition. Printed at the G. R. C. Press, Madras. 1910. Price twelve annas.

The book describes the disappointments of the literary life and the sum and substance of it is that literature is a good stick but a bad crutch. The author displays much out of the way learning and indulges in quotations at every turn, while the book bristles with literary and mythological allusions. There is a quaint drollery about the style, but it savours of the midnight oil. A certain want of clearness and condensation is noticeable everywhere.

Nevertheless the fact that the book has gone through a second edition shows that its merits have been appreciated.

IV. *A Bird's Eye View of Indian Economic Progress, 1901-1910*: by Dinsha Edulji Wacha. Price 4 annas. The Leader Office, Allahabad. 1911.

Mr. Wacha is one of the few Indian writers who can deal adequately with the economic problems of India. In this booklet he touches on such subjects as famine, agriculture, irrigation, railways, finances, currency, foreign trade, banks and industries. Taken together, these short papers, reprinted from the *Leader*, form a compact *vade mecum* for the Indian publicist. The writer seems to be of opinion that the condition of the Indian agriculturist has not improved in this decade, and consequently there has been no real economic progress. We cannot but deplore that the knowledge of economic subjects, specially in their financial aspect, which Mr. Wacha possesses, has not been utilised in the production of a book which Statesmen in India and Europe would have to take note of and which would form a welcome addition to the scanty literature on the subject.

V. *The Crisis in India*: by K. Srinivasa Rau, Ex-member of the Madras Legislative Council, Madras: Higginbotham & Co. Price Re 1-8.

The author of this handsomely got-up and nicely bound volume of 182 pages writes from a standpoint which is different from that of the majority of Indian politicians and political thinkers, and he knows that most of his views will not be popularly accepted as correct. He considers a democratic form of government to be unfit for India, does not like the opinions enunciated by Messrs. Kair Hardie and Ramsay Macdonald, thinks it a backsliding on the part of Mr. Gokhale—the pupil of Ranade—that he should give political reform greater prominence than social reform. He also says many other things which are mere echoes of what we are accustomed to hear from our Anglo-Indian critics; appropriately enough, therefore, the book has been dedicated by permission to Sir Arthur Lawley. We do not attribute any motive to the author for copying some cheap sneers from the Anglo-Indian press; unconsciously perhaps, he deepens the shade and turns aside the light and produces a picture which is often neither fair nor true. Cliques, the separatist and disruptive tendencies of caste and creed, abuse of power by those in authority, want of public spirit, the prevalence of a narrow selfishness even in many of our social and political activities—these are among the faults which, according to the author, and most reasonable people will agree with him, must be set down against our fitness for political power. But what the writer seems to forget is that as one cannot learn to swim at the first contact with water, so a nation must be disciplined and trained in the school of liberty, and that good government can give powerful encouragement to the forces of good and hasten the day when the evils complained of will disappear, and good government, in the last analysis, can only mean self-government. Take, for instance, two of the vital questions which are just now on the tapis—education and marriage reform. Everybody will admit that social and sanitary reform, and the development of public spirit, largely depend on the spread of education. And yet we find that all the

provincial governments are dead against making it free and compulsory, as it is in almost all civilised countries of the world, even under the cautious safeguards provided in the very moderate Bill of Mr. Gokhale. Again, Mr. Basu's Bill is intended to give religious liberty to a small section of advanced Hindus—the liberty to profess themselves what they really are in the matter of their religious faith so long as they do not violate any moral law by marrying outside their caste. The Age of Consent Bill which roused popular ill-will to an inconceivably greater extent was passed by Government into law without hesitation, but it is urged against Mr. Basu's Bill that it is not supported by the orthodox community, as nobody supposed it would be. When people are denied ordinary civil rights for taking a step which is morally justifiable and even praiseworthy, by a Government which professes sympathy for social reform, on the ground of want of popular support, can we blame those who trace in this attitude a newborn desire on the part of autocracy to combine with orthodoxy with a view to defeat progress? Japan, whom the author quotes so often, is fortunate in having a homogeneous population, while caste and other elements of discord are deeprooted in our constitution. But could she have attained her phenomenal success but for the devoted sympathy and wholehearted encouragement of her Government? The first requisite of national existence is to acquire strength in defence and attack, and the Government in Japan has done everything that can be done to make the people manly and strong. Indians cannot hold commissioned posts in the army, and they are not even trained as volunteers. Deep thinkers and discerning travellers do not perceive any innate superiority in the Japanese character to our own. Her success must, therefore, be attributed to the absolute identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled. While no Government can make us great unless the seeds of greatness exist in ourselves—and they must be supposed to exist, unless we believe in the inherent depravity of the Asiatic races—the fostering care of Government can make the seeds germinate quickly and grow adequately, but by neglect it can leave them to rot underground while the sustenance which is withheld from them goes to nourish all sorts of noxious weeds. As for sedition in India, we refer the writer to a profoundly suggestive book, Mr. Putnam Weale's 'The Conflict of Colour' (Macmillan & Co., 1910) Chap. III. The nationalistic attitude, however exaggerated it appears to be, however lenient at first view in dealing with the defects of national character, is yet the true attitude, for it rests on a bedrock of sound principles, and its foundations are well and truly laid. All questions, social, political and moral, which divide and agitate us, when looked at from this point of view, will fall into their proper place and meet with their natural solution. Such questions can be harmonised and co-ordinated, not by a judicious selection from the criticisms of those whose acquaintance must necessarily be confined to our underlying virtues, but only by the sympathy and insight which is born of an abiding love of country chastened by a liberal education of the right type, which leads us through the thesis of the Chauvinist and the antithesis of the alien critic to the higher synthesis of the patriot.

History of the Qutb Minar, by Rustaniji Nasarvanji Munshi (Bombay, 1911), xvi+94.

In this rather gaudily got up little book the author conclusively proves, on "the testimony of the Muhammadan Chroniclers and the Inscriptions on the Minar," that

(a) "the famous Qutb Minar was raised by Sultan Shamsuddin Altmash,

(b) with a view to perpetuate the memory of both the Qutbs" [*vis.*, the King Qutbuddin Aibak and the saint Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki],

(c) "and to use it as a *Masnah* from the summit of which the Muezzin's call to prayer would humble the pride of the infidel Hindus and exalt the faith of Islam."

The accumulated evidence of original Persian sources is conclusive on these points. The author is to be praised for having exhaustively refuted a popular error of long standing, but he cannot claim originality, because Mr. Vincent A. Smith proved the first two points in an article in *East and West* four years ago. Mr. Munshi gives no reference to this article. The question whether the Qutb Minar is a Hindu or a Muslim structure, which divided the archaeologists of an earlier generation, Syed Ahmad, Fergusson and Cunningham, has long been set at rest. The Minar is a distinctly Muhammadan work; there is one very much like it outside Gazni, whereas none of the Hindu Triumphal Pillars (*Kirti-Stambhas*) resembles it at all.

J. S.

Theosophy and Theism.

A Lecture by B. Animananda, pp. 22. Price one anna. To be had at Fote Office, Hyderabad, Sindh, and 41-1 Durga Charan Mitra's Street, Calcutta.

The author quotes from Mrs. Annie Besant and other theosophists to show that theosophic doctrines of religion are antitheistic and subversive of religious consciousness.

Ingravi-Pravesh; or the Direct Method of Teaching English by T. V. Oka, M. A., and R. D. Desai, B. A. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged, pp. 68. Price As. 8.

A very useful publication.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

ENGLISH AND SANSKRIT.

(i) *The Gospel of Life*, Vol. i, by F. T. Brooks (Vyasa-shrama, Adyar, Madras). Pp. vii + liv + 337 + 2. Price Rs. 2-8, Re. 1-12 and annas 12.

(ii) *Kurukshetra or the Moral Nature of the Holy War to which the Bhagavat-Gita calls Mankind*: By the same author. Pp. ii + 52. Price six annas.

(iii) *Tattva-Darshana or the Mind-aspect of Salvation* by the same author. Pp. 112. Price ten annas.

These books are intended to be "an Introduction to the study of the Bhagavat-Gita and the Upanishads."

Our author has read the Gita and the Upanishads and translated the Gita too. But, strange to say, he has found in his Hindu Scripture nothing 'holier' than service (which he has affixed as a Sub-title to his 'Gospel of Life'). Service—Karma—is, to him, the

Summum bonum—the Be-all and End-all of Life. Devotion—*Bhakti*—is but a means to an end. Mr. Brooks allows this much that "true Devotion or *Bhakti-yoga* is the one and only true motive of service, Karma-yoga." To urge the former is merely another way of urging the latter—an appeal to synthetic emotion or LOVE, as the necessary motive power of synthetic action or SERVICE." Karma is the End, and Devotion is a Means. But if a man can do his duties without *Bhakti-yoga*, he need not practise formal devotions at all. Devotion for Devotion's sake is, to our author, a Chimera. It is a "Pseudo-religious excitement, devotional sensuality—a sort of self-abuse in 'muddy blue instead of muddy red' (a theosophic phrase)."

The following is an example of 'Pseudo-Devotion' as conceived by Mr. Brooks:—"There once lived a doctor, a great *Krishnabhakta*. He spent three hours shut up in his *puja*-room every morning. During that time his patients might die if they chose: under no pretext was he to be disturbed."

With this he compares "Longfellow's *Golden Legend*" of which the substance is briefly this—"An ecstatic monk to whom God's Angel, in his cell, appears (*sic*). While in soul-enthralled converse, the hour strikes when this very monk is expected to feed the poor at the convent doors. The poor are waiting: what will he do? He tears himself away and goes to *serve*. When he returns wondering at his audacity—has he not turned his back on God's Mercy?—what was his surprise to find the celestial visitor smiling a welcome to him in his cell. 'Hadst thou not gone, I had not tarried' the angel explains."

His attitude toward *Bhakti* is rather hostile, but he assures us that his criticism "does not mean that formal devotion should be shunned. *Most need it*. They are not strong enough to make their ordinary life-routine a constant *Sacrifice of Love*. Therefore is it necessary that they should conjure up before them at set times, in some form or other, the Ideal of Divine Wisdom-Love they yearn for." The expression "*Most need it*" is very significant. Mark! '*Most*'—not all.

Mr. Brooks tauntingly speaks of those who entertain a different view and is loth to call them 'good' or 'learned' or religious.

The author has criticized the standpoint of Sankara, but thereby he has betrayed his total inability to understand the METAPHYSICS of the SELF—the basal concept of the Upanishads and the Gita. Of Sankara he says:—"Tradition reveres Him as a Sage of more than human status. Yet he is made responsible for the doctrine of the incompatibility of *Jnana* (Knowledge) and *Karma* (Action). That it is a false doctrine, besides being infinitely mischievous, is patent. That it is an absurd one, is equally patent. It makes God a fool.—Either the real Shankaracharya taught this and was not a real sage or he was one (I believe it) and could not consistently teach this. He may possibly have had it fathered on him by some latter-day successor and namesake." The following note is appended to the above:—"Tho' he may have taught it as a formal 'doctrine' in pursuance of some strange plan for the Ultimate benefit of Humanity—namely the crippling of India's misused Power, preparatory, of course, to Her ultimate Regeneration, the complementary aspect of the Mahabharata destruction,

theological internecine warfare, of whatever power could not be reduced into—other worldly paths. If Bhaktana was a Divine Teacher and gave these race-justifying teachings, he surely flung them as a challenge to the common sense of mankind. He converted mischief into the form of subtle quibbles in order that we, the thing once tested, should rise in our strength and put an end to it."

Our author has little or no philosophic training and his knowledge of Hindu philosophy is very shallow. His scriptural interpretations are forced and artificial. His attitude towards the followers of other cults is highly reprehensible: he calls their god 'a godling' and Divine communion is, to him, nothing but a form of sensuality. His books are a medley of heterogeneous and incongruous materials and are devoid of all literary grace. They are characterised, we have to say with regret, by buffoonery and overweening self-conceit. Seriousness and spirituality are conspicuous by their absence. A sarcastic vein runs through the books: they read more like farces than religious literature. Self-advertising and self-eulogising is one of the marked features of his books. Such mischievous productions we cannot recommend to our countrymen. Life is too short and too valuable to be thus frittered away. But such is the deplorable condition of our country that any European who has but a smattering of Sanskrit, will be eagerly sought after and hailed as an authoritative commentator and religious teacher, if he can but deliver lectures applauding our Scriptures.

The following extracts from Mr. Brooks's books will be read with interest by many of our readers:—

"Where political opinion (which in my case is merely a phase of religious and philosophic faith) steps in, is here. The snapping of the link between India and England would be welcomed by the separatists as a success. I should deplore it as a failure—not merely as a failure from the standpoint of England, or of India but as a very serious, albeit but temporary, set back to the evolution of mankind towards its organic destiny. I have said. Let people take it as they like.

"I am glad to be able to state that British Government Officials, all over India, seem to have thoroughly understood the mission of Theosophy in this respect.

"Theosophy stands for *Non-Separateness*. Sedition means separateness. Therefore Theosophy and sedition cannot pull on together. Where Theosophy spreads, sedition must die out; where sedition spreads, the gracious conciliating spirit of Theosophy finds but a scanty welcome and must needs 'hide Her face and bide Her time.'

In another place, the author writes:—

"The enemy you have to fight is not the monstrous bogey you, in your unrestrained fever-fed imaginations, have made of the British Rule, but the very real incubus of selfish 'nirvanam' in your ascetics, of selfish vanity of your rajahs, of selfish money-grubbing in your merchants, etc. etc."

MARIE CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

(i) *Sanskrit First Reader* by S. Sankardeva Nilakanta Sastri, Assistant Sanskrit Teacher, S. M. College, Bangalore, pp. 44. Price four annas.

(ii) *Sanskrit Second Reader* by the same author, pp. 271. Price ten annas.

These books will appear useful to those for whom they are intended—though they are not wholly based on modern pedagogical principles. The rules of Grammar are given in English and the Sanskrit Texts are printed in the Devanagari character. The lessons are carefully graduated.

(i) *The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Volume X. Part VI (No. 30). The Vedanta Sūtras of Badarayana with the commentary of Baladeva*, pp. 453–558.

(ii) *Volume V; Part VII (No. 31). The Vedanta Sūtras of Badarayana with the commentary of Baladeva*, pp. 549–652.

Both the parts are translated by Rai Bahadur Srisa Chundra Vasu and published by Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja Allahabad. Annual subscription inland Rs. 12. Foreign £1, single copy Re. 1-8. The sixth part contains III, 2, 1 40–III, 3, 29 (Sūtras 320 to 396) and the seventh part III, 3-29 to III, 4, 35 (Sūtras 390 to 364). The book is being well edited and translated.

M. C. G.

BENGALI.

Sikhjati: by Sarat Kumar Roy, with an introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Indian Publishing House, Calcutta. Re. 1.

The book is admirably planned and is not marred by preconceived notions. It is happily free from all bias—especially is it not disfigured by that anti-foreign feeling to which some enthusiastic latter day authors are prone when they speak of the Maratha and the Sikh community in the days of their glorious independence. This is the sheer blindness of a certain section of our public men: they want the European spirit in every department of thought and action and yet are perversely railing against that very influence which is required to shape and mark our social polity.

All the leading Sikh Gurus have been distinctly sketched. The language is quite modern; is simple and chaste, is not at all mottled with Sanscritist phraseology and the narrative flows on unimpeded by prejudice or predilection.

The introduction is the chief feature. It is a vivid piece of writing and is from the pen of the greatest living Bengali author. Babu Rabindranath Tagore is the noblest fruit of European culture tempered by Eastern ideals. Mr. Fraser in his literary history of India says that Bhatindra Chandra is the meeting place of the East and the West. This is more true of Babu Rabindranath as he sums up and consolidates in his works the profoundest and most abiding thoughts of the past 25 years, and harmonises in his life the mingled results of modern culture. His wide travels—his unclouded gaze—his plastic imagination—his well-tuned spirit—the unity and balance of his mind—his love of all that is true, whether foreign or indigenous—his hatred of all that is vile and cant-ridden—his fine attitude towards the most stirring movements in the several communities in India and

* A quoted translation of this by Prof. T. N. Sastri appeared in the *Modern Review* for April last.

at a certain detachment from the clamorous questions of the hour, all these make him the most puissantponent of the life and thought that envelope us today. We go to him not only for literary excellence, in dainty mosaics of phrase and epigram, for gracefully woven expressions—but for 'fertility in ideas'—for Socratic outlook—for that 'dynamic quality which adds character, which generates virtue,' which pushes to the background sacramental rule and routine, use and wont, and emerging the moral sense raises it to a proper height.

The rise, growth and fall of the Sikh power have been traced with a master's hand—and the real causes of its decay have been analysed with unsurpassable skill. The main point on which Babu Rabindranath has laid great stress is the fact that the religious teachings of the first *gurus* should not have been allowed to be diverted to 'earthlier political purposes: the spark of spiritual fervour should not have been used in igniting the faggots of military enthusiasm whose intense glow certainly spread over the particular community for a while but left the rest of the country untouched, unmoved, unquicken, left it, as was before, buried in sloth, selfishness and frigid indifference. The Sikh reformers made a huge mistake when they turned the spirit's current into the graded channels of martial ambition and renown: the stream which broke forth and issued from the snow-clad heights and sweetened the lives of men, became choked amidst the base sands.

All sincere students of literature must welcome such works. They indicate that the historic spirit, the historic attitude, the historic vision which Indian writers never possessed before has been born.

H. L. CHATTERJI.

HINDI.

Dilli aur Durbar, by Faya Vijaya Narayan Sinha, (Modern Press, Allahabad). Pp. 122, price 12 as.

This booklet contains a short description of modern Delhi and the objects of interest in and around the City, a sketch of its past history, a report of the two Imperial *Durbars* of 1877 and 1903, and a programme of King George V.'s recent *Durbar*. It is chiefly meant to serve as a handy guidebook for Hindi-knowing readers; but the hurry with which it has been written has resulted in lack of accuracy and meagreness of detail. The language is tolerably pure, and 12 full-page illustrations enhance its value.

H.

Hindi Navaratnas, by Pandits Ganesh Vihari, Shyam Vihari, and Shukdev Vihari Misra. (Hindi Granth Prakash Mandal, Allahabad), 13 illustrations, 438 pp. Rs. 2-8.

The publication of this book marks an epoch in the growth of Hindi literature. The beauty and clearness of its type, the neatness of its printing, and the elegance of its get-up reflect the highest credit on the Indian Press, Allahabad, and make it the nicest Hindi book we have seen. It is, again, the first book in Hindi, so far as we know, in which the methods of modern æsthetic criticism have been employed in the study of Hindi poets. The three authors are gentlemen highly educated in English and they have brought to the appreciation of Tulsidas and Bhushan intellects familiar with the poetry of Milton and Shakespeare, and the æsthetic spirit of European critics. Two of

them have, besides, a still higher qualification for the task: they have published for the Nagri Pracharini Sabha a highly valuable historical and critical study of the poet Bhushan, with all the patient industry and minute accuracy of true research students. The book under notice is the outcome of years of work, as the authors had been long studying the old Hindi poets with a view to writing a literary history of them. (Page 7 of the Preface.)

We have here the lives, bibliographies, and critical estimates (with illustrative quotations) of the nine Hindi poets, Chand Bardai (1126—1193 A.D.), Suradas (1483—1563), Tulsidas (1532—1623), Keshavdas (1558—1617), Vihari Lal (1603—1663), Bhushan (1635—1715), Motiram (1639—1716), Devadatta (1673—1745), and Harish Chandra (1846—1884). On the lives and works of these "nine gems" of Hindi poetry, the information supplied is detailed and instructive. Indeed, the bibliographies inserted here will be of the greatest use to the future historian of Hindi literature.

Of these nine poets Tulsidas and Bhushan have been treated most fully, and next to them Suradas and Keshavdas. The chapter on Chand Bardai is, to our mind, rather unsatisfactory; and this is the more to be regretted as he is the oldest in point of time, his style is very archaic and concise to obscurity, and the historic importance of his work as great as its literary merit. If our authors had studied him as fully and carefully as they have done Bhushan, they would have conferred a lasting benefit on students of Indian history as well as on lovers of Hindi literature. We admit, however, that there is not the same wealth of materials in his case as in that of Bhushan.

The æsthetic criticism displays the same painstaking spirit and some freshness of view. Much of it will be a novel thing to readers familiar with the vernacular only. In this respect our authors are pioneers and they have opened a path for mental exercise in a direction altogether new in Hindi. Our only complaints are that the analysis is not deep enough, the æsthetic perception is not always delicate and subtle, and every now and then we come across cheap rhetorical flourishes. But in the present state of popular knowledge and taste in Upper India, such defects are probably inevitable. As a specimen of the authors' style and method, we translate a few extracts below.

"The chief characteristic of Suradas's poetry is that every word of it displays the poet's steadfast devotion to God. Poetry is good only when it is true. A poem is true only when the writer describes the experiences he has gone through (in life), and the thoughts and emotions that fill him. Otherwise the poem breathes counterfeit and not genuine sentiments. Such a poem is lifeless. (P. 153) Suradas's poems are mainly of such a character that we see the image of *bhakti* (devotion) everywhere in them. Scorning caste distinctions, ritualistic differences, etc., he considers *bhakti* as the chief (theme) and the only source of delight. According to him, if a man is a *bhakti*, then he is noble, however low his caste and rank in life may be. However much a man may smear himself with sandal paste and other outward marks of devotion, if he is not a sincere devotee, he is only wasting his time by so doing. (P. 154) Suradas was, no doubt, an ardent and profound devotee; but we must say that there is a difference between his *bhakti* and that of Tulsidas.

The latter cultivated *bhakti* in the mental attitude of a slave, *Suradas* in that of a comrade. He considers Sri Krishna as his friend, and he therefore even condemns Radha, and when Krishna commits any improper act he does (not hesitate to) censure the God! Tulidas, in describing Rama's human exploits, is sure to remind the reader that Rama is God, and that (here) he is only performing some human acts... Time after time he reminds the reader of Rama's divinity. The case is different with *Suradas*. He considers it enough to draw the reader's attention (to Krishna's divinity) once or twice only." (P. 156).

In a serious work of this kind we must take exception to the fancy portraits of eight of the poets. They introduce an element of falsehood utterly at variance with the scholarly character of the book. When a second edition is called for, we venture to suggest that the authors will leave these pictures out, prune off the rhetorical exuberance here and there, and supply a comparative study of these poets, in order to show how diversely different hands have treated the same subject,—such as the beauty of nature, the fierce delight of war, the spring season, processions, the devotional frame of mind, and so on. To the student of the growth of Hindu thought, such parallel instances ranging from the 12th century to the 19th, will be a subject of enthralling interest. A companion volume of typical selections from all these poets will supply a great need of Hindi readers, but it must be moderately priced and enriched with explanations of archaic words and obscure passages.

J. S.

MARATHI.

"*Sparsh-Asparsh or the question of the Social intercourse between the four Varnas*" (price Re. 1, to be had of Messrs Damodar S. Yonde, Bombay).

This is a very remarkable book, written under the patronage of His Highness the Gaikwar by Mr. Shripad Damodar Satavlekar better known to the readers of Marathi periodical literature as "*Shridas*." Although it deals with the larger question of the origin and growth of the very complex system of castes, the book is evidently an outcome of the now wide-spreading movement for the uplift of the Depressed classes in India. And that it is distinctly written to uphold this movement may be easily seen from the fact that out of the 17 chapters in all, the last seven are solely devoted to a very candid enquiry into the ways and means of this activity and a survey which is at once shrewd and sympathetic, of the work being done by the several agencies in the country. But three-fourths of the book which cover the first 10 chapters, consists of the one prolonged argument that the present situation of the one-fourth of the Hindu population, kept hopelessly detached from the main body is discovered to be as unattainable on the ground of the Hindu Shastras if intelligently and patiently studied, as on that of independent reason and expediency. Although to us there is nothing original in this argument, but rather a weariness from which the educated mind cannot be too soon relieved, we must admit that we are quite struck by the tremendous array of extracts so systematically drawn by the author in favour of social progress from the Shastras, the very stronghold of its enemies.

We have nothing but respect and admiration for the industry and good intentions with which he has so successfully ramracked the sacred literature of the Hindus—from the very ancient Vedas to the later-day *Puranas* and writings of the advocates of the modern sects, we might even yield that the average Hindu mind with its constitutional bias, in favour of anything that is found in the Shastras, will very likely be influenced for good by this mass of quotations. But who will guarantee the permanence of this effect? Every favourable quotation, one can well imagine, may be annulled by scores of adverse references that may be easily picked up by the other party. And we already hear that a reputed defender of the faith, a *Dharmmartand*, has sent to the Press a torpedo of a counter book to blow the one under review in the name of the *Sanatan Dharm*. Real reform requires much more than a mere shifting of old books; it presupposes a new habit of the mind. But we shall be doing injustice to our good author if we fail to perceive in his book his own frame of mind which is in every way conducive to the most radical reform and which he has unmistakably expressed in so bold and almost exhaustive remedies as he has indicated in the last part of his book for the removal of the most disastrous effects of caste in India. It is not very common to find a Hindu who does not belong to the advanced section of the Brahmin Samaj, advocating even the *Pratilom* form of intermarriage, *vis.*, between men of the lower castes and women of the higher castes, with such a clearness and singleness of purpose as Mr. Satavlekar has done in his book. This, among other things, conclusively proves that though he has spent three-fourths of his book in trimming the Shastras, he is not prepared to prop the cause of reform solely on them. He coolly alludes to the so-called lines of least and the most resistance and sees the hollowness of this distinction. In summing up his argument and putting forth his plea in the last chapter, he concludes that the treatment of the "untouchables" by the higher classes in India is equally unjustifiable either on the ancient ground of race conquest or of the animal magnetism and electricity attributed to the higher-sounding beliefs and practices of Yoga or on the later ground of economical division and exclusiveness. The concluding prayer from the *Yajurveda* Ch. 36 is the culminating point:—

"Oh Lord! Elevate me. Let the whole creation look upon me with the eye of a friend. Let me look upon it as a friend. Grant us to look upon each other with friendly eyes."

All Marathi knowing people who will peruse this book will feel grateful to His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad who deputed the author to write a work on the line of the present book. This one book is enough to show how he is trying to educate the people and to make them think on subjects on which rests the regeneration of India.

S. S. V.

GUJARATI.

(1) *Saty Vira Bijan Kankun Nathi* (There is nothing besides truth), pp. 39. (2) *Jivan Dori*, pp. 62. (3) *Jasmani Garbi*, pp. 4. Paper bound. Printed at the International Printing

Works, Phanik, Natal, South Africa. Price 0-0-3d; 0-0-4d; 0-0-1d.

All these three booklets are sent to us from South Africa by Mr. Gandhi's nephew for review, and he says that the last booklet, a poem of the time of King Siddharaj Jayasurh of Gujarat, has become very popular with the Indian residents there. Mr. Gandhi has come a good deal under the influence of Leo Tolstoy and the first two brochures are adaptations of simple stories written by Tolstoy. The language is rather quaint and out of the way, but still the expression of the ideas does not suffer. The incident in the life of that great king of Gujarat, Siddharaj Jayasurh which is here versified, is well known. He was digging the great tank at his capital, and amongst those who laboured there, and carried away the earth dug out from the pits, was the beautiful wife—Jasma by name—of the head of that class of laborers called "Ode." The king was smitten with her beauty and the various devices he tried to win her away from conjugal ability and their utter failure are recorded here in an attractive style. The dialogue between the two is instructive and interesting. Its style and language betray it to be a modern production, however.

Samrat George, by Bulbul (Ramanik A. Mehta). Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, Cloth bound pp. 48 (1911).

This small hand book deals with all the important incidents in the lives of their Imperial Majesties. The illustrations and the neat printing on thick glazed paper make the book attractive. We wish the language was still more simple and homely.

Sati Sangitavali by Maharanishanker Ambashanker Sharma, Arya Samaj Preacher, Deolah Gurukula. Printed at the Dharma Vijaya Printing Press, Bombay. Thick cardboard, pp. 191. Price 0-12-0 (1911).

The object with which the songs in this collection are written is to purify the present atmosphere of female education or rather non education. The author says that such prurient erotic songs (*garbis*) as of Dayaram and Vullabh, so much in vogue amongst Gujarati ladies, are sure to tell on their morals, and therefore it was necessary to provide them with something on the same lines, but in a purer, more decent form and eliminate therefrom all the love phraseology used in connection with Krishna and Radha. Whether these excellent songs have ever told or would ever tell on the morals of our ladies is another question: so far, the ladies have survived the sordid element in them, and the personal note in the *Shringar* contained in the verses, has fallen flat on them. In singing them

they only think of the Lord Divine and not Krishna, the libertine. The attempt made in the preface to run down the idols of Gujarati poetry should not pass without a protest. As for the contents of the book, we must say we are greatly pleased with them. They are well set, and when sung by the fine musical voice of the author, must furnish a treat. The instances given of the lives of ladies like Jodhba, are of great use in making their heroic deeds known more widely. There are some slips in the book, like Shiri for Sherin, and Farsad for Farhad, due to the secondhand knowledge of the writer, about this Persian couple, but they do not detract from the value of the compilation.

Shalapatra Jubilee Ann, published under orders of the Educational Department by Rao Bahadur Kamlashanker Pranshanter Trivedi, B.A., Principal Premchand Raychand Training College, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard pp. 148. Price 0-8-0 (1911).

The Gujarat Shala Patra has been the official organ of the Educational Department for the last fifty years, and if one were to judge of its utility and worth from the man who have been at the helm during this long period, their would only be a unanimous chorus of approval for its work. Mahipatram, Navalram, Madhanlal and lastly the present Editor, have all been distinguished educationists, and the history of the periodical introducing the reader to the collection of the various articles published in the following pages, furnishes ample material for congratulation to the department. It has furnished a most welcome facility to schoolmasters to come out with their difficulties, their grievances, and their opinions on various departmental matters. The papers contributed to this volume come from some well known educationists and literary men, and they furnish ample food for thought, instruction and information. We wish its get-up and mechanical execution were better.

Letters of Swami Vivekananda by Bhagubhai Faticchand Karbhari, Hathi Buildings, Bombay, obtainable at Messrs. N. M. Tripathi & Co., Princess Street, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 276. Price 0-6-0 (1912).

This neatly got-up volume will help the Gujarati readers much to understand the great individuality and personality of Swami Vivekananda. It is a collection of 70 letters and many more are promised in the near future. Mr. Bhagubhai could not have done a more useful work.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Public Instruction in E. B. and Assam.

The resolution of the Government of E. B. and Assam on Public Instruction for the year 1910-11, published in the Official

Gazette of the 14th of February calls for a few remarks. The Lieutenant-Governor relies on Inspectors to show administrative energy and thoroughness and to work in intimate relationship with Commissioners

and District Officers. This is ominously significant of the tendencies of the government and the spirit in which the province is administered. Too great an intimacy between those who have to deal habitually with criminals and those who have to watch over the growth of tender-hearted schoolboys, can only be considered desirable by a government which regards schoolboys in the light of potential criminals. Neither the boys nor their guardians can be enamoured of the attitude which underlies this policy—a policy which would treat students as suspects and prevent them from developing that feeling of self-respect which lies at the root of all self-improvement. The appointment of an Inspector for every district is foreshadowed in the resolution, and is characterised as a much-needed improvement. This shows in what channels the educational expenditure of the province mainly flows. It is good to have Inspectors of schools, but they should not be regarded as an end in themselves, and it is better to have more schools to inspect. Possibly the special educational officer alluded to in connection with the proposed University at Dacca will be at the head of this army of inspectors. We are told that the special branch of the Criminal Investigation Department will be abolished in East Bengal, but it will evidently leave a substitute behind. This is no doubt the bureaucratic ideal of educational expansion; but the public will perhaps be disposed to call it by another name.

In the Faridpur and Mymensingh districts, the number of pupils in the primary schools fell by 4,500 in the year under report. This is said to be due to the withdrawal of aid from seasonal and other small schools. Upon this His Honour makes the following wise observations:—

"It must always be remembered that even rudimentary and imperfect education is better than none at all, and while the improvement of schools and the removal of children from bad schools to good are most desirable objects, care must be taken not to leave children wholly without means of obtaining elementary instruction."

These words must be anathema to the worshippers at the shrine of efficiency, and unfortunately their number in this country, the poorest in the world, is legion. They believe that efficiency is almost entirely a question of £, s. d., and that is precisely

the weak point in the Indian educational system. As the Lieutenant Governor observes:—

"Boards are often in a difficult position since the funds at their disposal do not suffice for the support even of the better schools. All indications tend to show that primary education would spread much more rapidly if funds could be spared to aid more schools and to aid all schools more thoroughly."

The Government of E. B. and Assam complains of want of funds for providing elementary education to the people. The Colleges at Comilla and Pabna are, according to the resolution under review, below the mark in efficiency. Even all the 'efficient' colleges cannot teach up to the standards prescribed for the highest degree examinations, and those which can, do so in a few subjects only. In the face of all this, to establish a new residential University at Dacca, by which the Mofussil Colleges will not be in any way benefited, is to carry the doctrine of efficiency almost to the pitch of absurdity. The educationally starved Bengali cries aloud for mass education, and for the better provision of the existing colleges and schools. He is given the luxury of a new University. Two thousand years ago Jesus asked:—

"What man is there of you, whom if his son asked bread, will give him a stone?"

Experience shows that had he lived here and now, he need not have so confidently expected a negative reply.

P.

The modification of Partition and the border districts.

In the last paragraph of Lord Hardinge's despatch of August last, it is stated that the modification of the Partition would be carried out on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all. Again it is urged in the same document that half measures would be of no avail, and that whatever was to be done should be done so as to make the final settlement satisfactory to all the classes concerned. The King, in making the announcement at Delhi, distinctly anticipated a re-distribution of boundaries. But now we are told that no such re-distribution is contemplated, and that the boundaries will remain exactly what they were before Bengal was

partitioned. It seems that the doctrine of the settled fact is hard to die.

And yet there are many millions of Bengalis, possessing or good a claim to that name as the people of Bengal proper, who are clamouring over the borders for reunion with their fellows, and the latter fully reciprocate the demand. Lord Hardinge's despatch, like that of Lord Morley on the Council Reforms, is unexceptionable in the sentiments it breathes, but it looks as if it is destined to meet with the same dismal fate that overtook the latter. The noble and statesmanlike policy which has been enunciated by his Excellency and which has evoked the gratitude of the entire nation is likely to be frustrated by those official advisers on whom lies the task of working out the details of that policy. But a delimitation of boundaries, intended to round off a territorial redistribution made expressly on a linguistic basis, which overlooks linguistic and racial affinities cannot possibly be a final and peaceful settlement. Such a procedure is sure to be cited as a very fine example of how not to do a thing. It may appear to be the easiest way out of a complicated and difficult situation, but easy solutions are not always the best, the least troublesome in the long run, or the most lasting. The desire of the Bengalis occupying the fringe-area to be united with their brethren inside the borders is no empty sentiment, nor is it one to be lightly brushed aside. The same desire manifests itself strongly in European countries also, as will appear from the following extract.

"...real frontiers...are no longer rivers, or mountains, seas, or any of those physical features still referred in geography books. These are only the frontiers savages...no race to-day, any more than yesterday, will be content permanently to accept an arbitrary frontier line...when across that frontier remain millions of men of the same blood. In geo-politics this is perhaps the most important minor question of the day. It is for this reason that Italian Irredentists dream of one day conquering their brothers on the other side of the Adriatic. It is for this reason that Roumanians and Bulgarians the Austrian province of Transylvania, that Bulgarians pass across the southern line of Eastern Roumelia and believe that the days are not far distant when the boundaries laid down in the inoperative Russo-Turkish treaty of San Stefano may be claimed by them. It is necessary to quote further cases. It is sufficient to say that Germans, Greeks, Russians, Serbians, Githians, Austrians, and many others in Europe believe that they have not yet found their true and final frontiers—because across these political boundaries are men of the same

race and speech...when nationality was still largely a provincial feeling or a localised regionalism; when men's horizons were bounded by the distance they could see with the naked eye; when the question of daily bread was the supreme question—then was it that such vital problems of high politics were abandoned to the care of rulers. Today that is nowhere any longer true..."

(*The Conflict of Colour* by Putnam Weale, pp. 90-92, MacMillan & Co., 1910).

The Persian Crisis.

In view of the recent troubles in Persia, the student of history will no doubt recall the following passage from the reputed will of Peter the Great of Russia:

"Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and that he who can exclusively control it is the master of Europe: no occasion should therefore be lost to provoke war with Persia, to hasten its decay, to advance to the Persian Gulf, and then to endeavour to re-establish the ancient trade of the Levant through Syria."

P.

Educational Bifurcation in Bengal.

In understanding the full significance of the proposed educational bifurcation in Bengal, we should never forget that the proposal consists of two parts, the establishment of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a special educational officer for East Bengal. The two go together, and in judging of the probable results of the scheme, we must not consider any of them singly. That is to say, the scheme includes in its scope not merely university education, but secondary and primary education as well. For this reason we have used the expression "educational bifurcation." If any one thinks the expression objectionable, he may use another, namely, "reduplication of educational machinery," just as Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal was called by its supporters a mere reduplication of administrative machinery.

Circumstances of Bengal must be considered.

As this question is not one of Metaphysics or of pure Mathematics, it has to be considered not in the abstract, but with reference to the circumstances and recent history of Bengal. Two and two will make four in Great Britain as well as in Bengal. But though prominent Englishmen have told us that the self-government (autonomy) of Canada would not be the correct thing to wear

in the Decad, men of the same race and others think that because Great Britain has had at a certain stage of her history and economical and intellectual growth several universities with beneficial results, Bengal ought to welcome the reduplication of educational machinery irrespective of circumstances. There are men with whom circumstance count for little or nothing. Yet Burke in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* wrote :—

"I cannot stand forward, and give praise or blame to any thing which relates to human actions, and human concerns, on a simple view of the object as it stands stripped of every relation, in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction. Circumstances (which with some gentlemen pass for nothing) give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing colour, and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind."

Circumstances of Bengal and Great Britain different.

The advocates of the new scheme say that because there are several universities in Great Britain, therefore, there should be and there is no harm in having two universities and two directing officers in Bengal. But let us consider the circumstances. The Government and people of Great Britain are rich and able to equip and maintain many universities; but the Government and people of Bengal, even when she commanded the revenues of Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, not being able to properly equip even one university, cannot now be expected to adequately equip and maintain two, when her area and revenues are going to undergo a remarkable shrinkage. Great Britain contains an adequate number of men who are morally and intellectually fit to administer the affairs of several universities. Dacca, on the admission of the East Bengal Government itself, does not contain an adequate number of such men and will contain in the immediate future even a smaller number of such men. In England and Scotland, no attempt has been made to break up the solidarity of a people; no attempt has been made, in the name of facilitating education, to magnify dialects into separate languages by trying to create separate literatures in them; no attempt has been made to prevent the use of school-books

written by men of one part of the country, or printed in that part, in another; no attempt has been made to prevent the admission of students of one part of the country in colleges situated in another; no attempt has been made to get educational institutions disaffiliated for other than educational reasons; no attempts have been made to deprive brilliant scholars of their scholarships because of their being alumni of particular institution; no attempt has been made to remove men of great ability and excellent character from professorial chairs of colleges for non-moral and non-educational reasons; no attempt has been made to extinguish the independence of private colleges for non-educational reasons; and no attempt has been made to import police methods into schools and colleges. Such attempts have, however, been made in our country, as we proceed to show.

Attempts to split up Bengali.

Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal and its reasons are well-known. Regarding attempts made to split up the Bengali language, the following extract from the interview granted by Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, M.A. (Principal Ripon College, Secretary, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, and one of the foremost Bengali writers), to a *Statesman* representative, will suffice :—

By way of explanation, Mr. Trivedi said that the establishment of the University would mean the re-partitioning of Bengal with a vengeance. Attempts had been made before and after the Partition of Bengal to split the Bengali language and literature by setting forth different standards of Bengali dialect in the text-books, according to the dialects spoken in different areas. It was impossible under one University to do so but the splitting up of the language would be an easy task under a separate University. In other words, Mr. Trivedi said, it would mean the splitting up of the Bengali nation more than ever.

Some time ago the Education Department of Eastern Bengal and Assam made a proposal to the Calcutta University to adopt vernacular text-books in the primary and secondary schools of Bengal, written in dialects suited to the province. The reason advanced was that the language of the existing vernacular text-books was much too Sanskritised for the students, especially Mahomedans, of the Lower Provinces. The Senate, however, refused to entertain the proposal. Similar proposals were made in the Eastern Bengal Mahomedan conferences. Before the Partition, the Government of Bengal proposed to the Calcutta University a scheme for having the vernacular text-books for primary schools written in

four different dialects. Sir K. G. Gupta supported the scheme but the University did not accept it. "With a University at Dacca," said Mr. Trivedi, "it would not be difficult to give effect to this scheme, which would mean the dividing of the Bengali speaking people."

Every one knows the deplorable results of the Hindi-Urdu squabbles in the Panjab, the U. P., Behar, &c. The prospect of a similar state of things in Bengal cannot but terrify us. We deeply love and are proud of our language and literature. It may not be in our power to prevent any tampering with its unity and purity; but we cannot be a consenting party to any arrangement which may lead to such tampering.

Perhaps it may be necessary to explain now there is the danger of this sort of division of the Bengali language and literature inspite of Lord Hardinge's assurance. We desire our readers to remember that the new educational proposal has two parts, a University and a special educational officer. People with no up-to-date knowledge of University affairs in Bengal, think that a University can in no way influence the Vernacular literature of Bengal. They ought to know that Bengali is a compulsory subject of examination for all Bengali candidates in all examinations in Arts from the Matriculation to the B.A. And for this reason the University every year recommends a good many Bengali books. Besides, the Matriculation candidates may answer their questions in history in Bengali. Recently a text-book in Logic written in Bengali has been prescribed for the Intermediate Examination. Now, when the Dacca University would choose its Bengali books, would it be possible for any Viceroy to prescribe beforehand what the style, the diction, the dialect, the percentage of Persian and Sanskrit words in the vocabulary of these books, and the places of their publication must or must not be? A Viceroy cannot and will not enter into such details. Again, just as the Dacca University would control and influence the language of Bengali books for advanced students, the special educational officer for East Bengal would control and influence the Bengali of the Vernacular books to be used in secondary and primary schools. He would have his Text Book Committee composed entirely of East Bengal men.

Would it be possible for the Viceroy to ensure the choice by this Committee of books written only in standard Bengali? We think not. For we must remember the repeated attempts made to magnify a dialect into a language, and remember that the Dacca University and Dacca special educational officer's Department would be run by men steeped in and in love with separatist ideas. Even if the Viceroy were to lay down a strict rule on the subject, which we do not think he would do, as he cannot enter into such details, it would be easy to evade it, as the standard of a language is too delicate a thing to describe in definite terms.

It is a matter of common knowledge among Bengali authors, publishers and book-sellers that the E. B. and Assam Government insisted on many books being printed and published in that Province if they were to be used there, though for many books published by English publishers like MacMillan, London must have been taken to be situated in East Bengal. On account of this insistence some printing and book-binding firms were obliged to open branches at Dacca.

College Admission according to domicile.

Many East Bengal students, who sought admission in the Calcutta Presidency and Scottish Churches Colleges, were told to go back to Dacca. In Calcutta, Patna and Dacca, Government Colleges carefully examine the names of the birth-places of applicants in their forms of application for admission, as one's domicile is a determining factor in granting or refusing his application. These facts may not be known to the Viceroy.

Attempts at disaffiliation.

Regarding the attempts of the E. B. Government to get institutions disaffiliated entirely or in certain subjects only, we need only refer to the too well known cases of the Brajamohan Institution, the Bajitpur School, and the Serajgunge School. These attempts were frustrated by the just, liberal and firm attitude of the Calcutta University. It will be remembered that one of these cases led to the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller. Of attempts to partially disaffiliate a college, the following Resolution of the Syndicate of the Calcutta

University, passed on April 17, 1909, furnishes an instance:—

170. Read a letter from the President, Governing Body, Jagannath College, Dacca, forwarding copy of a representation from the Principal of the College, on the subject of the orders conveyed by the Government of India, refusing the College affiliation in History for the Intermediate and B. A. Examinations.

ORDERED—

That a copy of the letter from the President, Governing Body, Jagannath College, Dacca, and of the Representation from the Principal of the College be forwarded to the Government of India.

RESOLVED—

That the Government of India be informed that the Syndicate feel themselves bound to observe that the way in which the Government have dealt with the question of the disaffiliation of the Jagannath College in History is not in their opinion the right one and that an opportunity should have been given to the Syndicate to express their opinions as to the way in which such disaffiliation would be likely to affect the College, and that if the representation referred to in the Government letter No. 183, dated the 10th March 1909, as to the desirability of the Jagannath College ceasing to teach History, was made, as there is reason to presume, by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Syndicate should have been put in a position to consider that representation; that the attention of Government be directed to the fact that the danger of summary proceedings being adopted in cases of this kind, is strikingly illustrated by what the Principal of the College and the Commissioner, Dacca Division, report as to what the effect of the order of Government will be; that in the opinion of the Syndicate, History, as an essential part of a liberal education, should be taught in every College, and that in their opinion the Jagannath College—which has taught History for 24 years—is at present fit for affiliation in History up to the Intermediate and B. A. Standards; that the decision of Government inflicts a special hardship on the students concerned as there was no reason whatever to anticipate a decision of the kind, and nine months were allowed to elapse before an order was passed; that the fact of the Dacca College being specially strong in History does not appear to them to afford any valid reason for stopping the teaching of History in another institution provided the latter offer such teaching in the subject as will satisfy the requirements of the University, and that in their view the present decision of Government is especially to be regretted for the reason that it appears to be detrimental to the interests of one of the two Colleges which in a sense are rival institutions. (*The Herald, Dacca.*)

Of attempts to prevent the recognition of schools wholly or in some subjects (Geography, for instance), which were frustrated by the University, the *Sanshodhan* has given many instances. The P. J. K. H. School of Dacca Division asked to be permitted to teach Geography. The Inspector of Schools refused the school to

incur more expenditure on Geographical appliances, but the Syndicate gave permission conditionally for one year. (February 5, 1910). Some gentlemen of Lauhajanga started an Entrance School. The Inspector wrote to them that the school could not be recognised unless the school authorities bound themselves in legal form to pay for school expenses Rs. 500 per month. But on February 19, 1910, the Syndicate decided that it was not necessary to bind the authorities in that way. And so on. The attempt of the E. B. and Assam Director to ruin the Santiniketan School in West Bengal is well known. Equally well known is his attitude towards students of national schools.

Scholarship Refused for non-educational Reasons.

A brilliant student of Brajamohan Institution who topped or almost topped the list in successive examinations, and was entitled to scholarships, was denied that privilege. His name is Devaprasad Ghosh. We cannot just now call to mind any other definite instance.

Removal of Principals and Professors.

It is well known how the Principals and some Professors of Brajamohan Institution and Anandabazar College have either lost their occupations or been obliged to leave their respective institutions.

Loss of Independence of College.

It is well-known, that Brajamohan Institution has been able to maintain its existence only by sacrificing its independence.

Police methods permeating the Education Department.

About the supervision exercised over students and institutions, we think the following extract from the *Indian Daily News*, which is a warm supporter of the educational bifurcation, will be found convincing:—

"A system of Police supervision controlled itself, and it was not long before the system suggested even the Education Department. This was one of the fundamental mistakes of the Government, which administration thoroughly repulsive and almost impossible."

We think it is necessary to quote the Bengalee's comments on this passage :—

We wonder how a paper which knows all this and possibly a good deal more, which it does not say, can fail to sympathise with the opposition which the proposal for a separate University has evoked. Surely it is a matter of common knowledge that the spirit to which the writer refers still lurks among a large number of officials in Eastern Bengal, and very little reflection is needed to show that one effect of the establishment of a separate University and a separate educational cadre would be to perpetuate this spirit. It is true that East Bengal is now no longer to be a separate administration, but a mischievous policy once established like so many other things in this world, dies hard, and much always depends upon the "personnel" of a Service. A separate educational Service in East Bengal, if one were established, would include many of those officers who have been so largely responsible for the policy that has been followed during the last six years.

Theoretical Unity but Practical Separation in the Education Department.

Lord Hardinge has indeed said that there will not most probably be a separate educational cadre for East Bengal. As he has said so, there may not be a separate cadre formally, but in reality there may be a division between the educational services in West and East Bengal. Let us briefly explain how.

Though the Dacca University may not be, according to the Viceroy's assurance, inferior to Calcutta, it will certainly be different in some respects from the latter, in its courses, syllabuses, and prescribed text-books. The professors who would teach in Government Colleges in East Bengal according to these courses, would, if transferred to West Bengal Colleges, not feel quite at home. Moreover, their experience would be valuable in East Bengal, but possibly otherwise in West Bengal. Hence it would not be wise to transfer them. Similar would be the case with teachers, inspectors of schools, deputy inspectors, etc., for they would all have to deal with subjects, text-books and methods fixed by the special officer for East Bengal, which would certainly be different in many respects from those in use in West Bengal. Hence, though theoretically the Education Department in Bengal may be one, it may in practice resolve itself into two separate sections. East and West Bengal being

thus educationally different, the officers of the different Provincial and other services, too, serving in East Bengal, would, for the sake of not disturbing their sons' education, like to remain confined to E. B. districts. This may result in further partition.

We want the same policy, spirit and temper to govern education throughout Bengal. Instances may be given showing the too political character of the E. B. educational officers, in dealing with the students of national schools and other institutions. But we must draw a line somewhere, and do so here.

Bengal's Fears not Unwarranted.

Under the circumstances the people of Bengal were perfectly justified in looking upon the scheme of educational bifurcation as an indirect method of maintaining the Partition. It may indeed be said that the policy underlying the Partition having been reversed by the announcement made at the Delhi Coronation Durbar, no such suspicion ought to have been entertained. To this one may reply that the re-partition of Bengal announced at Delhi was declared

"Commenting on His Excellency's speech the *Parsi*, an organ of the Parsi community, says:— 'The long defence made by the Viceroy in reply to the deputation, does not seem to be quite convincing, so far as the foundation of a University at Dacca is concerned. Even if it be pleaded,' says the paper, 'that the numbers are growing too unwieldy, for a single University, the most obvious remedy would be to give a separate University to the newly constituted Province of Behar and not to Dacca.' Herein, it will be seen, the *Parsi* practically voices the sense of our own people. With regard to the fear which is widely entertained in Bengal, that the establishment of a University at Dacca would result in a new form of internal partition, the *Parsi* says that to this fear the Viceroy has no reply to give, except a plain denial, which is scarcely likely to allay apprehensions. In conclusion the paper cites the case of North Canara in vindication of the fear of the Bengalees. 'A common educational system, controlled by the Bombay University,' the paper says 'has created a connecting link between North Canara and the rest of the Bombay Presidency, which does not exist between the two contiguous districts of North and South Canara. The people of North Canara know better the people of the Deccan and Gujarat than they do the people of South Canara.' Is not the case cited by the *Parsi* on all fours with our case? Is the difference in the matter of educational control between the two Cantons has created differences in other respects, differences which did not exist before, is not the fear of our people quite natural and quite reasonable, that the same cause will produce the same effect in the case of the two parts of Bengal?"

* The same may be said of the Bengalee who would be transferred to West Bengal.

as only one of the consequences of the transfer of the Capital from Calcutta, that it was not declared that the Partition policy had been reversed, that the influence of Calcutta and Bengal was referred to in the Viceroy's Despatch in terms not very flattering,—leading one to infer that the Delhi announcements were not the outcome of ardent admiration of the Bengalis' desire for solidarity,—and that the *Times* said that "the chief objects towards which Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal was directed have been fully safeguarded" and the *Daily Mail* said that "Lord Curzon's ends have been attained by slightly different means;" consequently Bengalis had reason to be in a critical and sceptical mood even after the Delhi announcements. Even after this the rejoinder would be warranted that all this is mere inference and the creation of the Bengali imagination. But the speech of the Prime Minister in the course of the Debate on the Address, as cabled by Reuter (London, Feb. 14), leaves no doubt on the subject. Here is what he said:—

Mr. Asquith endorsed Mr. Bonar Law's note of personal congratulation of Their Majesties. Government took full responsibility for the Durbar announcements. They did not involve a reversal of the policy of the partition of Bengal but a re-arrangement in the light of experience which, it was believed, would increasingly commend itself.

The Viceroy's Assurance.

The critic of the prevailing Bengali attitude will now say that in reply to the address of the deputation which waited upon the Viceroy in connection with the proposed Dacca University the Viceroy said:—

I may say at once that no proposals which could possibly lead to the internal partition or division of Bengal would meet with any support from the Government of India. Any such measures would be opposed to the policy embodied in the announcement of His Imperial Majesty and to the views of the Government of India. The constitution of a University at Dacca and the appointment of a special education officer at Dacca rest solely on grounds of educational policy, both general and local,.....

and this declaration ought to remove all doubts regarding the intentions of the Government of India. There is no doubt that after this no journal can question the existence or sincerity of the Viceroy's good intentions. But unfortunately journalists have an unpleasant duty to perform. They

cannot endorse the view that the last word in politics is "Good intentions are the main or determining factor in affairs of state." Circumstances count for much, traditions and habits of the Services count for much, the men who fill in and work the details of a scheme count for something, and a system may count for most. After the Sepoy War Queen Victoria of blessed memory issued her Proclamation with the best of intentions and in utmost sincerity of soul, and this document has been endorsed by her august successors. But in spite of their good intentions it has been and will be an uphill fight for us to induce their officers to give effect to the policy embodied in the Proclamation. Lord Morley's original Reform Scheme was undoubtedly the product of his Lordship's good intentions, but could it materialize in opposition to the views of his official subordinates? In spite of his good intentions has it not produced many undesirable results? The originators of the Public Service Commission, the Provincial Services, the Statutory Civil Service, &c., cannot be convicted of bad intentions. And yet what have been the beneficial fruits they have borne? Have they been at all commensurate with their good intentions? Laws are often framed with the best of intentions, but the men who give effect to them being what they are, they often produce hardship. We say, therefore, without in the least desiring to question Lord Hardinge's good intentions, that we consider it the duty of the public to maintain a critical attitude with regard to the whole scheme and to lay bare in full detail all its probable bad consequences,—consequences which His Excellency may not be able to foresee, or to prevent on account of the force of circumstances or of traditions, habits, and the very nature of the Indian bureaucratic system.

We, therefore, begin our comments from the very inception of the proposal.

The Constitutional Aspect.

Properly speaking India has no constitution, none that we have won and shaped by our efforts and struggles, as Britons have won and shaped the British constitution by their struggles. We cannot therefore accuse any Viceroy of any uncon-

tional act when he launches a scheme without previously giving the public an opportunity to discuss its merits. But this we can say that even Lord Curzon showed greater outward regard for public opinion than Lord Hardinge, as he allowed the public to pronounce on the merits of most of his measures before carrying them out. We say *outward*, for Lord Curzon was not guided by public opinion. In justice to Lord Hardinge it should perhaps be said that when public opinion is not to be followed, it is better not to go through the formality of consulting it at all. There can be no question, however, that all enlightened Governments consult and are guided by public opinion. Lord Hardinge, however, is playing the autocrat. This may be the correct thing to do in India, but can no longer be defended by calling it oriental; for Japan won a constitution long ago, China is a republic now, and Persia would have had a settled constitutional Government by now, but for tendencies ingrained in the characters of some *occidental* nations.

Is this Provincial Autonomy?

In his Despatch on the Delhi announcements, His Excellency foreshadowed a vague scheme of provincial autonomy. By it we did not understand popular control of the provincial governments, that is too good a thing to be won without strenuous constitutional struggles; but we did anticipate that the provincial governors would be given the power of initiative and full control so far as the internal affairs of their provinces were concerned. This anticipation proves incorrect. For here is Lord Carmichael coming to Bengal as Governor a month hence or so, and the Government of India has not thought fit to wait for his opinion before arriving at a final decision regarding so momentous a scheme as educational bifurcation in a province. This is not a mere theoretical or sentimental grievance or difficulty. The proposal has given rise to great disquiet and alarm, which has not been allayed by Lord Hardinge's note to the address of the deputation, except in the numerous and therefore easily satisfied ears of men like Dr. B. N. Chatterjee. Lord Carmichael is expected to inaugurate a new chapter of

quiet progress and contentment in Bengal, and that is probably his intention, too. Is it just to him to create unrest for him in advance? Then comes the question of expense. Before the Partition of Bengal in 1905, there was one University and one Director of Public Instruction for Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur. After the Partition there was the same one University, but two Directors for almost the same areas. Now, there are to be only for Bengal Proper two Universities, one Director (with his office) and one Special Officer for East Bengal (with his separate office and probably as highly or nearly as highly paid as the Bengal Director). That is to say, whereas before October, 1905, one Director with his office sufficed for Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, now he and his staff will be considered capable of directing the education in only the small area comprised within the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions. May we ask why this lavish expenditure on the directing agency, particularly when during the last five years male scholars have increased in Bengal by 4.3 per cent., and in E. B. and Assam only by .5 per cent., and female scholars by 1.2 and 2.9 per cent. in Bengal and E. B. and Assam respectively? Then there is the increased expenditure owing to the creation of a Governorship for Bengal Proper alone, to be met by Bengal Proper only. Surely Lord Carmichael ought not to have his hands tied in this way as regards increase of expenditure; specially as owing to Bengal Proper being thickly populated and permanently settled, and with little developed or undeveloped mineral resources, her revenues are not very expansive. With things settled for him in this way, he is not likely to relish the taste of "provincial autonomy." Apart from the question of provincial autonomy, we do not know how the money is to be found for two directing officers and a new University, unless by starving the Calcutta University and secondary and primary education. The Hindu University, it is said, will require 14 crores of Rupees. The Dacca University cannot do with less. Government cannot afford to be beaten by private enterprise. There is also the large recurring expenditure. Where are these large sums to come from?

The case for the Dacca University.

Let us now examine the case for the Dacca University as put by the Viceroy. We must say at the very outset that His Excellency's implied argument has seemed to us extremely confused and unconvincing. For he has only found fault with Calcutta, but has not proved the fitness of Dacca for having and profiting by a University; and he has absolutely forgotten the fact that Calcutta, of which he is the Chancellor, is a teaching as well as an examining University. If Calcutta is bad, that does not prove that Dacca is good. If Calcutta is bad, her bad condition is not improved by administering the remedy at Dacca. If Ram falls ill, the doctor does not treat Hari. If the right arm of a man is weak, the doctor does not rest satisfied with prescribing medicine and exercise for the left arm. But let us examine the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation in detail.

The Plea for Teaching and Residential Universities.

He says and we all agree that a merely examining University will not any longer satisfy the needs of advancing India, that teaching and residential Universities are required, and that from this point of view the Hindu and Musalman University movements are in the right direction. Our difference with Lord Hardinge is as to where and how it is best to take this advanced step in education. In taking the latter point, i.e., as to *how* we are to advance, first, we find that the Viceroy has forgotten that the new Universities Act passed during the Curzon regime had for one of its objects the introduction of the teaching and residential systems into the already existing universities, and that in pursuance of this object, Calcutta is already a teaching University, though no doubt of a rudimentary character.

Nucleus of a Teaching University in Calcutta.

According to the new Act, the Calcutta University exercises the power of sanctioning or otherwise the appointment of every professor, lecturer, demonstrator and hostel superintendent in every college. It takes due note of periodical examinations and

exercises, and sees that libraries, laboratories and common rooms are kept in an up-to-date condition. These certainly are features of a teaching university as distinguished from a merely examining body. But the critic may say, where comes in any direct teaching by the University itself? Our reply is that Calcutta has made provision for such teaching also according to its means. In the report of the Syndicate for 1911, we find mention of 46 courses of lectures, by more than 40 University Lecturers, on the subjects of Comparative Philology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Sanskrit, Pali, History, Physics, Inorganic Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, Geology, Arabic, Persian, Physiology, Botany, English and Mathematics. We find the name of a University Reader in Physics, who is to deliver a course of lectures on Optical Theories. We find the names of three Junior University Lecturers in Philosophy. The Tagore Law Professorship has been of long standing, and the lectures of the Tagore Law Professors have for many decades been justly considered authoritative text-books in many branches of law. The University Law College teaches law under the direct control of the University. The Minto Professor of Economics regularly delivers lectures on economical subjects. The Syndicate has recently resolved to recommend to the Senate in commemoration of the Imperial visit, the founding of two Professorships, one for Indian History and Antiquities and the other for Mathematics. The former is to be designated the Regius Professorship of Indian History and Antiquities and the second the Harding Professorship of Mathematics. The salary of each Professor is fixed at Rs. 12,000 a year, and the first incumbent of each chair is to hold office for a term of five years.

There is no doubt that most of the existing lecturers, etc., are not whole time men. But that is not a serious objection. As the University grows richer (by endowments, state grants, etc.) it will be able to command the time and energies of its lecturers in increasing numbers. We have a good University Library.

Now, if we turn to the question of the teaching of the students, we find that the University is doing its best to provide for the teaching of the students in its various colleges.

higher studies, such as the Premchand Roychand Research Studentships, the Maharaja of Darbhanga Research Scholarship in Medicine, the Jubilee Research Prize, the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for enabling graduates to pursue scientific and technical studies in the West, the Jubilee Postgraduate Scholarships, the Ishan Scholarship, the Maharaja Monindra Chandra Nandi Fellowships for Research in Ancient Indian Mathematics and Astronomy, and the numerous other Scholarships, Prizes and Medals at the disposal of the Calcutta University. It has taken Calcutta more than half a century to be able to provide such facilities for advanced studies, facilities which are at the disposal of Bengalis (of both East and West Bengal) Beharis, Burmese, Oriyas and Assamese alike. We cannot prophesy how much longer Dacca will take to achieve the same results, and provide the same facilities for her alumni. For decades to come they will have to do without these advantages.

Calcutta is also partly residential; for the University inspects and controls all hostels and students' lodgings. If it gets more money, it can provide adequate hostel accommodation for all students who do not reside with their guardians, and a sufficient number of officers to supervise them. The Presidency College and the Scottish Churches College, for example, have such hostels; the "military" students of the Medical College have such a hostel. Other Colleges have applied for State grants for such hostels. It is only a question of money. If money could be had professors' residences could be built in close proximity to hostels. Such an arrangement exists in some molus-sil colleges, making close association between teachers and students possible.

Here we must bear in mind that teaching and residential Universities are of two types, the Oxford and Cambridge type, and the prevailing Continental and American type. In Oxford and Cambridge the University is a collection of residential colleges situated in one town, having their own separate accommodation for students. In America the University is generally a single College having various departments, both residential and other departments. In Calcutta, therefore, we have the best of both worlds, and residential colleges of the Oxford and

Cambridge type; and from what the Viceroy has said we think Dacca is to be provided with a University somewhat after this old British pattern.

A Plea for Calcutta.

In Calcutta we have already made a beginning in all directions. Let us have sufficient money and we can have here a full-fledged residential and teaching University in the course of a few years. The same amount of money which the Government proposes to spend at Dacca, will *certainly* produce far more tangible results within a briefer period of time than at Dacca. For we have here more than a sufficient number of brilliant advanced students eager to profit by post-graduate studies, we have an assemblage of qualified professors in a large number of subjects, we have a sufficient number of other scholarly men in the different professions to form the various Faculties of the Senate, we have more than half a dozen first grade colleges, besides smaller ones, we have Colleges teaching law, medicine and engineering, and we have facilities for research and advanced study in well-equipped libraries* and chemical, physical, and physiological laboratories. Besides these, we have astronomical observatories for the Study of astronomy, a botanical garden for the study of Botany, a good museum for the study of Geology, Mineralogy, Palaeontology, Archaeology, Comparative Anatomy, &c., and a Zoological Garden for the study of Zoology. What has Dacca to show against all this that Government should leave its work in Calcutta only begun and but partially done, to make an altogether new beginning at Dacca? We ask this question for a very simple reason. If there be two lame men, each of whom requires two crutches to be able to walk and if one of them has already got one, surely it is wiser to give him another, before proceeding to furnish the second man with only one crutch. For, we find that Calcutta can become a tolerably good teaching and residential University at the expenditure of a sum which will just suffice to give the start to a skeleton University at Dacca. Calcutta

* Besides the University Library and the different college libraries, we have the Imperial Library and the Library of the Asiatic Society.

and Dacca are both lame. But whereas Calcutta has got one crutch, Dacca has not got any; and Government has, we are afraid, got money enough only for one stick. Why, then, bestow it on Dacca, instead of on Calcutta, which will be able to walk with its help?

Dacca's Fitness Examined.

Let us take the official version of East Bengal's capacity. The Hon. Mr. Sharpe, the then Director of Public Instruction, E. B. & Assam, said in reply to an appeal for a University at Dacca made by the Hon. Babu Ananga Mohan Naha, in his speech on the budget for 1910, in the E. B. & Assam Council—

"I sympathise with the Hon. Member, but we have to weigh the *pros* and *cons*. On the one hand, our connection with Calcutta saves us from becoming parochial, though that danger lessens rapidly every year. In the second place, we have reaped the benefits of the high standard which that University has set itself in its new regulations. Thirdly, we are weak in those elements which would make up any faculties other than Arts." (*The Herald*, Dacca).

Has the situation so vastly improved in the course of less than two years as to make Dacca fit to have a University now?

In reply to the demand for a University at Dacca made by the Muhammadan Association, Sir Lancelot Hare said in his farewell Durbar:

"You also speak of the desirability of establishing a separate university for this province and your wish will be noted. But the expense of this would be very great. I do not think you can expect this very soon."

We do not know how in the course of less than one year Government feels rich enough to establish this very expensive institution. We are afraid Lord Hardinge has been misled by some of his advisers who are in love with the reactionary and separatist policy pursued by the E. B. & Assam Government. We guess that so long as these advisers had an external Partition in the shape of a separate administration with a separate Educational Director and Department they could not make up their minds to advocate so expensive, premature and unwise a scheme as a separate University. But now that this Partition is gone, they may have felt the need of it in another form and given Lord Hardinge the advice that they have done. But let us come to the point again, namely, the

enquiry as to whether Dacca is sufficiently advanced to have a University. Writing in the first number of the *Dacca Review* recently published under official patronage, Mr W. A. J. Archbold, M. A., Principal of the Government College at Dacca, said:—

"Money will not make a University. Buildings will not make it. It is essentially a society of learned men, and unless we secure their presence, it is vain to expect any real love of learning, the love of learning for its own sake, to be created in those who belong to it."

Now Government may spend money at Dacca,—though we are certain it cannot spare enough for the purpose,—it may use some of the buildings vacated by the E. B. and Assam Government; but how will the society of learned men spring into existence at once? We do not say that Dacca is an intellectual Sahara; on the contrary Bengalis of East Bengal are known to be very intelligent. But an atmosphere of culture takes time to grow and a place cannot become a centre of attraction for learned men all at once. In the meanwhile Calcutta has already got an atmosphere of culture and an assemblage of learned men. We are therefore sorry that the Viceroy has made such a palpably wrong choice of the place where the great experiment of a teaching and residential university can be successfully made.

Properly speaking, direct teaching by a University is for graduates, the work of preparing undergraduates for graduation is done by affiliated colleges. So let us see how many post-graduate students Dacca is likely to have. In 1911 no student passed the M.Sc. examination from the Dacca College, and no other College in East Bengal is affiliated up to that standard; only 2 students from only that college in East Bengal passed the M.A. (in political economy and political philosophy); none appeared in English, Mathematics, Philosophy, History, Sanskrit, Persian, etc.; from that college 12 and from Rajshahi 5 passed the B.Sc.; and the B.A. degree was obtained by 1 from the Brajamohan Institution, Barisal, 7 from Cotton College, Gauhati, 45 from Dacca College, 17 from

* By the by, why cannot the Government of India with similar generosity give away to the Calcutta University the big buildings which will be vacant on the removal of the capital to Delhi?

Jagannath College, Dacca, 31 from Rajshahi College, and 12 from Cooch-Bihar College (if it is to be included in East Bengal). Thus last year altogether only 122 students graduated in arts and science in the whole of East Bengal and Assam, of whom 76 belonged to the town of Dacca. The number of those who went beyond the B.A. or B.Sc., stage was only 2. Is this number sufficient for a teaching University even to start with? Only 6 colleges in East Bengal (including Cooch-Bihar) can turn out graduates. It should also be remembered that East Bengal has no Medical or Engineering College. Twenty-five years after its foundation Allahabad University is going to have a Medical College, and that the outcome mainly of public generosity. It is premature to think of establishing a separate University in East Bengal. Let more colleges be established there first, to serve as feeders to a teaching university before the latter is thought of. To create a university first in the hope that feeder colleges will be born of themselves later on is to put the cart before the horse. Why not take the more natural course of founding more colleges first, and improving those already existing?

Different Universities Compared.

The next point in the Viceroy's reply which calls for comment is his comparison of the Calcutta University with the British Universities in the matter of the colleges and students controlled by them. The 52 Colleges of our University with 13,375 students has troubled him. He has mentioned most of the British Universities but has omitted to refer to London, which is the largest examining body in England and which examined 12568 candidates in 1909 (the figures must be larger now), showing that the number of students in different stages of preparation for its examinations must be much larger. But the comparison should not be confined to British Universities. In 1906-07, the latest year for which statistics are available to us, the Berlin University had 12,881 students and the University of Paris 12,789. These numbers must be larger than 13,375. It should also be remembered

that both at Paris and Berlin the students reside in the University town itself, making it undesirable and impracticable to divide the numbers in these and other large continental Universities by multiplying Universities. Therefore, the work of supervising the health, morals and studies of the students, the work of inspecting the institutions, and the work of examining large numbers have to be done by increasing the number of officials and by the adoption of improved methods. These kinds of work in the Calcutta University also can be better done than now by increasing the number of College Inspectors and Hostel Inspectors and improving the methods of examination. Regarding the teaching and examining of students we shall have more to say later on.

Universities and Literacy.

His Excellency says that in the United Kingdom there is one University for about 2½ millions of people, whereas the Calcutta University is for more than 100 millions of people. That is true. But His Lordship forgets that Universities are for human beings who are literate, who can read and write, but not for illiterate bipeds, as the majority of human beings in India are. In England almost every body except infants of 4 or 5 can read and write and every child above that age receives education. So that a large number of Universities must be necessary. In India about 95 per cent. of the inhabitants are illiterate. So that His Lordship's comparison can suggest only mournful thoughts. We wonder why in a country where in every 4 villages out of 5 there are no schools, and where in spite of that fact officials for the most part have opposed Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, many on the ground of expense, the chief officer should insist so much on multiplying universities and directing and inspecting officials. While making the comparison His Lordship also forgot that in England both the people and the Government are able and willing to spend and do spend more on all kinds and grades of education than is the case in India. We should have liked very much to have a comparison between England and India as regards the percentage of pupils at school and colleges, the number of schools per mille of popula-

* These figures are taken from "Münchener Jahrbuch der Geographie" 1907-1908, Strassburg.

tion and the number of technical institutions. It has seemed to us very significant that in so illiterate a country as India, in a country which so urgently requires the revival of its old industries and the introduction of new ones, so much stress should be laid on the multiplication of universities to teach Arts and *theoretical* (not *applied*) science.

Difficulty of examining large numbers.

As for the difficulty of examining such huge numbers, if Berlin, Paris and London can examine similar numbers, we do not see why we should not be able to do so. It will not be contended that the Berlin, Paris and London examinations and certificates, diploma and degrees are valueless or that they are not among the very best centres of education in the world. Besides, if the number of examinees must be reduced, why not create a university for the new Province of Behar-Chotanagpur-Orissa? Behar cries aloud for it. Behar and her mates have different languages from Bengal. Her own Government will be better able to spend money to foster the growth of *one* university than the Bengal Government, to foster the growth of two, particularly as in the new Province there is abundant undeveloped mineral wealth and vast unoccupied tracts of land. The new Province can also furnish far healthier areas, remote from the crowded and vicious city centres, than East Bengal. We have also said before that the main direct work of teaching of a teaching university, apart from the teaching work done by its affiliated colleges, relates to post-graduate work. Now in East Bengal and Assam six colleges can turn out graduates; in Behar, Chotanagpur and Orissa also six colleges can turn out graduates. Under the circumstances, it is no wonder that the majority of educated Bengalis cannot be blamed for not being convinced that the proposed educational bifurcation in Bengal rests solely on educational grounds.

It has been urged by an advocate of the Dacca scheme that in examining large numbers, many examiners having to be appointed for the same subject, a uniform standard cannot be observed. This is mathematically speaking true. But we have to ask a few questions in

this connection. Does not the standard of the same examiner vary from day to day, after examining a batch of good answer-papers, after examining a batch of bad answer-papers, in the morning when the mind is fresh, and in the evening after 8 or 9 hours of fatiguing examining work? We put this question from our own personal practical experience as University examiner. Up to what number can a University examine students with uniformity? We ask this advocate this question, because according to his estimate, the Dacca University would have 3000 matriculation candidates. For this number, for every question paper, five examiners may be necessary. Is it practicable for 5 men to examine according to the same standard? If so, to what extent is this uniformity destroyed by employing 12 or 15 instead of 5? We think the logically ideal number of candidates should be such as one man can examine, and that is, say, 600. In that case as Calcutta will this year have 9000 matriculation candidates, there ought to be 15 Universities for the area under its jurisdiction and for the 3000 East Bengal candidates there ought to be 5 Universities. We have practical knowledge of another University, examining a far smaller number of candidates than Calcutta, whose examinations are conducted less carefully than here, and we know that at present the Calcutta examinations are conducted far more satisfactorily than when the candidates numbered 25 per cent. of what they do now. This friend of Dacca has also said that the Calcutta matriculation examination is a game of chance, that of two students of equal merit, one fails and one passes, because of their answers being examined by different examiners. Now, this is a mere assertion. The writer ought to have cited at least several hundred such cases attested by headmasters of schools. In the absence of such specific instances not the slightest value can attach to his opinion. In concluding our comments on this point, we would draw the writer's attention to the very passage of Professor F. Y. Edgeworth in "The Principles of Examinations" and the "Principles of Chance in Competitive Examinations" in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1900, and then leave the matter to be dealt with by the mathematical logicians of the day and

the same examination. The Professor's investigations show clearly that with candidates near the border-line of failure, which must necessarily be fixed at a given point (subject to certain allowances, where more than one subject is considered), the element of chance necessarily enters largely into the question of pass and failure. The fact may be stated in this way:—the general efficiency of the test being granted, it is true to say that the large majority of those who pass an examination will be superior in efficiency to those who fail; but a few of those who fail may be superior to a few of those who pass. *These errors are not peculiar to the examination system, they are inherent in all human judgments.* It is necessary to allow for them in considering the failure of an individual candidate as an index of inefficiency."

Teaching Large Classes.

It has been also said that it is not possible to teach a class of 150 or more students with efficiency, paying attention to the individual defects and needs of each student. This is true. But here also in seeking a remedy we must keep in view circumstances and not run after an abstract ideal. All educationists agree that if attention is to be paid to each student, a class of 20 or 25 is all that can be placed under one instructor. So that in our colleges we should, for each class or section of a class containing 150 students, have 6 classes or sections and 6 times as many instructors as at present. Or to put it in another way, for each big college that we have in Calcutta we should have, say, six colleges. In point of wealth, Government, Missionary, Secular, and the managers of private colleges, none can be another. So, if ideal education is to be reached, let there be six Government Colleges in Calcutta, or six more or more in the President's College, or even in the present. Some of them may be founded in Dacca. The Church College be similarly enlarged. Then a serious question is raised to the private colleges. If they are really good, people must be attracted to them. In the absence of a sufficient number of State-aided Colleges, the Government fee (this is important) must be lowered; there must be

private colleges. These colleges can be maintained with income from endowments and fee-income. But no private college in Calcutta has any endowment. Therefore, if they are to exist,—and their existence is necessary for the intellectual welfare and growth of the nation,—there must be a large fee-income derived from a large number of students. If in course of time public munificence be directed to our colleges, they may be able to take less students or, employing more Professors, to divide their classes into more and smaller sections. Till then we must put up with the evil of unwieldy classes. But suppose we are prepared to ride the hobby of ideally small classes to death, how is the establishment of a teaching University at Dacca going to solve the problem of unwieldy classes in Calcutta? In the half a dozen or so bigger Calcutta colleges there are at least 5000 students. It has not yet been ascertained how many of these belong to Dacca and how many to East Bengal in general. But suppose at a low computation we take 1500 to be their number. Two things have to be done to draft these men to Dacca. One is to provide a sufficient number of colleges and classes for them at Dacca, and the other is to induce or compel them to join them. We must have ideal classes, mind. Taking each college to consist of six classes from the Intermediate to the M.A. or M.Sc., standard, and each class to contain 25, we must have 10 colleges of 150 students each; or 5 colleges of 300 students each;—you cannot have more without lowering the ideal to a dangerous extent. Is the Government going to establish 10 or 5 such colleges? If not the Government, who else? or, if all these students are to be in one University College, there should be for each of six classes of 250 students (on an average) ten instructors in each subject, each of them taking a sub-class of 25 students. The Viceroy has said that the Dacca University will not be inferior to Calcutta. If so, we hope a sufficient number of professors will be appointed to teach all the subjects which are taught in Calcutta colleges. If you say that all students need not go to Dacca, some may join the Mahend College in L. B. and others, then what becomes the meaning of a teaching university at Dacca?

And if the congestion of students in Calcutta is to be relieved by sending some of them to small towns in E. B. and Assam, why not try the method of establishing (and encouraging the establishment of) more colleges in the Mofussil both in West and East Bengal? Why speak of a teaching University at Dacca for achieving this object?

But suppose a sufficient number of colleges is established in Dacca. Students must be induced to go there. Every East Bengal student has not his home in Dacca; the homes of many are nearer to Calcutta than to Dacca. They will prefer to be in Calcutta, until the reputation of Dacca rivals or surpasses that of Calcutta, a result which it will take decades and a mint of money to achieve. So the problem of overcrowding in Calcutta colleges does not lend itself to easy and speedy solution. It may, however, be ruled that no East Bengal student will be eligible for Government service or for practising as a lawyer in East Bengal Courts, unless he studies in East Bengal. But that would be the Partition in a worse form.

Inspecting many and distant Colleges.

We come now to the question of adequate college inspection. The difficulty is not insurmountable. The University has only to be placed in a pecuniary position to appoint more college Inspectors than the one it has at present. If distance is any difficulty, surely the colleges situated outside Bengal should first be separated and formed into a different University or Universities. All places in Bengal are within manageable distance. Burma, Behar, Ghoza Nagpur and Orissa may have one or two Universities, if a new University be our greatest educational need. The multiplication of Universities in Bengal itself ought properly to come next for consideration and not first.

The proposed University and an Internal Partition.

The Viceroy said in the course of his reply to the Deputation:—

"I cannot understand how anybody can pretend that the constitution of one, or even two or more Universities in a single province can possibly lead to an internal partition or division any more than the existence of Universities in most of the large towns of Europe,

or the contemplated Hindu and Mahomedan Universities, which many of you support, lead to partition or division. There is no compulsion upon parents to send their children to any particular college in any particular jurisdiction. The relations between neighbouring Universities are clearly susceptible of administrative adjustment.

Lord Hardinge's language seems to us open to criticism in one respect. He says, "I cannot understand how any body can pretend," &c. We do not pretend, we believe. Discussion cannot proceed with due dignity, if both parties to it do not respect the sincerity of each other's convictions. Or, perhaps it may be that officials can call in question the sincerity or good motives of non-officials, though its opposite is not to be thought of. But let us come to the point.

We beg to remind Lord Hardinge that he forgets that his proposal has two parts, (1) the establishment of a University at Dacca, and (2) the appointment of a special educational officer for East Bengal. We have shown in a previous note how the two parts of the proposal when carried out may lead to an internal partition of Bengal. But unfortunately as the Viceroy has not explained what his teaching University is going to be like, or what the position and functions of the special officer are going to be, it is difficult to criticise him. If the University be a teaching University, pure and simple, of the Continental or American type, if, that is to say, it be a sort of magnified college having many Arts and Science Departments, situated in the same town, if it have no other colleges in or outside Dacca affiliated to it, if it do not conduct examinations (as Calcutta does) for the students of these affiliated colleges also, if the present East Bengal Colleges be not to remain affiliated to Calcutta; if, again, the special officer be subordinate in every respect to the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal; if he have no separate Teaching Committee for East Bengal, if the courses of study and other details of examination to be conducted in East Bengal be settled by the Bengal Director; then there will not be any internal partition. But, if the new University be a mixed teaching and examining body, with affiliated colleges in East Bengal and Assam in and outside Dacca whose students are to be examined by it, if the special officer be

appointed be independent of the Bengal Director, free to pursue any policy he likes, if he have a separate Text-book Committee under him different from that in Calcutta, if he have the right to prescribe a different kind of courses and examinations for East Bengal; then there is every likelihood of an internal partition. If there be no such partition, we shall gladly bear the blame of having been unduly sceptical and pessimistic. But we are bound to publish our apprehensions, though it be said that we are *pretending*.

We have already shown the difference between the circumstances of Bengal and those of places in Europe. Therefore what is unobjectionable in Europe, may not be so here. As to the Hindu and Muhammadan Universities, opinion is not unanimous regarding their probable consequences. Many have expressed the opinion that they are likely to widen the breach between Hindus and Musalmans. Moreover, they are not to have any territorial basis or jurisdiction, and they are not to have any colleges affiliated to them situated outside the towns where they are to be located. As to, there being no compulsion upon parents to send their children to any particular college in any particular jurisdiction, Lord Hardinge perhaps does not know that East Bengal students have been repeatedly told when seeking admission to some Government and Missionary Colleges in Calcutta, to go to Dacca. There are many restrictions which are non-existent in theory, but which are very real in fact. In theory, for instance, Indians are not debarred from any high civil office in India. But as a matter of fact, what proportion of high offices do they fill? But as we have already dwelt in a previous note on the subject of restrictions as to admission, we need not repeat our remarks here.

"A Compliment to Bengal"

The Viceroy says,

It is a striking compliment to the intelligence and educational progress of Bengal that the Government of India should have proposed to create in Bengal the first teaching and Residential University of its kind in India.

We need not say that we fully appreciate this compliment. But as a statesman's different pronouncements must be held to

be self-consistent, we can not but ask wonderingly whether the remarks, contained in Lord Hardinge's Despatch on the Delhi announcements, on the undesirable influence of Calcutta and Bengal,—an influence which, among other causes, necessitated the removal of the capital to Delhi,—were also meant to be a compliment to Bengal. We cannot but also ask ourselves why, if the Viceroy has so great an admiration for our intelligence and progressiveness, he did not give Bengal an opportunity to discuss his proposals. But we forget, a compliment, like a gift horse, must not be looked in the mouth.

The Allahabad University.

His Excellency says :—

During the 5 years preceding the constitution of the Allahabad University, the number of students increased by 37 per cent.; in the five years following that event it increased by 172 per cent., in the territories within its jurisdiction.

We beg here to offer three remarks. (1) The Allahabad University had and has its affiliated colleges situated mostly in the U. P., a region under a different Government from that of Bengal, where the seat of the Calcutta University is. Hence the full resources of the U. P. Government could be used to develop collegiate education under the Allahabad University after its creation, with the result noted in the Viceroy's speech. But the proposed Dacca University being situated in the same administrative area as the Calcutta University, cannot and ought not to, engross all the attention and resources of the Bengal Government. We do not know whether it is in contemplation to starve Calcutta in order to feed fat Dacca. If a new University be created in Behar, it may have a monopoly of the fostering care of a separate administration as the Allahabad University had on its creation. The result would in that case be very striking. Why not, therefore, give a chance to Behar, for which she is crying aloud? Why thrust compliments upon us against our will? (2) As we are not in possession of the figures dealing with educational progress in other parts of the country during the period represented by the first five years of the Allahabad University, we cannot say, from a comparative point of view, whether Allahabad's

increase has been phenomenal or of the same kind as elsewhere, but only somewhat greater in degree. (a) A certain amount of increase may give a very high percentage in the case of a small original figure; but a much higher amount of increase on a large original figure yields a lower percentage of increase. For instance, if there be an increase from 500 to 1000, the percentage of increase is 100; but if there be an increase from 2000 to 3000, the percentage is only 50: though in the former case the actual increase was by 500 and in the latter by 1000. Hence in the absence of the actual numbers of the students of the Allahabad University at different periods, we are unable to appraise the real value of the increase.

Surroundings of Student Life.

What the Viceroy says under this head is a piece of implied reasoning which for its want of cogency would be hard to beat. Let us first take for granted that what Dr. Garfield Williams, Dr. Indu Madhub Mullick, Dr. Anantosh Mukherji and the Viceroy say regarding the surroundings of Calcutta life are true not only as facts, but as regards the comparison with the condition of the general population which they suggest; and then let us consider the remedies.

(1) *There is practically no University social life in Calcutta.* Therefore have a teaching university, not in Calcutta, mind, but in Dacca. Or, in other words, as Ram is ill, therefore provide medical treatment for Hari.

(2) *The places where the Calcutta students live huddled together are most hurtful to their constitutions, &c.* Therefore, let there be a good residential university with healthy commodious hostels, not, mind, in Calcutta, but in Dacca; or, in other words, as Ram's house is overcrowded, dingy, ill-ventilated, &c., let a palace be built for Hari.

Some will say that as a new University at Dacca will relieve the congestion in Calcutta, the housing of Calcutta students must needs in that case naturally undergo improvement. We challenge both parts of this conclusion. The congestion in Calcutta will not be relieved by simply having a new university centre in Dacca. Unless more good colleges with more and better hostels be built all over

Bengal, both West and East, students will continue to flock to Calcutta as now. And if such colleges with hostels be established the congestion will be relieved without the proposed bifurcation of university education. But the proposal is not to have more colleges with hostels, but a new university centre. It has indeed been said by a supporter of the Dacca scheme that even good Colleges are not resorted to by students unless they be situated in a University town. But please show us any good Moffussil College which does not possess its full quota of students. All good Moffussil Colleges in Bengal are now full. But suppose this advocate's contention is true; it may still be asked how many colleges are going to be built in Dacca itself? However, if some students do go to Dacca and other East Bengal towns, that will not improve the lodgings of Calcutta students. For here, if these houses are bad or overcrowded, it is not for the lack of good houses in sufficient numbers. It is due to other causes which we shall mention presently. Moreover, if some students go to East Bengal, that would only mean that the number of students' lodgings will be less, not that the remaining ones will become suddenly model dwelling houses. If Calcutta students were like a joint family living in one house, then no doubt, the migration of some members would relieve overcrowding. But as that is not the case, the proposed remedy is no remedy for Calcutta.

(3) *In Calcutta the arrangements for superintendence of students' residences are of a rudimentary character, the lack of intimate association between teachers and students is generally the rule, and the surroundings of student life are calculated in many cases to effect the complete ruin of the students, not merely from the moral and the physical, but also from the intellectual stand-point.* Therefore let there be, as a remedy, a teaching and residential university, not, mind, in Calcutta, but in Dacca. Or, in other words, as Ram is seriously ill, let Hari be placed under competent medical treatment at once. Gentle reader, we are not joking. We write as we do because in the foregoing and preceding paragraphs we are unable to understand how the establishment of a residential university at Dacca is going to improve the superintendence of students' residences

in Calcutta, is going to create intimate association between teachers and students in Calcutta, is going to improve the physical, moral, and intellectual environments of student life in Calcutta.

Are the students worse off than the general population ?

In reading the description of the houses in which students live, we should bear in mind that these houses are not in the least more insanitary or more over-crowded than those in which people in Calcutta of the same class to which the students belong live; on the contrary, in the case of a very large proportion (perhaps a majority) of students coming from the mofussil, their Calcutta lodgings are better than their paternal houses in the country. We say this from personal experience both as student and professor in Calcutta. We have no fear that anybody will be able to contradict this statement of ours. In fact our students cannot afford to live in better houses, or in fewer numbers per house; their condition in this respect can improve only with the improvement in the economical position of their parents and guardians, or if either Government, or some munificent friends of education, build hostels in sufficient numbers and charge from them only nominal rents. The want of suitable hostels can be removed in the course of a few years, if the sum of Rs 1,00,000 placed last year at the disposal of the Government of Bengal towards the revision of Collegiate hostels, be made an annual grant by the India Government with such increment as may be necessary. The India Government offices in Calcutta which would be vacated may be utilised in this direction, just as similarly vacated offices in Dacca are proposed to be made over to the Dacca University.

As for improved and adequate superintendence, this also depends on improvement in the pecuniary position of the University and the Colleges, which Government can bring about.

Regarding the moral danger to which the students are exposed we find that though students cannot attend the Congress or political conferences, they are free, even when living in College hostels, to attend theatres where prostitutes are actresses; that

European officials and their wives, whose examples students imitate, do not hesitate to attend nautes and other entertainments by public women; that many streets along which students have to walk in going to and returning from their colleges, are infested by public women, whom the Government have not made any strenuous endeavour to remove elsewhere; that, unlike Japan and other advanced countries, India has no law to prevent juvenile smoking and drinking, &c. We hope as the Viceroy is sincerely desirous of improving the morals of students, he will have his attention drawn to these matters. Mere profession of anxiety for students' morals cannot bring about good results.

In this connection, it should not be forgotten that, though like many big cities, Calcutta has its degrading features, the opportunities which young men enjoy here of coming under elevating influences are nowhere else surpassed in India.

Dacca is not a more sanitary town than Calcutta. So that could not have been a reason for choosing it for making an experiment in the direction of teaching and residential Universities. As to its moral condition, we personally know nothing. But this we know that Prof. Russell once reported to the University that he found at Dacca some students living in a house in a part of which prostitutes also were living. Calcutta is bad enough, but we think there is nothing in Calcutta to parallel this item in the surroundings of student life in Dacca.

Educational Progress in East Bengal as a Reason.

The Viceroy says that since 1906 E. B. and Assam has made great progress in education, and his new proposals are meant to continue the same rate of progress. With this desire for progress we heartily sympathise. But we are not convinced that the achievements of the E. B. and Assam Government have been in any way exceptionally striking. Let us consider some educational statistics taken from *The Gazette of India*, February 27, 1912. In Bengal from 1906-07 to 1910-11 scholars in Arts Colleges increased by 3128; during the same period the corresponding increase in E. B. and Assam was 1221. As a teaching

university has to do with collegiate education, this comparison does not prove that East Bengal is fitter for a teaching university than West Bengal. In Bengal during the same period the percentage of male scholars in public institutions to male population of school going age increased from 26.8 to 31.1, the corresponding figures for E. B. and Assam being 29.6 and 30.3; showing that progress has been both lower and slower in the latter than in the former. In high schools Bengal shows an increase of 14517 and E. B. and Assam 17212 scholars. In female primary education E. B. and Assam has made more striking progress than Bengal, but for keeping up this progress neither a teaching university nor a special educational officer for East Bengal is required. Taking both male and female scholars in all kinds of institutions of all grades, the increase has been in Bengal 249,201, and in E. B. and Assam 168,614. In Bengal primary schools have increased by 1475, in E. B. and Assam they have decreased by 239.

Coming to expenditure we find that from 1906-07 to 1910-11 the increase in total expenditure on education from public funds has been in Bengal Rs. 1,458,000, and in E. B. and Assam Rs. 1,077,000. If we confine ourselves simply to provincial revenues, the increase in Bengal has been Rs. 1,349,000, and in E. B. and Assam Rs. 902,000. If we include all sources, public and private, the increase in Bengal has been Rs. 4,408,000, and in E. B. and Assam Rs. 2,181,000. Regarding private colleges, the Viceroy said :—

I need only point out that when the new province was formed not a single private college was in receipt of Government aid, while Government was spending less than 1½ lakhs in aiding private institutions. In 1910 there were four aided colleges, and Government spent over 3½ lakhs in aiding private institutions.

It should be borne in mind that during the period referred to, the Government of India has, through provincial Governments, helped all needy private colleges in all provinces, to enable them to fulfil the requirements of the new universities Act, and that the enforcement of the New University Regulations almost synchronised with the formation of "the new province." If "the new province" has spent more in aiding private colleges,—of which we are not sure, that is because some institutions had to lose their independence, and it

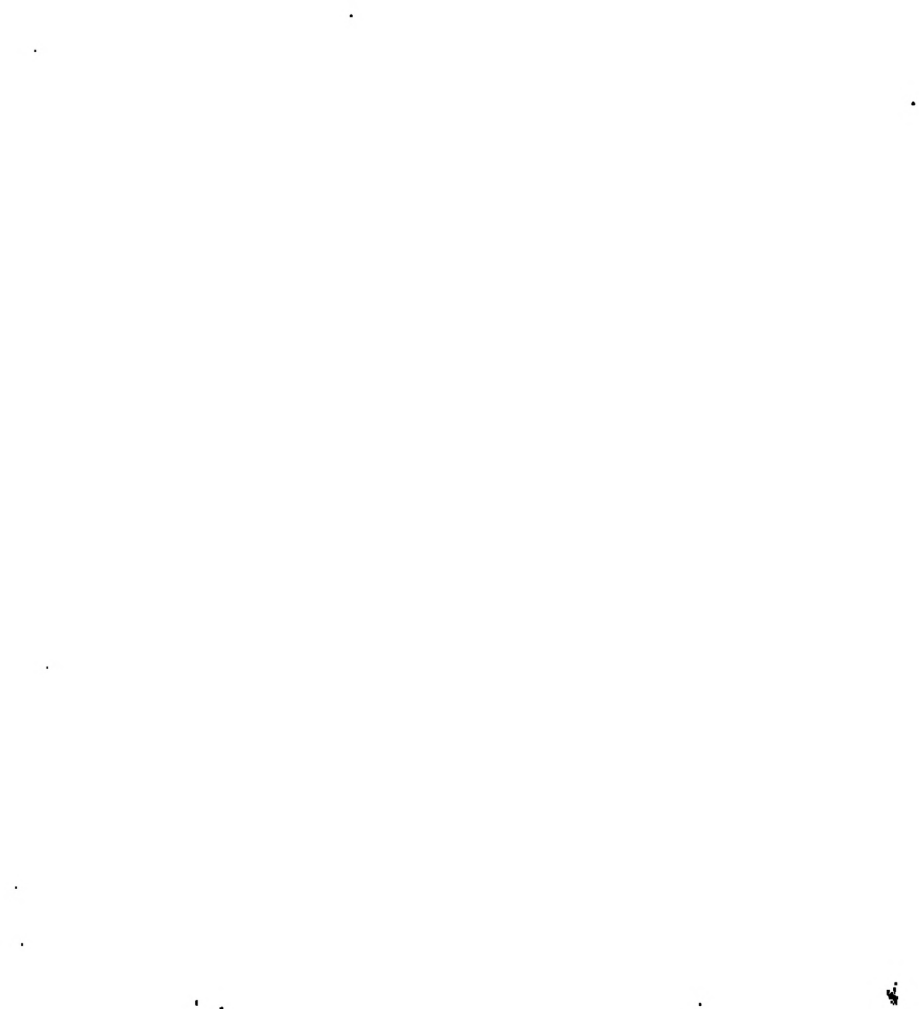
was necessary as a preliminary to bestow on them a compensating advantage. For instance, we learn from the Resolution on the General Report on Public Instruction for the year 1910-11, in E. B. and Assam, that a capital grant of one lakh of rupees and a recurring grant of Rs. 1,200 a month were given to Braja Mohan Institution, Aswini Babu's College at Barisal.

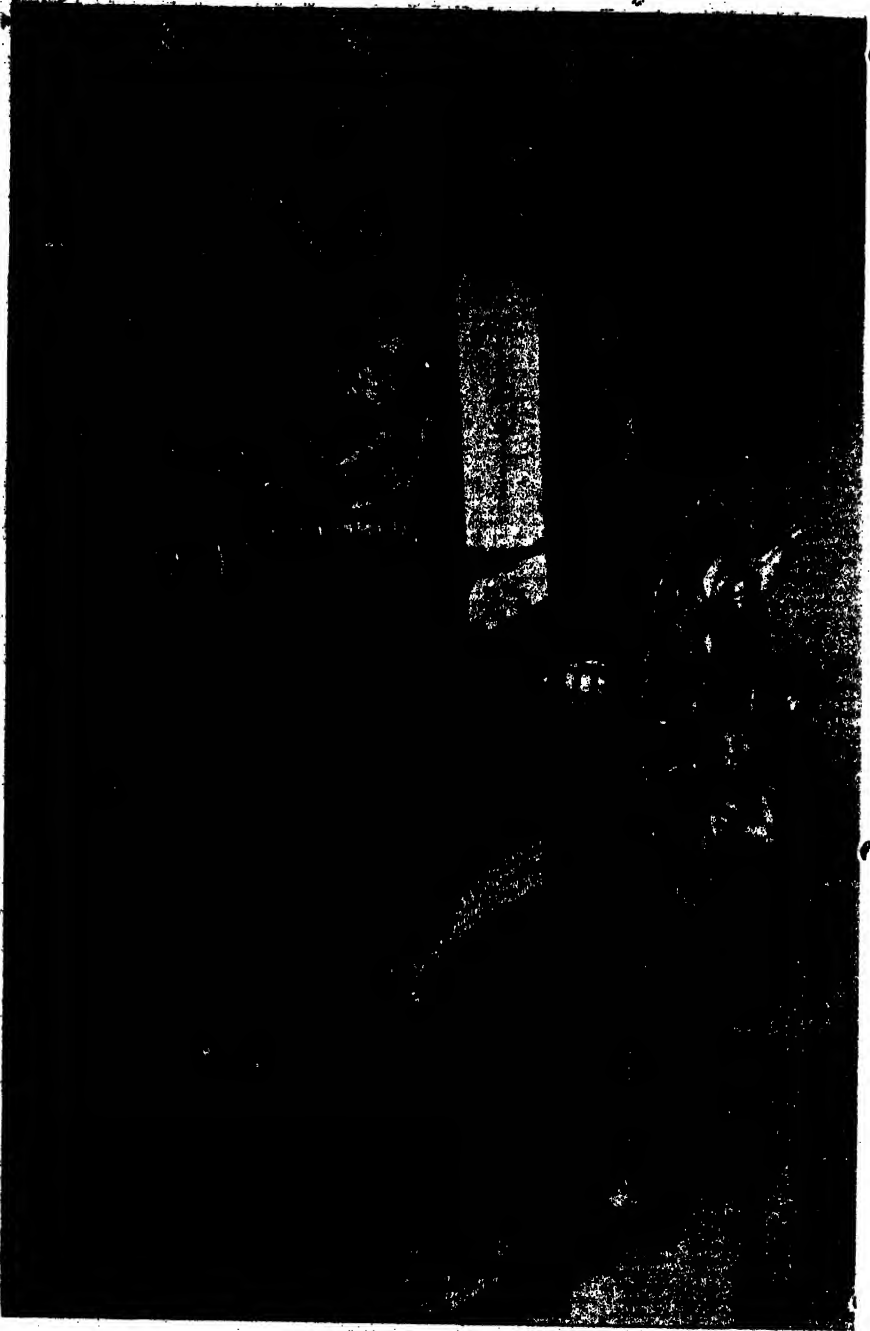
We wish to be fair to the E. B. and Assam Government, but at the same time we must not be unfair to the Bengal Government. From the figures we have given above (which we hope are more comprehensive than those supplied by the Viceroy), it is clear that the Bengal Government, to put the case in a mild form, has not been less attentive to education than the E. B. and Assam Government. What ground is there then for the apprehension that the Bengal Government will neglect education in the Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions unless a University be founded at Dacca and a special educational officer there keeps watch in that town? We must bear particularly in mind that from April next the ruler of Bengal will rule over the five divisions of Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong, whereas up till now he was responsible for the seven Divisions of Bhagalpur, Patna, Tirhut, Chota Nagpur, Orissa, Burdwan and Presidency. If the Bengal Director of Education could manage *seven* divisions not less creditably than his E. B. brother, why should he fail to do so with only *five* divisions?

Therefore, the apprehension that unless educational bifurcation be carried out education will suffer in East Bengal, appears to us absurd and entirely groundless.

The Case of the Mussalmans.

Mussalmans form two-thirds of the population of East Bengal. If the province does not suffer educationally Mussalmans also will not suffer. Still as it is said that they expressed their alarm to the Viceroy, let us examine their case briefly. The total male Mussalman population in "the new province" is 1,02,51,218. Out of this large number only 287 (in 1910-11) were in College. The total Hindu male population is 62,75,527. Out of this number 2132 were in College (in 1910-11). Let thinking





Presents to Babu Rabindranath Tagore on the occasion of his fiftieth birth-day, by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.
They include a Golden Lotus, a Garland of Gold Thread, an Address inscribed on Ivory Leaves, &c.

Muhammadans judge whether under the circumstances a teaching University at Dacca can be meant particularly for their benefit. Of the Musalman male population of the three East Bengal Divisions, 7 out of 8, roughly speaking, are absolutely illiterate. To believe that a teaching University is the most urgent educational need of such a population requires more credulity than we possess. Schools, particularly primary schools, are more necessary for them than anything else.

University or Schools, which more Urgently needed?

We take the following passages from the East Bengal and Assam Government Resolution on Public Instruction for the year 1910-1911, published on Feb. 14, 1912 :—

The Director again comments on the deplorable condition of high and middle English schools. No marked general improvement will be possible until funds can be made available for the introduction of the approved comprehensive scheme for the reform of secondary education.

No comments are needed on the above.

The year 1909-10 showed a decline in the number of boys in primary schools in marked contrast to the large rise of previous years. The decline has been arrested, the figures for 1910-11 showing a net increase of 3,200. This rise is however very small and it leaves the total figure below that, recorded in 1908-09...the reports of the Inspectors show that the main causes of decline were rightly stated in the resolution on the Report for 1909-10, *vis.*, the previous inclusion in the roll of ephemeral schools with no substantial claim to be classed as public institutions and the withdrawal of aid from a certain number of schools with a view to concentrate funds on the improvement of better institutions.....no school should be closed without adequate consideration. It must always be remembered that even rudimentary and imperfect education is better than none at all, and, while the improvement of schools and the removal of children from bad schools to good are most desirable objects, care must be taken not to leave children wholly without means of obtaining elementary instruction. Boards are often in a difficult position since the funds at their disposal do not suffice for the support even of the better schools and the more widely they distribute their aid the more inadequate their funds become to secure decent teaching in any of the schools under their control. All indications tend to show that primary education would spread much more rapidly if funds could be spared to aid more schools and to aid all schools more adequately.

In the light of these extracts the question which forms the heading of this note can be easily answered. To strengthen our case, we may add that in West Bengal, *i.e.*, in

the two divisions of Burdwan and Presidency, there are 294 High Schools; whereas in East Bengal, *i.e.*, in the three divisions of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong, there are only 179 Schools. This also shows that in that part of the country schools are needed more than anything else.

Details not yet settled.

The questions of the scope of the Dacca University and of the position of the special educational officer are among the many which will be left over for the new Governor of Bengal to consider and advise,...

So said the Viceroy to the Deputation. The supporters of the scheme have been therefore too much in a hurry in their felicitations, as nobody yet knows what shape the whole scheme will take.

It would have been well if *nothing at all* had been decided without previously consulting the *autonomous* Governor of Bengal and the public he would have to deal with. Let us hope, however, that Lord Carmichael will do his part of the work in right liberal and democratic fashion, by allowing the public opportunities to have their say on the subject before sending up his recommendations to the Government of India.

"Personal or Political Interests."

In conclusion the Viceroy said :—

I am hopeful that the large issues of educational policy on which the future of India so greatly depends will be viewed with a wide out-look and apart from personal or political interests.

We submit that educational and political interests are interdependent, particularly in a dependent country like India, and that political interests are not in the least negligible or unworthy of being safeguarded. Personal interests should certainly not warp our judgement in the discussion of public affairs. In the present instance, however, the mention of personal interests was uncalled for. For at present there is not and cannot be any proprietary college, all college incomes going to the maintenance and improvement of the college. If it be said that the opposition has been raised in the interests of the Calcutta Colleges, our reply would be: (1) these interests are not personal but public interests; (2) the Calcutta Colleges will not suffer owing to the new proposals, for years to come, because it will take

time to give full effect to the entire scheme of bifurcation, and in the meanwhile collegiate education may so advance in West Bengal itself as to fill Calcutta Colleges completely with West Bengal students alone; and (3) men who are directly concerned in the fate of Calcutta Colleges form an infinitesimally small proportion of those who are actively opposing Lord Hardinge's scheme of educational bifurcation.

Lameness of Calcutta.

In a previous note we have spoken of the lameness of the Calcutta University and urged that it requires all the help that the Government can give to make it efficient and useful to both East and West Bengal, as well as Behar and other provinces under its jurisdiction. Perhaps we should briefly indicate in what respects it is inadequately equipped. Very few colleges can teach science up to the B. Sc. Standard, and that mostly in physics and chemistry, other sciences being neglected. The education of the vast majority of Science students stops with the B. Sc. degree, because it is only the Presidency and Dacca Colleges that prepare students for the M. Sc. degree, in Chemistry and Physics. Moreover, even these colleges can accommodate such a small number that the majority of B. Sc.'s find themselves utterly at sea, as the following figures will show. In 1911, there were 234 candidates for the B. Sc., examination, of whom 139 were successful; but there were only 35 candidates for the M. Sc. examination of whom 21 were successful. The Calcutta University has no laboratory of its own where students can work. The Government should help the University to build and equip laboratories where at least 100 students can work and prepare themselves for the M. Sc. Examination, and a smaller number can carry on research after obtaining that degree.

Very few colleges are affiliated up to the M. A. Standard, and the affiliations where they exist are in a very few subjects. Such is also the case with the B. A. Honours Courses. Adequate provision should be made by the University for teaching in all these subjects and courses. In the University Calendar, syllabuses and courses are laid down in many subjects for various

examinations; but one searches in vain in its pages for any adequate provision for the teaching of many of them, either by the University, or even by the leading colleges. We need not enter into details.

The higher education of women is sadly neglected. There is not a single college for women adequately equipped for teaching science, or even the arts subjects.

There is only one Medical College, which every year has to refuse admission to scores of students.

There is only one Engineering College, and even this it is proposed now to abolish!

Of the need of hostels, &c., we have spoken already.

The Government should not leave its duty to the Calcutta University undone, in its hurry to start a fresh experiment elsewhere.

The Chinese Republic.

The great Chinese Republic is now an accomplished fact. The ex-Emperor is a mere baby. The Manchu Princes and Princesses who acted for him and in his name have shown an excellent spirit of acquiescence in the inevitable; and thus, considering the greatness of the results achieved, there has been comparatively little bloodshed. Yuan-Shi-Kai, the greatest statesman and general on the Imperialist side, has been chosen the first President. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, the leader of the Revolutionaries, showed his selflessness by resigning the office and authority which he held provisionally. One passage in the Imperial Edict accepting the Republic is beyond parallel. It runs:—

It is evident that the majority of people are in favour of the Republic and from the preference of the people's hearts and will is heaven discernible. How could we oppose the desires of the millions for the glory of one family!

The high aims which animate the Republicans will be evident from the following passage in the manifesto issued by Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen on January 5:—

"We shall strive to elevate the people; to secure peace; and to legislate for prosperity. Manchus who abide peacefully in the limits of our jurisdiction will be accorded equality and given protection. We will remodel the laws; revise the civil, criminal, commercial, and mining codes; reform the finances; and abolish restrictions on trade and commerce. It is our earnest hope that those foreign nations who have been steadfast in their sympathy will bind more firmly the bonds of friendship between us, and will bear in patience

with us the period of trial confronting us and our reconstruction work, and will aid the consummation of the far-reaching plans which we are about to undertake, and which they have been long vainly urging upon our people and our country. With this message of peace and good will the Republic cherishes the hope of being admitted into the Family of Nations, not merely to share its rights and privileges, but to co-operate in the great and noble task of building up the civilization of the world."

A "god of the earth."

Some friends and readers of the *Modern Review* have drawn our attention to the fact that in our note under the above heading in our last number we have been extremely unjust to Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, in as much the paragraphs quoted in the note formed part of a clearly sarcastic article in the *Hindu*. The injustice lay in treating them as the serious opinions of Mr. Aiyangar. As we are not in the exchange list of the *Hindu*, and as we took the paragraphs from another paper which again took them from the *Carlylean*, in both of which the context was not given, we had no suspicion that the writer was sarcastic. And it is neither possible nor usual for journalists to go to the original sources of the extracts which they frequently have to use. We have been enabled by the courtesy of one of our readers to read the original article and find out our mistake.

Though we feel that we have not been in any way to blame for the mistake, nevertheless we are extremely sorry for the same. We are sorry that we have done injustice and caused pain, though unwittingly and unintentionally, to a worthy man. We, therefore, unreservedly withdraw our remarks so far as they were meant to apply to him.

Pictures reproduced in this number.

We have reproduced three pictures in this number, one in colours and two in black and white. They are from three water-colours by a well-known modern Indian painter. These along with some others in the same style were exhibited in the recent exhibition of Indian paintings in Park Street, Calcutta. They are in the old Ajanta style, perhaps done by way of experiment.

"A Striking Compliment to the Intelligence and Educational Progress of" India.

At Friday's meeting of the Supreme Council, the Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu asked:—

1. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(1) The number of appointments in British India in the Indian Educational Service;

(2) How many of these are held by Europeans and how many by Indians;

(3) How many appointments of Europeans have been altogether made in this service since its creation in the year 1896 and how many of Indians;

(4) How many officers serving in the Provincial Educational Service have been promoted to the Indian Educational Service since the year 1897.

The Hon. Sir S. H. Butler replied:—

(1) "The number of appointments is 211.

(2) The number of Europeans is 208 and the number of Indians is 3.

(3) The number of Europeans appointed since 1896 is 210 and the number of Indians appointed since 1896 is 2.

(4) Since 1897 only two members of the Provincial Educational Service have been promoted to the Indian Educational Service."

Mr. Basu's Bill Rejected.

It is greatly to be regretted that the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's motion that his Special Marriage Bill be referred to a select committee has been rejected.

The Hon. Mr. Basu in reply to the debate said that that measure sought only an expression of freedom. If others were not prepared to consider this first principle either through ignorance, or superstition, or prejudice, or passion, it did not follow that that first principle did not exist. The law he sought to introduce was really the basic law of legislation. If it was not immoral and did not trench on the privileges of others and if there was a feeling among some that such a law should be introduced, they ought to be given liberty to have that law. It was not a compulsory legislation. That ought to be borne in mind at once. It was only a permissive legislation. That, however, was not kept permanently in view in the course of the discussion. It compelled no one to marry, but it gave liberty to those who wished to marry but who were precluded at present from doing so, to do so. After reading the opinions of two such eminent jurists as Sir Henry Maine and Sir James Fitzjames Stephen in support of his view, the Hon. Mr. Basu said, a great deal had

been made of the fact that an overwhelming majority was not in favour of this measure. In this connection he would point out that an overwhelming majority was not necessary for a social legislation. Because they were in a minority, because thinkers who were in advance of the times were in a minority in every country, that was no reason why Government should refuse their request. Civilised Governments in all countries had acceded to the prayer of a minority so long as there was nothing immoral in the prayer. There was absolutely no force, no compulsion in this legislation, which should be granted to those who were willing to have it. Turning to the opposition to the Bill the speaker said that the Maharaja of Burdwan had remarked "do not have a revolution." If there was no safety-valve there would be a revolution and all those who stood on a high pedestal would be swept away. This measure was not revolutionary. The real opposition to the Bill was from the higher classes of Hindus and from a certain class of Mahomedans who feared that the boundary line might be crossed. That fear was without foundation.

The Gujarat Famine.

We are very glad to record that Mr. L. S. Subrahmanya Aiyar of the Central College Hostel, Bangalore, has kindly collected and remitted to us Rs. 20-10 for famine relief in Gujarat. We have sent this amount to Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the servants of India Society, Poona. We do hope other students will emulate the laudable example of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar.

Turkey and Italy.

The Italian robbers have extended their field of destruction beyond Tripoli, and Turkey is unable to protect herself or retaliate, because of her want of a good navy. There is no hope of help from any quarter of civilised Christendom. So we do not see what Turkey can do but in the long run submit to the inevitable.

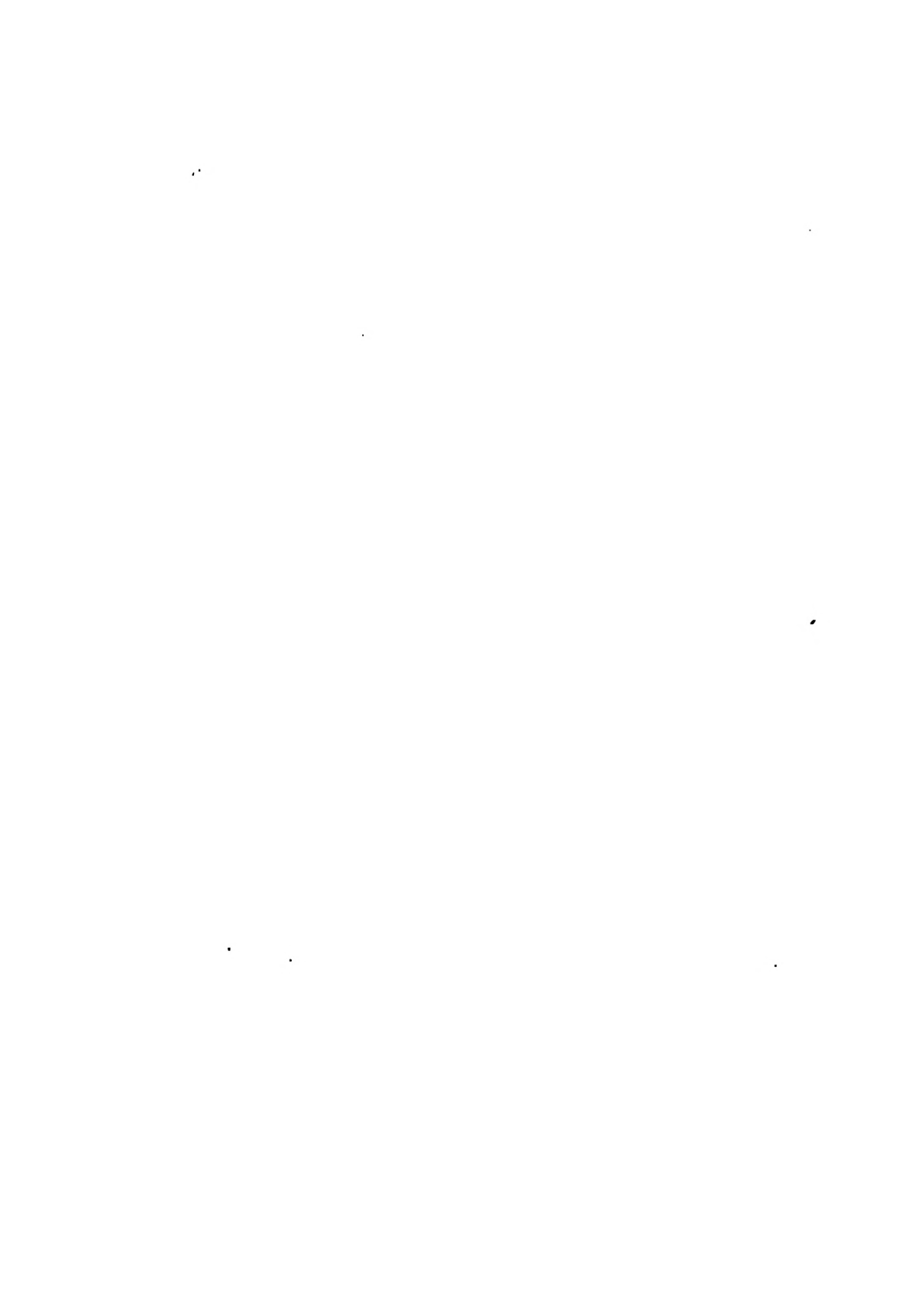
The threatened Coal strike in Great Britain.

The threatened coal strike in Great Britain has sent up the price of coal in Calcutta considerably. How science has killed distance and made the fortunes of distant members of humanity interdependent!

The proposed Abolition of Sibpur College.

The proposed abolition of Sibpur College will make it very difficult for Bengalis to become engineers in future. The engineering institutions in other Provinces must give preference to students of those Provinces. Therefore the existence of such institutions, can be no plea for depriving Bengal of her only engineering institution. The proposal cannot be meant as a compliment to Bengal.







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STANDING ON THE ROCK
AT THE HARBOUR

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THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854

FROM the evidence of competent witnesses like Marshman, Trevelyan and others before the Select Committees of the two Houses of Parliament appointed to enquire into the affairs of the East India Company on the occasion of the renewal of their Charter in 1853, the authorities were convinced that it was not politically inexpedient to educate the inhabitants of India—nay, on the contrary, the more the diffusion of education took place in India, the greater would be the security of their dominions; that educated Indians instead of being any source of danger would be towers of strength to the rulers of British India. It was after nearly a century's discussion then that the British authorities, partly, at any rate, from considerations of political expediency, determined to impart education to their Indian fellow-subjects. With that object in view was framed the famous Educational Despatch of 1854, commonly known as "the Intellectual Charter of India" or as Wood's Despatch, for Sir Charles Wood was then President of the Board of Control of the East India Company, a situation corresponding at present to that of the Secretary of State for India. This document is attributed to the pen of Mr. John Stuart Mill, the well-known English thinker and philosopher, who was at that time a clerk in the India Office. But we think we are right in saying that it was prepared by Lord Northbrook.

This despatch consisted of a hundred paragraphs and was addressed by the Court

of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council, dated July 19th, 1854, No. 49. The opening paragraphs breathe lofty philanthropy and altruism;—

1. "It appears to us that the present time, when by an Act of the Imperial Legislature the responsible trust of the Government of India has again been placed in our hands, is peculiarly suitable for the review of the progress which has already been made, the supply of existing deficiencies, and the adoption of such improvements as may be best calculated to secure the ultimate benefit of the people committed to our charge.

2. "Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connection with England. For, although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances, been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralising practices, and even crimes of a deeper dye, which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind, which the advance of education alone can secure."

The concluding paragraph of the despatch ran as follows:—

"As a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance. The result depends more upon them than upon us; and although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, or, in other words, from the taxation of the people of India, than is at present so applied, we are convinced, with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many

years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object, 'will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry; by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people.'"

Regarding this despatch, which was reprinted by the General Council on Education in India, in a note to the reprint, the Secretary of that Council, the Rev. James Johnston, wrote:—

"This important despatch, which was sent out to the Indian Government 1854, by Sir Charles Wood (Viscount Halifax), then President of the Board of Control, and was ratified, after the mutiny, by the despatch of Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby) in 1859, is still the great Charter of Education for India.

"It is reprinted by the 'General Council of Education in India', for the purpose of showing how admirably it is fitted to meet the great want of that country—a healthful and liberal education. *Their only regret is, that its rules have been so little applied to the general education of the poor, for which it was specially designed; and that its principles have been and still are, so largely departed from in regard to the higher education.* And their great aim is, to press upon Government, both at home and in India, the importance of seeing to the faithful and adequate carrying out of its provisions."

The Educational Department as it exists in this country at present has been the outcome of that Despatch. The Educational Department seemed to have been designed, among other reasons, for making provision for natives of England. Englishment were (and are now)* appointed to all the high and coveted posts in the service.

But the education of Indians was also a necessity, for otherwise it was impossible for the Indian Government to secure public servants to fill the subordinate posts in the State. This is evident from the Educational Despatch itself. Thus in its third paragraph, it is written:—

"We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated 'not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity

you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust," &c.

Also in the 72nd paragraph they wrote:—

"We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration, by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government;*" "

Again in the 73rd paragraph, of the Despatch, they wrote:—

"And we understand that it is often not so much the want of Government employment as the want of properly qualified persons to be employed by Government, which is felt, at the present time, in many parts of India."

In the next paragraph (74), the reason of educated men not accepting Government employment was mentioned. It was there stated,—

"And we can readily believe, with the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in Bengal, that young men who have passed a difficult examination in the highest branches of philosophy and mathematics, are naturally disinclined to accept such employment as persons who intend to make the public service their profession must necessarily commence with."

They also did not lose sight of other advantages that would result to England from the education of Indians. This would

"secure to us a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."*

It was not, therefore, entirely from motives of pure philanthropy that education was sought to be imparted to Indians and the Despatch was prepared. The Despatch itself clearly indicates philanthropy, political expediency, administrative necessity and commercial expansion as the motives. In fact it is only children old or young, who believe in unmixed generosity as the motive of any public measure in any country, Western or Eastern, which has a governing class or caste. In such countries one of the motives is always political expediency or administrative necessity. And this is not necessarily a sinister motive, though it is not philanthropy.

The Government of India also did not act upon all the suggestions and recommendations laid down in the Educational Despatch. Lord Dalhousie was the

* Paragraph 4 of the Despatch.

* The case is worse now than formerly, since the establishment of the Indian Educational Service, which is called Indian, perhaps because it is practically closed against Indians, that is natives of India. In reply to the Hon. Mr. B. N. Basu's interpellation in the Imperial Legislation Council, it was stated that there are 208 Europeans against 3 Indians in the Indian Educational Service.

Governor-General of India to whom the Despatch was addressed. It fell to his lot to organise the Educational Department. His latest biographer Sir William Lee Warner says that he had to carry out the policy dictated to him by the home authorities, that is to say, Dalhousie was acting upon what another Scotch Governor-General, Lord Elgin, called the "Mandate Theory."

It did not suit the convenience of the East India Company to do anything for the technical education of Indians. Sir Charles E. Trevelyan in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Government of Indian Territories, on 21st June, 1853, pleaded in very strong terms for the technical education of Indians. In answer to a question of the Earl of Ellenborough, he said :—

"I would also establish a college for instruction in art. The natives have great capacities for art. They have a remarkable delicacy of touch; they have great accuracy of eye; and their power of imitation is quite extraordinary. The extent to which they are capable of successfully cultivating the decorative and fine arts has been shown by the result of the recent Exhibition in London. I beg leave to read two or three extracts from reports upon the Great Exhibition, which will establish that point. This is a report from Mr. Owen Jones upon the decorative arts in connection with the Exhibition :—'In the East Indian Collection of textile fabrics at the Great Exhibition, the perfection at which their artists have arrived is most marvellous; it was hardly possible to find a discord; contrasting colours appeared to have just the tone and shade required. The contrivances by which they corrected the power of any one color in excess were most ingenious.'

*** 'It would be very desirable that we should be made acquainted with the manner in which, in the education of the Eastern artists, the management of colour is made so perfect. It is most probable that they work only from tradition, and a highly endowed natural instinct for which all Eastern nations have ever been remarkable.' In another paper, Mr. Owen Jones says, 'In the Indian Collection, we find no struggle after an effect; every ornament arises quietly and naturally from the object decorated, inspired by some true feeling, or embellishing some real want; the same guiding principle, the same evidence of thought and feeling in the artist is everywhere present; in the embroidered and woven garment tissues as in the humblest earthen vase.'

*** 'In the management of colour, again, the Indians, in common with most Eastern nations, are very perfect; we see here the most brilliant colours harmonised as by a natural instinct—it is difficult to find a discord; the relative values of the colours of ground and surfaces are most admirably felt.'

*** And, 'The temporary exhibition of the Indian and other Eastern Collections in the Great Exhibition of 1851, was a boon to all those European artists who had an opportunity of studying them; and it is a trust that the foresight of the Government,

which has secured to us a portion of those collections as permanent objects of study, will lead to still higher results.

"Mr. Waagen, the Superintendent of the National Gallery at Berlin, and a well-known writer upon art, says, 'In the fabrics of India, the correct principle that patterns and colours should diversify plain surfaces, without destroying or disturbing the impression of flatness, is as carefully observed as it was in the middle ages, when the decoration of walls, pavements and carpets was brought to such perfection by the Arabs. But it is not only the observance of this principle which distinguishes the Indian stuffs in the Exhibition, they are remarkable for the rich inventions shown in the patterns, in which the beauty, distinction and variety of the forms, and the harmonious blending of severe colours, called forth the admiration of all true judges of art. What a lesson such designs afford to manufacturers, even in those nations of Europe which have made the greatest progress in industry.'

"The last extract I will give is the following, from Mr. Redgrave's work on Design :—'If we look at the details of the Indian patterns, we shall be surprised at their extreme simplicity, and be led to wonder at their rich and satisfactory effect. It will soon be evident, however, that their beauty results entirely from adherence to the principles above described. The parts themselves are often poor, ill-drawn and common-place; yet, from the knowledge of the designer, due attention to the just ornamentation of the fabric, and the refined delicacy evident in the selection of *quantity* and the choice of tints, both for the ground, where gold is not used as a ground, and for the ornamental forms, the fabrics, individually and as a whole, are a lesson to our designers and manufacturers, given by those from whom we least expected it. Moreover, in the adaptation of all these qualities of design to the fabrics for which they are intended, there is an entire appreciation of the effects to be produced by the texture and foldings of the tissue when in use as an article of dress, in so much that no draft of the design can be made in any way to show the full beauty of the manufactured article, since this is only called out by the motion and folding of the fabric itself. An expression of admiration for these manufactures must be called forth from every one who examines them, and is justly due to merits which are wholly derived from the true principles on which these goods have been ornamented, and which result from perfect consistency in the designer'."

"6636. Earl of Ellenborough.] Were you not disappointed by the Indian part of the exhibition; did you think it a fair representative of India?

"No; such as it was, it excited the admiration of people here, but it was decidedly inferior to what may be seen in India. Those who have seen the beautiful buildings designed and erected by the natives at Agra, Delhi, Beejapoor and Mandoo, will say at once that what appeared at the exhibition was a very inadequate representation of what they are capable of."

"6637. Chairman.] That being your opinion, how would you set about instituting such a department?

"I would make the institution in Jernyn Street the model for the College of Science, and the institution at Marlborough House the model for the College of Art. Art is taught there systematically, I would establish an institution at Calcutta on that

model. I conceive that there is a peculiar call upon us to give the natives of India all the advantage in the cultivation of the arts which it is in our power to give; for in order to favour our own manufactures, we have, partly by laying no duty upon English manufactures imported into India, and partly by laying a heavy duty upon Indian manufactures imported into England, in addition to the natural manufacturing superiority of England, by these means swept away great branches of manufacture, and have caused great distress in India: consequently, I consider that we owe a heavy debt to India in this respect; and that it is specially our duty to give to our Indian fellow-subjects every possible aid in cultivating those branches of art that still remain to them; and I consider that in doing so, we shall benefit ourselves as much as them, and that an institution such as I have described, in which the results of Indian art would be displayed for the imitation of the world, would be quite as important in its relation to European art as it would be in its relation to Native art.

"6638. Lord Montagu.] Was not there at one time a heavier duty in India itself upon cottons manufactured in India than upon cottons exported from England?

"Yes, from the renewal of the Charter in 1813, until the Transit Duties were abolished, English Cotton Goods were charged only 2½, while the aggregate of the duties levied upon Native Cotton Goods was 17½ per cent., . . ."

"6639. Were not India cottons paying 17½ per cent. duty in India, while the English were paying 5 per cent?

"English cottons paid only 2½ per cent. on their importation into India. It was a great injustice that heavy duties were levied upon the cottons of India in India; and that another heavy duty was levied upon them when imported into England. . . ."

"6640. Earl of Ellenborough.] Is it not calculated that, in addition to the returns from India, for what is exported to India, India has to remit to this country large sums every year, to the amount of nearly a million and a half?

"Much more than that; I think exceeding three millions for the Government only, besides all the private remittances. If we take the Government remittances at three millions, and private remittances at half that, we have the sum of four millions and a half to be remitted every year from India to England, which forms a great incubus upon the Indian trade. . . ."

But the pleading of Sir Ch. Trevelyan for the technical education of Indians was fruitless.

FEMALE EDUCATION WAS NOT ENCOURAGED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

No portion of the sum of one lac of rupees allotted for the education of natives was to be spent on female education. It was left to the people to provide for the education of the fair sex of their country. What they did in Bengal for female education has been told

by a writer in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1855, as follows:—

"It was somewhere about 1818 or 1819, that a Society, called, we believe, the Union School Society, was formed in Calcutta, for educational purposes. Shortly after its formation, its members, encouraged by the success that had attended their operations amongst the boys, determined to make an attempt in the direction of female education. At the invitation of this Society Miss Cooke came to Calcutta, having been selected for this most difficult service, if we have been rightly informed, and our memory serve us aright, by the celebrated Richard Cecil, whose admirable sagacity was never more distinctly manifested than in this selection. Miss Cooke arrived in Calcutta in May, 1821, . . . We have stated that she came on the invitation of a certain educational society; but on her arrival, it appeared that the native members of the Committee of that Society, although they had spoken well while yet the matter was at a distance and in the region of theory, recoiled from the obloquy of so rude an assault on time-honored custom. . . ."

"The babus had been brought up to the talking-point, but not to the acting-point. An arrangement was however entered into with the Church Mission Society, and Miss Cooke began her operations under their auspices. An account of the commencement of these operations is given by Mr. Chapman, in her little work on Female Education; and we are sure that we shall gratify our readers by extracting it at length—

"Whilst engaged in studying the Bengali language, and scarcely daring to hope that an immediate opening for entering upon the work, to which she had devoted herself, would be found, Miss Cooke paid a visit to one of the native schools for boys, in order to observe their pronunciation; and this circumstance, trifling as it may appear, led to the opening of her first school in Thunthuniya. Unaccustomed to see a European lady in that part of the native town a crowd collected round the door of the school. Amongst them was an interesting looking girl, whom the school pundit drove away. Miss Cooke desired the child to be called, and by an interpreter asked her if she wished to learn to read. She was told in reply, that this child had for three months past been daily begging to learn to read with the boys, and that if Miss Cooke (who had made known her purpose of devoting herself to the instruction of native girls) would attend next day, twenty girls should be collected. Accompanied by a female friend, conversant with the language, she repeated her visit on the morrow and found fifteen girls, several of whom had their mothers with them. Their natural inquisitiveness prompted them to enquire what could be Miss Cooke's motive for coming amongst them. They were told that she had heard in England, that the women of their country were kept in total ignorance, that they were not taught to read or write, that the men only were allowed to attain any degree of knowledge, and it was also generally understood that the chief obstacle to their improvement was that so females would undertake to teach them; she had therefore felt compassion for them, and had left her country, her parents and friends, to help them. The mothers with one voice cried out, admitting themselves

with their right hands, "Oh what a pearl of a woman is this!" It was added, she has given up every earthly expectation, to come here, and seeks not the riches of the world, but desires only to promote your best interests. "Our children are yours, we give them to you." "What will be the use of learning to our girls, and what good will it do to them?" She was told;—"It will make them more useful in their families, and increase their knowledge, and it was hoped that it would also tend to give them respect, and produce harmony in their families"—"True (said one of them) our husbands now look upon us as little better than brutes." Another asked, "What benefit will you derive from this work?" She was told that the only return wished for, was to promote their best interest and happiness. Then said the woman, "I suppose this is a holy work, and well-pleasing to God." As they were not able to understand much, it was only said in return that God was always well-pleased that his servants should do good to their fellow-creatures. The women then spoke to each other, in terms of the highest approbation, of what had passed."

"In the course of the first year eight schools were established, attended, more or less regularly, by 214 girls. ****

"Two or three years after Miss Cooke's arrival in India, she became the wife of the Rev. Isaac Wilson, a Missionary of the Church Mission Society; but she did not relax in her efforts in behalf of the good cause. **** Mr. Wilson's efforts were now directed to the obtaining of the means of erecting a suitable building for a Central School. In order to do this, it was found necessary to establish a special Society for Native Female Education. This Society was established in the beginning of 1824. Funds were raised, and on the 18th of May, 1826, the foundation stone of the Central School, in Cornwallis Square, was laid. In connection with this building, we must not omit to notice the extraordinary munificence of a native gentleman, the Rajah Buddinath Roy, who subscribed the very large sum of 20,000 Sicca Rupees, or upwards of £4,000 sterling, towards the erection. We believe this donation for a great patriotic object, is to this day unrivalled in the annals of native liberality; and it is properly commemorated by the following inscription on a marble tablet, inserted into the wall of the principal hall in the institution;—

This
Central School,
Founded by a Society of Ladies,
For the Education of
Native Female Children,
was greatly assisted by

A liberal donation of Rs. 20,000, from
RAJAH BUDDINATH ROY. BAHADUR;
and its objects further promoted
and funds saved by

Charles Knowles Robinson, Esq.,
Who planned and executed this building,
1828.

"On the 1st April, 1828, she removed into the new building in Cornwallis Square, and into that house the force of her influence, which had been before so widely diffused, was now concentrated."

In ancient India, and even before the

British occupation of this country, the womenfolk of India as a class were not altogether illiterate. But up to 1853, the Indian Government did not do anything for female education. It was not encouraged, because from the utilitarian point of view, it was of little use to Government. Women clerks and women subordinate officials were not in demand then in Government establishments and hence there was no need for educated females. And so they tried to find reasons for not educating Indian women. Thus the Lord Bishop of Oxford asked Sir Charles Trevelyan who appeared as a witness before the Lords' Committee on the Government of Indian territories on 28th June, 1853:—

"6818. Can you state to the Committee whether one of the objections to the education of females in India is not the fact, that they must, if they study oriental literature at all, study books of this exceedingly debasing character?"

"It is very unusual for females to cultivate the learned languages; **** I presume the question does not relate to their studying the learned languages; and as regards the vernacular languages, it depends entirely upon the guidance under which they are. If they are under the guidance of Missionaries or good Christian people, or even of enlightened moral Hindoos and Mahomedans, there is now a sufficient body of vernacular literature of an improving and elevating character to furnish the basis of a system of instruction for them; and it is rapidly increasing.

"6819. But my question is not whether they could not be taught in something else; but whether you are cognizant of the fact, that one of the great objections to be made against females studying these languages was the necessity, if they studied the learned languages at all, of their being made conversant with a particular kind which even male Hindoos thought unfit for females?"

"I never before heard it even proposed that native females should study the learned languages of India; but certainly from my knowledge of those languages, I should say that it would be impossible for a female to cultivate Sanskrit literature without learning a great deal which would be extremely objectionable for any female to read.

"6820. Even in the estimate of a Hindoo?"

"Yes, even in the estimate of a Hindoo, because, whatever license they may take themselves, they are very careful of the purity of their women."

"6821. Lord Montagu of Brandon.) The Committee are aware that the late Mr. Bethune, with great generosity, devoted the sum of £50,000 for female education; and I believe other persons of piety and earnestness in India have looked with great anxiety to the education of native females. Is there any instance that has ever come to your knowledge of the female instruction so established, or so contemplated, involving that which has formed the subject of the questions that have been recently put to

you, namely, the cultivation of the ancient learned languages?

"Never. The idea is quite new to me.

"6822. You never heard of that either in Asia or in England?

"Never. As it is, however, evident from the Sanskrit Plays, that in very ancient times, women of rank, at least, were taught to read and write, and the accomplishments of drawing and music. Urvasi extemporises a verse which she writes upon a birch leaf, and which, falling into the hands of the Queen of Pururavas, is read by her principal female attendant. Malati draws a picture of her beloved Madhava; and frequent allusions are made to the Sangita Sala, or Music Hall. In the Ajunta Cave paintings, women are represented as engaged in study with books of palm-leaves.

"6823. Lord Bishop of Oxford.] Is it not the fact, that it is a principle settled in the Native mind, that females should not be educated?

"I do not recollect any precept to that effect in their books.

"6824. My question was, not what the sacred books of the Hindoos taught, but whether there was not in the Native mind, generally, a settled feeling against the education of their females?

"Yes, I think there is a very strong prejudice against it; I do not think it goes the length of a principle: ..

"6825. There is a strong prejudice in the native mind against the instruction and education of females!

"Undoubtedly.

"6826. That is not of recent date, is it?

"No, ancient date; it is gradually yielding to the progress of enlightenment; ..

"6825. You have stated to the Committee, that there has been of long standing a strong and great prejudice in the native mind against the instruction of their females; during the whole time that that prejudice has been growing up, was it not impossible that any one of their females should become learned in their literature without becoming conversant with those abominations which it contains?

"There are degrees; but, speaking generally, that was the case certainly.

"6828. To be conversant with those abominations would even, according to Hindoo notions, be unfit for females!

"If it had seriously entered into the contemplation of a Hindoo to teach his wife or daughters Sanscrit, I have no doubt that objection would have occurred to him.

"6829. Therefore, in fact, it was impossible that there could be any teaching of females without making them acquainted with that against which the native mind itself would have revolted?

"Yes.

"6830. May we not, in looking back to the long period through which this state of things has lasted, see one reason for the peculiarly strong prejudice in the native against female education in that fact?

"I think so.

"6831. If that is the case, is it not exceedingly important, if we wish to break down that prejudice, that we should set the example of educating the men in a literature which would not necessarily bring them into contact with such abominations?

"Certainly.

"6832. Earl of Harrowby.] An Indian female could not make any progress in Native literature without passing through the study of very corrupt books?

"With the exception of the nascent vernacular literature, which is principally supported by the Missionaries.

"6833. Do you believe that the feeling of hostility to female education which exists in the Hindoo mind arises from the nature of their literature, or from the general notion existing amongst all those nations, that the women ought to occupy a subordinate condition?

"I think that the primary and main reason is, that in order to keep the women in subjection and seclusion, it is necessary to keep them ignorant. It arises from the same cause which induces them to keep their women in seclusion; but, no doubt, if there were not that reason, the other would be a sufficient one.

"6834. And, therefore, that would be an obstacle to any future progress in female education, unless a literature of a better kind was supplied?

"Yes."

"6835. Lord Bishop of Oxford.] A literature of a better kind, which shall be employed as an instrument of male progress?

"Yes."

Of course it was prejudice against every thing Indian which dictated the above questions and their answers. Sanskrit is not so rich in books of an exceedingly debasing character as the classical languages of Europe. Sir Richard Burton, when he translated the *Arabian Nights* into English, was told that he probably would be prosecuted for publishing his translation because it abounded with many obscene and abominable passages and incidents. His reply was very characteristic. He said that he would go to the Court before which he was to be prosecuted armed with the Bible in one hand and Shakespeare's works in the other. He did not consider the *Arabian Nights* more abominable or obscene than the Sacred Scriptures of the Christians or the plays of the greatest dramatist of the English. It cannot be said that there was not a substratum of truth in his contention. If English women can read the Bible and Shakespeare without getting their morals corrupted, there is no reason why Indian ladies should not be instructed in Sanskrit.

Although the Educational Despatch recommended the encouragement of Female Education, the Indian Government did not do all that they ought to have done for it. The initiative was not taken by the Government in female education. It was, as in the case of the higher education of males,

taken in hand by private individuals, most notable among whom was Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. He was a great friend of Dr. Frederick John Mouat, who in a lecture delivered before the Society of Arts, London, in March, 1888, said :—

"Two days before the close of his honoured and valued life Mr. Bethune, at whose bedside I was watching and whose eyes I closed in their eternal sleep, asked me how long he had to live. 'Don't conceal it from me,' he said, 'as I wish to complete the last work of my life.' When I mentioned to him that I could only measure it by hours, he called for his cheque book, drew a cheque for a very large amount and bid me hasten to realise it and keep it in my

custody until he had passed away, for the benefit of the female school he had established. This was done. I was his executor and found that the whole of his large official income in India was spent in the country and chiefly in good works of which the foundation of the female school which bears his name was the chief."

We need not dwell at any great length on the Education Despatch of 1854. We have said enough to show the motives which led the authorities to prepare it, and also how and why the recommendations contained in it were not given effect to by the Government of the East India Company.

SPARKS FROM THE ANVIL

[FROM THE BENGALI OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE].

The chandelier flashed up and said to the earthen lamp—
 "I'll smother you up if you dare to call me cousin!"
 Just then the moon came up in the sky,
 And the chandelier cried—"Come, my dear dear brother!"

Thou who art in the ditch, 'tis easy for thee to throw mud;
 But what is *he* to do whose path is ever above thee?

He who has not the power to attain greatness,
 Has he the power to make greatness appear small?

The owl takes every opportunity to proclaim
 That he has an enmity with the sun.

I will close every door to shut out all possible errors.
 "But how am I to enter in?" cries Truth.

Favour complains—"I give, but never receive."
 Mercy says—"I give, but never ask."

Fierce rages the storm and wages war.
 Who is it that wins at last? Only the gentle breeze.

"I obey not law, I am free"—this is the boast of the Dream.
 Truth says sadly to him—"That is why thou art false."
 Dream says—"Truth is bound in endless chain of necessity."
 Truth says—"That is why I am perfectly true."

SISTER NIVEDITA

Who loveth much!—The Master gave the meed
 Nor by the rule of indolent belief,
 Nor by professing sympathy with grief
 Without the act.—Nay! By the living deed
 He fixed for man Love's everlasting creed
 As the one narrow path to blessedness—
 To help the hungering stranger in distress,
 The sick, the prisoner—so runs the rede—
 She loved—and though she left the outward fold
 Of Christ, to His commandment she was true,
 Leaving her home to make a stranger's woes
 Her own in Christ-like act; for she was bold
 To love, toil, suffer, till death claimed its due
 In far Darjeeling near the eternal snows.

Delhi.

C. F. ANDREWS.

HINDU MUSIC

THE PROBLEM OF THE SRUTI SCALE.

THE question of the musical Srutis and their location in the scale of notes has become a vexed one, and several eminent men of greater or less authority have tackled it with originality and great labour. But it is undeniable that the problem has not reached any satisfactory solution as yet. If then, a small voice like mine makes a bold contribution to this question, the presumption may be excused. I can not here dilate on the theories advanced by several writers on this subject. The limits of time and space forbid such an attempt. I shall simply give an outline of a theory which has struck me as a very good working hypothesis arrived at by the *a priori* method. I may then notice the theory advanced by Mr. Krishnaji Ballal

Deval in his able work entitled: "The Hindu Musical Scale and the Twenty-two Srutis," a copy of which he was kind enough to present me with.

To make my position clear, I must start with certain definite assertions, viz.—

(1) The scale of seven notes as accepted by Indian music tallies exactly with the European scale.*

Note:—This applies to the present day Indian scale. The ancient Sanskrit works on music recognised a scale in which the present day *shre* ♯ and *re* (flat E and D) were regarded as natural notes and our natural ♯ and *re* were set down as *shre* or

* This is not the fact, for at least in vocal Hindustani music. ♯ is certainly the true *shre* of *re* and therefore different from the European A. This is also what the old Sanskrit writers say, as pointed out in this very article.—U. Roy.

sharp notes. This fact is to be borne in mind as a very important one, as the distribution of the twenty-two Srutis amongst the seven notes, and the fixing of them, hinges mainly on this.

To anticipate possible misunderstanding, I must, at once, state that the word "scale" is used throughout this article in the sense of a complete set of serial notes from श to न , arranged at fixed intervals, and not, as some may imagine, in the sense of what Indian music calls राग (thath), i.e., a special set of notes forming a common mould in which a certain group of ragas is cast.

(2) The Indian scale of twelve notes, ancient and modern, consists of the following:—

श (C) and र (G)— अविज्ञत , i.e., unchanged, natural;

the remaining five being स and रिज्ञत , i.e., sharp, flat, and natural, as under,

र and रि (E and B) being स and रिज्ञत according to the ancients, and $\text{स$ and रिज्ञत according to the moderns (the notes being the same but the relative nomenclature being different; thus modern $\text{स$ and रिज्ञत were ancient स and रिज्ञत and modern स and रिज्ञत were ancient $\text{स$ and रिज्ञत), रि (D and A) being स and रिज्ञत and स being natural (स) and sharp (स).

Note:—This स was called $\text{स$ by the author of संगीतसहितम् ; and this is another important fact to be noted as helpful in fixing the missing 22nd Sruti, as shall show later on.

(3) This Indian scale of twelve notes knew of no temperament, equal or unequal.* It consisted of the seven natural notes (in which र and रि are the modern स and रिज्ञत) and the five others which are related, each to its next door higher note, by the ratio $\frac{1}{2}$ recognised in the untempered scale known to acoustics.

The संगीतसहितम् has a chapter on fixing, on the system of a Vina , the respective positions of the twelve notes. Correctly interpreted,

* By 'modern' I mean the present day music, and by 'ancient' I mean music treated in works up to the time of Saṅgītasāhita.

It is difficult to understand why Mr. A. H. Fox translates, in rendering Mr. Dandya's work, asserts at the present day Indian scale is what is known as "just temperament." No indigenous Indian musician recognises a tempered scale, and if Indian musicians are what Mr. Saṅgītasāhita has to show, they are certainly without it.

the directions, therein given, locate the 22 notes at places which, when reduced to vibration ratios (according to the rules in acoustics about the inverse proportion between the number of vibrations per second, and the length of the string), indicate the 12 notes above mentioned.

(4) The remaining ten notes, making up the 22 Srutis in all, are not definitely located in this chapter of संगीतसहितम् ; and, therefore, we are left to shift for ourselves in this matter. However, some guidance is furnished by the well known allotment of a certain fixed number of Srutis to the seven main notes, by Sanskrit writers on music, and by the principles known amongst them as सप्तश्रुतिराज and सप्तश्रुति . It is necessary to briefly explain these. If you sound the first four notes of the Octave,—viz., श , रि , रिज्ञत and then sound the succeeding four notes स , रिज्ञत , स , you will observe that the four latter bear the same inter-relation as the former four; in other words, if श were started with as श , then रि and रिज्ञत would exactly sound as रिज्ञत in relation to that श . This is due to the fact that if $\text{श}=1$, $\text{रि}=\frac{1}{2}$ and the notes in each set of four correspond to each other in that relation, i.e., रि is $\frac{1}{2}$ of श , रिज्ञत is $\frac{1}{2}$ of रि , and स is $\frac{1}{2}$ of रिज्ञत . There is only a small exception to this:— $\text{रि}=\frac{1}{2}$ while $\text{रिज्ञत}=\frac{1}{3}$; thus the ratio between the two is not exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ (which it would be if रिज्ञत were equal to $\frac{1}{2}$) but varies by an interval of $\frac{1}{3}$, an interval known as comma. This difference is to be neglected because by accepting रि as $\frac{1}{2}$ the harmony of the major triads is secured.

This relation of $\frac{1}{2}$ between each pair of notes श , रि , रिज्ञत , and स is called सप्तश्रुतिराज . Now to come to सप्तश्रुति , it will be seen in the relation above shown, that श , रि and रिज्ञत are co-ordinate with one another, so are रि and रिज्ञत with each other and रि and रिज्ञत mutually. Thus the ancients grouped these three sets severally, giving them separate group names, श , रि and रिज्ञत being called सप्तश्रुतिराज , रि and रिज्ञत being called सप्तश्रुति , and स and रिज्ञत being called सप्तश्रुति . To the notes included in each of these sets equal

* The sign 1 on श indicates the श of the higher octave, or double the original श .

† There is no such exception: it is absolutely inadmissible to overrule the old Saṅgīta writers in this way. To do so is to question their competency and lay the entire theory of Srutis open to doubt. It is in fact very much worse than saying that the Srutis are indefinite.—U. Ray

numbers of *srutis* are assigned:—four to *sa* and *pa* each, three to *ri* and *ga* each, and two each to *ma* and *ni*. This is known as *varjyam*—i.e., the feature of possessing an equal numbers of *srutis* by notes included in each of the three groups named just above.

Knowing this we have some guidance as to how many sub-tones are to be placed between each of the notes in the scale of 12 notes already fixed by *chakrit varjyam*. This scale, as deduced by the distance test fixed in that work, comes to the following:—

	Notes.		Ratios.
1	स	.....	1
2	रि	चौलख	$\frac{1}{2}$
3	रि	खख	$\frac{1}{3}$
4	ग	खख	$\frac{1}{4}$
5	ग	लीन	$\frac{1}{5}$
6	म	खख	$\frac{1}{6}$
7	म	लीन (तन)	$\frac{1}{7}$
8	प	.....	$\frac{1}{8}$
9	प	चौलख	$\frac{1}{9}$
10	य	खख	$\frac{1}{10}$
11	नि	खख	$\frac{1}{11}$
12	नि	लीन	$\frac{1}{12}$

(Note:—The natural (*swar*) *sa* is $\frac{1}{2}$ and natural *ni* is $\frac{1}{12}$ here according to the ancients. These, it will be observed, are the notes found in the minor triads shown in acoustics.)

Now if we look up any authoritative work on acoustics, e.g., the chapter on 'Sound' in Ganot's Physics, we shall find that taking flat and sharp notes on each side of the seven natural notes, preserving the ratio between flat and natural and sharp at $\frac{1}{2}$ (which is the interval between the varying notes in the major and minor triads) (viz., *sa*, *ma*, and *ni*—E, A and B) we evolve a full scale of 21 notes authorized

by European science and music) as under:—

स—1	...	म— $\frac{1}{2}$	...	$\frac{1}{12}$
$\frac{1}{2}$	...	$\frac{1}{3}$	...	$\frac{1}{11}$
$\frac{1}{3}$	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	...	$\frac{1}{10}$
...
रि— $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{9}$
$\frac{1}{3}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{8}$
ग— $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{7}$
$\frac{1}{3}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{6}$
$\frac{1}{4}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{5}$
$\frac{1}{5}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$
$\frac{1}{6}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{3}$
$\frac{1}{7}$	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$

Now, a glance at this scale will show that the numbers of sub-tones preceding each of the seven principal notes, with the main note added on, correspond, except in one case, to the numbers of *srutis* allotted to each note by Indian writers on Music. The four *srutis* for *sa* will be halves of the four from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 (*sa'*), as the scale will stop at *ni*= $\frac{1}{12}$ (the ancient *swar*); in other words, *sa*=1 will have three *srutis* out of the lower scale, which next precede it.

The exception hinted at just above is in the case of *pa* which has three *srutis* in the scale given here, viz., $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{9}$, and $\frac{1}{8}$, and not four as assigned by our Indian Music. Here, then, we have, a full scale as evolved by European acoustics in its relation to music, which curiously enough coincides with the distribution of *srutis* as given by our Indian writers, with the exception of only one *sruti*. Is it not extremely probable, then, that if we only find the one missing *sruti* for *pa* and locate it properly, this ready made scale of 21 *srutis* (which answers to our scheme of *srutis*, but for this missing sub-note), with this one added in, will furnish us with the Indian scale of 22 *srutis*? To my mind, the balance is entirely in favour of this theory. Two reasons are obvious:—

(1) The scale of 12 notes deduced from the *chakrit varjyam* corresponds to the Western

sa and *ni* are placed against $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$ respectively, because the ancients took the minor (present day *swar*) *sa* and *ni* as natural notes and the allotment of *srutis* was made on that basis. For the purpose of the arrangement in Ganot based on the interval of $\frac{1}{2}$ on each side of the natural notes, *sa* must be taken as $\frac{1}{2}$ and *ni* as $\frac{1}{12}$.

* चतुर्विधसुखे चतुर्विधसुखे ।

हे विद्वत्पुत्रो विद्वत्पुत्रो विद्वत्पुत्रो ।

† *sa*, *ma* and *ni* in the major triads are $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$; and in the minor triads are $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ respectively; $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2}$, each = $\frac{1}{2}$.

untempered scale of 12 notes, which are found in this one of 21 notes; and

(2) The allotment of *Srutis* to each of the seven notes, as given in the Indian scheme, finds an exact correspondence in this scale of 21 notes (barring the deficiency of one *Sruti* for \sharp). I shall indicate additional reasons soon below.

Which, then, is the missing *Sruti*? After weighing several considerations, I arrive at the solution that the missing *Sruti* must lie somewhere between the two *Srutis* \sharp and \sharp , and this should be at some recognized acoustic interval; the interval between these two *Srutis* being smaller than \sharp , the next recognised interval would be the comma, viz., \sharp ; thus the missing *Sruti* should be either \sharp of \sharp —i.e., \sharp , or \sharp of \sharp —i.e., \sharp .

Which of these two should be accepted is a question which I shall presently answer. But the soundness of this procedure is apparent from the facts—

(1) That by adopting this plan the general scheme of the scale of 21 notes, which has sub-notes at intervals of \sharp on each side of the seven main notes, remains quite undisturbed;

(2) The interpolated *Sruti* is placed at a recognized acoustic interval, and not as an arbitrary one which would result in want of harmony;

(3) The disturbance caused in the whole scale is reduced to a minimum.

These three reasons justify the interpolation of the *Sruti* at an interval (between \sharp and \sharp) which is considerably smaller than \sharp .

Now which of the two *Srutis*, \sharp and \sharp , should be accepted? Everything considered, select \sharp as most probably, the correct *Sruti*. cannot go, at great length, into the merits, but may briefly indicate the reasons in favour of \sharp . They are:—

(1) In the scheme of 22 *Srutis*, the relation \sharp is said to prevail, according to *Sangita Parijata*.^{*} And we find that this ratio of \sharp bears that relation to \sharp , the all of \sharp —i.e., or in other words the first ratio of \sharp (\sharp being = 1), $\sharp \times \sharp$ being \sharp ; id

(2) In the alterations of keys known as

राग, we find this *Sruti* of \sharp in some form or other. Thus:—

(a) Taking \sharp (रा) as the starting note (\sharp), its \sharp would be $\sharp \times \sharp = \sharp$, i.e., the \sharp in the higher (double) scale; or, better still, in the practical राग called राग राग, \sharp (\sharp) being the starting note (\sharp) its \sharp would be $\sharp \times \sharp = \sharp$, this very *Sruti*.

Thus this \sharp is not an imaginary *Sruti*; though deduced by me by *a priori* considerations, it exactly hits the practically correct point.

These, then, are the grounds on which I fix \sharp as the missing *Sruti*, its location being between \sharp and \sharp * at an interval of \sharp upwards from \sharp . I have also indicated above some of my reasons for accepting the scale of 21 notes as given in European Physics, and adding one *Sruti* as above to make up the Indian scale of 22 *Srutis*. The other reasons, then promised, may now be mentioned. They are:—

(1) As already stated, this scale preserves the \sharp as far as possible between the corresponding notes; this results from the fact that this relation exists in the scale of seven notes in the three groups of \sharp , \sharp and \sharp notes, and that the other notes stand in the relation of \sharp to these central notes severally.

(2) The scale being accepted on the basis fixed by physical science, it is acoustically correct; and

(3) When the राग are altered, the cases in which the resulting notes furnish deviations from those already existing in this acoustical scale of 21 plus 1 notes, are numerically the least, and the error of deviation is always that of a comma (\sharp).† Other scales

* I may note one incidental fact which goes to give indirect support to my theory about the location of the missing *Sruti*. In *Sangita Parijata*, according to the readings in the Poona and Calcutta manuscripts, the popularly known \sharp in the scale of 12 notes is called \sharp (not even \sharp). This would be the \sharp note, if \sharp is interpolated before it; thus:—

$\sharp = \sharp$, $\sharp = \sharp$, $\sharp = \sharp$, $\sharp = \sharp$, $\sharp = \sharp$, $\sharp = \sharp$, $\sharp = \sharp$.

The location of this \sharp in the stem of the *Vina* according to the *Sangita Parijata* is at 25 inches on a stem of 36 inches, and would thus give the ratio \sharp .

† For instance,—in the राग राग the scale of seven

Deval's scheme altogether. And yet I must speak with diffidence, and due deference. For I note a curious coincidence—with some exceptions—between the scale given by Mr. Deval and that evolved by Mr. Sarada Prasad Ghose, and Mr. U. Ray has given his verdict in their favour when he says—"There can be no doubt about the correctness of the principles involved in their determination."* The only disappointment is that we are not shown what principles guided Mr. Deval or Mr. Ghose, nor are we told how they are found correct,—unless mere coincidence is regarded as a sound reason. And, after all, can any one be cock-sure on this vexed question, unless he has really sound, scientific principles—as found in acoustics—to support him? I have now placed my hypothesis before persons interested in this fascinating problem, and my claim for consideration is based on these very scientific principles, and yet I shall not presume to be dogmatic beyond the limits of justification furnished by those principles. With these remarks I leave the matter in the hands of qualified persons.

In conclusion, I may touch on one point raised by some critics. Mr. Fox-Strangways, while reviewing Mr. Deval's work, asks: Do musicians really use these 22 *Srutis* and, if so, what do they add to the general effect? The answers are clear and unmistakable to the Indian student of Music. The *Srutis* are really used, as will be found by the presence of varying *Srutis* of the same note in varying ragas; and the effect, of course, is found in the production of variations in ragas. Besides, as demonstrated by me, above, the change of *ras* brings into play certain *Srutis* as principal notes, which in the original scheme stood as subordinate *Srutis* only; e.g., in बाजार बल ११—a minor *Srut* of १ stands as the main

१. Such would be the case with several other *Srutis*. What greater justification can there be for the recognition of the 22 *Srutis*? Of course it is difficult to test this readily. Mr. Deval claims for the correctness of his *Srutis* that a musician by name Professor Abdul Karim can produce his (Mr. Deval's) 22 *Srutis* in vocal performances. This, however, is not a sure test; even the fixing of the 22 *Srutis* on an instrument according to any scale, arbitrary or otherwise, will not take as any further. The truest test will be that one wherein the number of vibrations of vocal production is recorded by means of a scientific instrument; in other words, the real test will be in the physical laboratory, by recording the vibrations of sung (not played) *Srutis*. And yet, even this test can hardly be conclusive as regards the question, "Which were the 22 *Srutis* of the Indian scale?" For the laboratory test would only record the actual vibrations of the notes sung; it cannot decide their correctness, unless we accept the principle that any vibrations outside the acoustically recognised ones must be rejected as unharmonious. That this test is most likely to be satisfied by my scale of *Srutis* is obvious from the fact that it is *ab initio* based on the acoustically recognised scheme. The only verification needed will be the testing of vocal music in the laboratory and comparing the results with the scheme advocated by me. If it passes the test successfully, the case for it will be complete.*

* I need hardly notice Mr. U. Ray's remark that after all these *Srutis* are indefinite. His only ground for this assertion is the difference in the several theories advanced by different men. But that would only show that no one has yet hit upon the correct scale. And if the arguments I have advanced in this article are seriously considered, and the *sruti* basis on which my hypothesis rests is remembered, there is nothing more definite than the 22 *Srutis* herein shown.

N. B. D.

* *Modern Review*, June, 1911, p. 625, Col. 2. There are some obvious misprints in the scale in this review by Mr. Ray: thus ११ is a misprint for ११; ११ for ११; and १ for १.

* I thank Mr. Dhanu for pointing out these slips.—U. R.

* The principle on which I have based the mathematical values of the musical intervals, those of the Indian scale, have been shown to be the same as those of the Western scale, and the result is that the mathematical values of the intervals are the same.

The difference is not in theory alone, but in practice as well. Mr. Deval mentions several schools of Indian music, all of whom differ more or less as to the *Srutis* used by them. The conclusion becomes inevitable that the *Srutis* are not definite, and this feeling is intensified when our old authorities are not at hand as they have been in this article. For it is not to believe that our authorities have arrived at determining the exact *sruti* notes, but are so slow that they did not get ready to do the much more difficult work of fixing the *sruti* notes.—U. R.

By the courtesy of the Editor I was allowed to see the remarks of Mr. U. Ray which are inserted amongst the footnotes above. I may therefore offer a few words to clear up matters. The main point of difference is as regards the acoustic ratio of ν to ν' . What I contend is that our ancient writers had no means of fixing these acoustic quantities by any physical test but were guided by their wonderfully acute faculty of judging by the ear. Keen as that was, and successful as it may be in discerning fine divisions of the *Srutis*, there is nothing to be wondered at, nor is it derogatory to them, if they failed to

differentiate the two ν which are only separated by an interval of $\frac{1}{16}$; or rather if they saw a relation between $\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$; or if they roughly valued ν ($\frac{1}{3}$) as the $\frac{1}{16}$ of ν ($\frac{1}{3}$).

To be able to say with confidence that in vocal Hindustani music ν is the true fifth of ν' , one would expect more than the evidence of the ear; nothing short of a laboratorial test of such vocal ν would be conclusive, and I do not suppose Mr. Ray is prepared to go so far.

Want of space prevents me from discussing this question at greater length.

N. B. DIVATIA.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENCY UNIVERSITIES.

DR. Frederick John Mouat came out to India in the service of the East India Company as an Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment in the year 1840. He succeeded Mr. David Hare as Secretary of the Calcutta Medical College and was also placed on the professorial staff of that Institution. It was due to his exertions that the buildings of the Calcutta Medical College and the hospital attached to it were erected. Again it was due to his advice and exhortations that the four Bengalee Medical students, the well known Dr. Bhola Nauth Bose and Dr. Surya Kumar Goodeeve Chuckerbutty and two others, went to England in 1844 to complete their education.

Dr. Mouat was also appointed Secretary of the Council of Education. In those days there was no Director of Public Instruction or any Inspector of Schools under him. The duties of both these posts had to be discharged by the Secretary of the Council. So Dr. Mouat had to inspect all the schools and colleges in the province of Bengal affiliated to the Council of Education. As a result of his inspections, he conceived the idea of the establishment of a University for Bengal. In a lecture delivered by him on the 23rd March, 1888 before the Society of Arts of London, he said:—

"When I joined therefore and had personally visited

all the colleges and schools under the charge of the Council and had become acquainted with the standards in use, I was at once struck with the absence of any definite aim and object in the system of education adopted in all. It appeared to me that a great scheme of public instruction worked by an able staff and turning out annually numerous scholars of considerable merits and attainments needed some means of acknowledgement of the position they ought to occupy as men of culture and education. I rapidly arrived at the conclusion that nothing short of a university having the power to grant degrees would accomplish this purpose.

"I accordingly placed myself at once in communication with my friend Professor Malden of University College in London. From the information which I placed before him, Professor Malden considered Bengal to be perfectly ready for the establishment of Universities and sent me a copy of the history of those institutions in Europe written by himself. I then conferred with the President Mr. Charles Hay Cameron on the subject, told him what I had done, &c., &c. I was directed to prepare the scheme, which I did accordingly," &c.

His scheme was that the University in Bengal should be established on the model of that of London. He said:—

"After carefully studying the laws and constitution of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with those of the recently established University of London, the latter alone appears adapted to me to the wants of the native community."

His proposed plan of the University of Calcutta is given in full as Appendix O to the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Government of Indian Territories, 1853.

Dr. Mouat's plan was submitted through

the Government of India to the authorities of the East India Company by whom of course it was not approved of. They were averse to the extension of education among Indians and so they naturally put their foot on Dr. Mouat's scheme. It was on the eve of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter that Mr. Cameron submitted a petition dated 30th November, 1852, to the House of Lords in which he showed the causes which operated as hindrances to the spread of education among Indians. He wrote:—

"That, as President of the Council of Education for Bengal, your petitioner had opportunities of observing the desire and the capacity of large numbers of the native youth of India for the acquisition of European literature and science, as well as the capacity of the most distinguished among them for fitting themselves to enter the Civil and Medical covenanted services of the East India Company, and to practise in the learned professions.

"That the said native youth are hindered from making all the progress they are capable of in the acquisition of the said literature and science:

"1st. Because there is not in British India any University with power to grant degrees, as is done by Universities in Europe.

"2ndly. Because the European instructors of the said native youths do not belong to any of the covenanted services of the East India Company, and do not, therefore, whatever may be their learning and talents, occupy a position in Society which commands the respect of their pupils.

"3rdly. Because no provision has been made for the education of any of the said native youth in England without prejudice to their caste or religious feelings.

"Your petitioner therefore prays,

"That one or more universities may be established in British India.

"That a covenanted education service may be created, analogous to the covenanted civil and medical services.

"That one or more establishments may be created, at which the native youth of India may receive, in England, without prejudice to their caste or religious feelings, such a secular education as may qualify them for admission into the civil and medical services of the East India Company."

Regarding this petition and his prayer for the establishment of one or more Universities in British India, Mr. Cameron was very searchingly examined on the 7th July, 1853 by the Lords' Committee on the Government of Indian territories.

"7316r *Chairman*.] In a petition which has been presented to the House of Lords from you, in that portion of it which relates to education, your first prayer is that one or more Universities may be established in British India; will you be so good as to state to the Committee somewhat more in detail what your suggestion will amount to?

"My suggestion would amount to this, that there should be in each of the great capital cities in India a University; that is to say, at Calcutta, at Madras, at Bombay and at Agra; those four cities being the centres of four distinct languages; Calcutta being the focus of the Bengalee language; Madras of the Tamil, Bombay of the Mahrattie, and Agra of the Hindue. In those four Universities would be taught, according to my notions the English language and all the literature that it contains; and science also in the same language; and at the same time the four languages that I have mentioned would also be cultivated. Native students would be practised in translations from English into each of those languages, and from each of those languages into English. Every encouragement which the Government can give would be given to the production of original works in those Native languages. That system already exists to a considerable extent; but there is no University; there is no body which has the power of granting degrees; and that sort of encouragement appears to be one which the Natives are fully desirous of. They have arrived at a point at which they are quite ripe for it, and they themselves are extremely desirous of it: that is to say, those who have already benefited by this system of English education are extremely desirous of those distinctions, and are extremely desirous of having that sort of recognition of their position as subjects of the Queen of Great Britain.

"7317. Would you assimilate the degrees to the degrees conferred at the London University?

"The plan that we suggested when I was President of the Council of Education, was founded upon the plan of the London University; we copied it *mutatis mutandis* from that plan.

"7322. Would that, in your opinion, improve the general tone and character of the education given throughout India?

"I should think very much so indeed.

"7325. Earl of *Ellenborough*.] Would you give the same titles as in England of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Arts; do not you think they would like "Bahadur" and "Rajah" rather better?

"I think they would like to be admitted into the European republic of letters better than to have those native titles to which your Lordship alludes."

It is not necessary to make further extracts from the Evidence of Mr. Cameron. The Parliamentary Committees after all must have been convinced that there was no harm in establishing one or more universities in India.

So the Directors of the East India Company were after all persuaded to recommend the establishment of Universities in India on the model of the University of London. In their Educational Despatch of 1854, they wrote:—

"Some years ago, we declined to accede to a proposal made by the Council of Education and transmitted to us, with the recommendation of your

...the spread of a liberal education in India since that time, the high success shown by the Native candidates for Government scholarships, and by Native students in the examinations, the success of the Medical College, and the requirements of an increasing Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time has now arrived for the establishment of universities in India, which may give a regular and liberal course of education, by conferring academical degrees as evidences of attainment in the different branches of art and science, and by adding marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction.

The Council of Education, in the proposal to which we have alluded, took the London University as their model; and we agree with them, that the form, government, and functions of that university are the best adapted to the wants of India, and may be followed with advantage, although some variation will be necessary in points of detail.

"We desire that you take into your consideration the institution of Universities at Calcutta and Bombay, upon the general principles which we have now explained to you, and report to us upon the best method of procedure, with a view to their incorporation by Acts of the Legislative Council of India.

"We shall be ready to sanction the creation of an university at Madras, or at any other part of India, where a sufficient number of persons could be supplied from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied; it being in our opinion desirable that the great centres of European Government and civilization in India should possess universities similar in character to those which will now be founded, as soon as the extension of a liberal education shows that their establishment would be of advantage to the Native communities."

But the Government of India were not in a hurry to give effect to the recommendation of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and establish Universities. These were not established during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie, the Scotch "Laird of Cockpen," but of his successor Lord Canning. It was in the year 1857, the year of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny and the last year of the existence of the East India Company, that the Legislative Act was passed sanctioning the establishment of the Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

POETRY AND DAILY LIFE

In every country the best human teachers of all matters of the greatest import are the poets: who rank next in authority to the super-human teacher, life itself. The best parts of the sacred scriptures of the world are written in verse, and the crown of a country's literature is its poetry. Into the anthology of the best poems which can be collected from English literature enter the purest, sincerest and sacredest words ever uttered by the race. Man cannot sing without delight, and without passing beyond himself in singing. No pretence, no artificial man, no dishonest man ever wrote a poem. The poet may have lived not according to the rules, he may have been subject to illusion or vanity, passion or vice may have swayed him, but at the moments when he was singing, the fibres of his mind were seized by an ecstatic, intense purity and more than mortal charm or nobility cannot be imagined. One of the bards of England

have issued many poets and many poems, an expression and a revelation of the true genius and spirit of that masterful and industrial people. It is fortunate that the English language which is so widely spread should carry so rich a burden of treasure to all shores where it is heard. The inheritance of English literature and the faith in freedom which is the underlying principle of English politics, are the chief assets of the empire. A historian of a future day may add to these two, the wealth of wealth and the knowledge how wisely to attend to the distribution of wealth. But the knowledge of what wealth means to mankind is yet in the making, and the better distribution of wealth is a problem over which many a people has been taught, and many a battle has been fought.

Poetry's mission and power are needed in the English-speaking world more than ever, for many a nation and many a people are

covered with gold, they are transfigured beyond Paradise. They retain no hint of the mundane. The touch is on them which makes all things memorable. Spirit answers to spirit. They fill the heart with the conviction of the presence of a power which gains all its ends, which cannot be thwarted, which leaves no work to fall short of perfection. This is the revelation conveyed to us by the solemn ecstasy of beauty and poetry; the knowledge communicated of what is. And the message brought concerning what might be, the impulse given to the active and assertive powers of man, is no less astonishing. "He had the poet's passion for Nature", wrote George Meredith of W. E. Henley, "and by reason of it the poet's fervent devotion to humanity." If I witness the daily festival of the sun, the glory of the grass-blades and the forests, and the grace and enchantment that clothe all living things, I cannot be content with the squalid and pining state of man. Why should not man rejoice as the clouds and the rocks rejoice? If, Wordsworth thinks, the flowers enjoy the air they breathe, human beings too ought to live in natural pleasure, and there is the more reason to lament "what man has made of man." Indeed it is among the poets and all lovers of beauty that we find most of those who are as the nerves

o'er which do creep

The else unfelt oppressions of mankind.

And it is poetry which is the best accomplisher of reform,—better than all customary ways of didactics, or party spirit, or denunciation,—by at once pointing men to the vision of the future, and putting their hearts into the only temper by which the future can be gained and held secure.

Who can doubt that the daily round of existence for the Indian peasant (much as it may owe to religion) is companioned and sweetened by the sky and the landscape which are ever glowing about him, and by the forms of plants and animals and men, and by the marvellous many-coloured costume, the most faultlessly in keeping with its surroundings in the world perhaps, to which the multitudes of India are directed rather by instinct than by art? The same beauty as is showered down by the sun and the earth shines also upon every domestic utensil in the peasant's dwelling, the

vessel of clay, and the brass vessel where-with the women repair to the village well. And did eye ever behold work of man more beautiful than the Persian well with its rude yet sufficient construction, its patient team of oxen, and their boy driver? Centuries have not improved for use or for beauty what the flawless instinct of the early engineers invented. Every inch of the soil of India teems with beauty, and the peasant who squats with his fellows upon the field in some happy, talkative circle, enjoys by his closeness to Mother Earth a dignity which seems to be seldom the possession of the more artificial Western city-dweller. It may be that only by life in cities are ordinary men awakened to the dealings of beauty with them; it may be that the lack of beauty in cities first makes men aware of the hunger for beauty and articulate in its praise; certain it is however, that men who live in the midst of beauty and fail to perceive it as a poet perceives it, are none the less blest.

There is nothing on earth more beautiful than a great city, London or Paris, for instance, and yet neither is there anything more ugly. In attending to the more material wants city dwellers are apt to forget the necessity for beauty, and to grow vacant-minded and vulgar in appearance on account of their forgetfulness. Nothing will charm away the tedium and ignobleness of too many features of the life of cities, until the regard for beauty is once more popularly cherished in their midst. Beauty being the sign of life in its highest well-being, regard for beauty is reverence for life itself.

The spirit of poetry, then, or the spirit which is kindled by the vision and the fashioning of beauty, enters into all human affairs, great and small, when they are conducted well. And to an Englishman living in India, face to face with the great privilege and obligation of seeing India, and coming to understand rightly something of India, no gift seems more desirable than the eye that beholds beauty. Of a certainty, none can see India who is insensible to the beauty of the sky and of the landscape and of the living forms of the forest and the field, of the mountain, and the city, and of all that belongs to man.

P. E. RICHARDS.

THE PRESENT CONCEPTION OF THE SCOPE AND LINES OF ECONOMIC STUDY AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF ECONOMIC INQUIRY IN INDIA

THOMAS Carlyle characterised economics as a dismal science. Economic investigations during a large part of Carlyle's life-time resulted mainly in the discovery of certain grave social evils which had arisen out of the Industrial Revolution in England. Taking this fact into consideration it is not altogether surprising that the sage of Chelsea should have given that unworthy appellation to the noble science of economics. Happily, however, during the latter part of Carlyle's life-time and especially since his death, economic thought and investigations have produced results which justify us in regarding economics as a most hopeful and fascinating subject of study. Undoubtedly blind sentiment and irrational enthusiasm have no place in economic study. The economist does not shrink from taking facts as they are, and giving them straight to the world. He believes that before one can do any good to humanity he should first understand how humanity has moved from time immemorial and may, therefore, be expected to move in the future. And if after careful and patient investigation he has found out that individual, or at best family, considerations have been the main spring of human endeavours all throughout history and may, therefore, be expected to continue to be so in the future, he is not ashamed to say that to the world, socialists, communists and philanthropists notwithstanding.

So far as production and distribution are concerned the problems before the economist are the same as engage the attention of the business-man. But while the businessman considers those problems from the point of view of individual gain, the economist views them from the point of view of social or national welfare. Therefore, Carlyle's observation that the economic writers foster inordinate selfish desires may be dismissed as

utterly unfounded. For this misunderstanding, however, the economic writers themselves are much to blame. The majority of these writers have talked so much of *competition* as being the most fundamental characteristic of modern industrialism that the uninitiated public may naturally think that these scientists encourage the policy of everybody hitting everybody's head. Competition "is no doubt more intense and more widely extended than it used to be: but it is only a secondary and, one might almost say, an accidental consequence from the fundamental characteristic of modern business."* The real characteristics of modern business are, "a certain independence and habit of choosing one's own course for oneself, a self-reliance; a deliberation and yet a promptness of choice and judgment, and a habit of forecasting the future and of shaping one's course with reference to distant aims. They may often and do cause people to compete with one another; but on the other hand they may lead, and just now indeed are tending, in the direction of co-operation and combinations of all kinds good and evil. But these tendencies towards collective undertaking are quite different from that conceived and advocated by socialists and communists. They are quite different also from those of earlier times, because they are the result not of custom, not of any passive drifting into association with one's neighbours, but of free choice by each individual of that line of conduct which after careful deliberation seems to him the best suited for attaining his ends whether they are selfish or unselfish. It is true, that there is less deliberate selfishness in early than in modern forms of industry; but there is also less deliberate unselfishness. It is the deliberateness, and not the selfishness, that is the characteristic of the modern age."²

* Marshall, *Economics of Industry*, Pp. 5-6.

social will. Both influence largely the business institutions and practices with which economics is concerned. The solution of most of the practical economic problems with which we are concerned will be found to depend upon the enactment of wise laws or the repeal of unwise ones. To enumerate one or two of such problems in India to-day we may mention the question of the regulation of railway rates and of the insurance companies.

Our Science is closely related to sociology. The economist is often led to push his inquiries over into an adjoining tract of knowledge that covers human action and yet is not Jurisprudence or Political Science or Ethics. This adjacent Science which busies itself with imitation and custom, and tradition and conventionality, that seeks the origin, meaning and authority of the standards and ideals shaping individual action is Sociology. The point will be clear by enumerating some of the* economic problems which are also problems of Sociology. The question of population, for instance, is eminently a question both of Economics and of Sociology. Malthus spoke of moral restraints as checking the over-growth of population. But now psychic and social custom and standard of life are also recognised as factors influencing population. Again the economic problem, what fixed the days of labor in the year and the hours of labor in a day, cannot be solved without an appeal to sociology. Again phenomena such as the Bengalee esteem of landed property and the Marwari predilection for trade and finance cannot be explained without reference to the authority of tradition—a sociological fact.

Whether and, if so, how far and in what way Economics is related to Ethics is still a controversial question. Generally it is agreed that it is outside the domain of economics to suggest what ought or what ought not to be done in the economic world *merely on ethical grounds*. But the recent growth of immense competition in economic organizations has facilitated the appearance of so many evils and immoral practices in the economic world that many economic thinkers have been disposed to take a decidedly ethical view of the study of economics. These thinkers

have already acquired a recognised position amongst economic scholars as constituting a new school of economic thought. In America this school claims two of the most eminent economists, *viz.*, Professor Ely of the University of Wisconsin and Dr. Elisha Benjamin Andrews, formerly Chancellor of the University of Nebraska, as its adherents. The writings of these economists have greatly influenced the recent discussions and economic legislation with regard to the problems of distribution and have indirectly encouraged the propagation of socialistic and similar doctrines.

Now we may proceed to consider the relation of Economics to History. Before the middle of the last century scanty attention had been given to economic history by the economic writers and thinkers; but with the development of the Historical School of economic thought inaugurated by Frederick List and popularised by later writers like Roscher, Hildebrand and Knies, thorough knowledge of economic history is now considered indispensable by all schools of economists. Among the strongest advocates of this school may be mentioned the names of Professor Smohller of Berlin University and Professor Ashley of Birmingham University. Thinkers of this school point out that the economic science which has been developed up to this time is a static study, that is to say, it seeks to explain the economic problems of our own time only. Such a study, they assert, cannot necessarily be of permanent validity. For society is dynamic. A static or stationary society is inconceivable at least in the civilized portion of the world. As Professor Ely has put it,

"Man now wanders about by force of necessity and age-long habit, now starves rather than be moved from his home. Land is now free to all, now parcelled out with well nigh absolute right of individual possession. The seemingly eternal features of the social structure are gone in a few generations."^{*}

The historical economists also assert that what we call economic science to-day is no science even as a static study, because it does not explain the economic problems of all the nations even of the Western world, not to speak of the Oriental countries. They, therefore, maintain that

* *Outlines of Economics*, p. 6. This writer, however, does not belong to the Historical School as such.

* Ross—*Foundations of Sociology*. Chapt. on "The Sociological frontier of Economics."

a complete transformation of Political Economy is necessary, and they say that this social study can do fruitful work in the future only by becoming a distinctively historical science. As Professor Smohller of Berlin has expressed it,

"In the future a new epoch will come for Political Economy, but only by giving value to the whole historical and statistical material which now exists, not by the further distillation of the already-a-hundred-time-distilled abstractions of the old dogmatism."⁶

While all economists of the Historical School are agreed in maintaining that a complete transformation of the economic study now in vogue is necessary, they are by no means agreed as to the form to be assumed by this study when the transformation has been effected. A section of the historical school holds the view that it is absurd to attempt the establishment of a system of universal economic laws. Thus, according to Knies,

"Economic institutions and economic theories are products of historical development. No given economic system can be final. It is itself the result of special conditions of time, place and nationality; and as these vary, it will be subjected to progressive modifications. Every nation, therefore, and every age has a Political Economy of its own."⁷

This view, however, is not entertained by historical economists generally. While they all insist upon the changing character of economic conditions, they hold that it is possible to discover laws of these very changes; and, as Hildebrand has said, Political Economy is to be "a doctrine of the laws of the economic development of nations." They also claim that as these laws will be based on a comparative economic study they will be capable of universal application. This position of the historical school has been expressed by Professor Ashley in the following words:

"An increasing number—the historical school—in the strict sense of the word—hold that it is no longer worth while framing general formulas as to the relations between individuals in a given society like the old 'laws' of rent, wages, profits; and that what they must attempt to discover are the laws of social development—that is to say, generalisation as to the stages through which the economic life of society has actually moved. They believe that knowledge like this will not only give them an insight into the past,

but will enable them the better to understand the difficulties of the present."⁸

It should be observed here that among the economists who believe in the possibility of developing a science of economic evolution there is divergence of opinion as to the kind of work now to be taken up. A number of these economists led by Professor Smohller hold that economic investigations have not yet reached a stage at which a science of Political Economy is possible. They, therefore, urge that instead of frittering away their time in vain speculations, economists should for the present devote themselves exclusively to the study of economic history and to contemporary economic conditions, and when sufficient knowledge has been gained of economic events the thought of developing a science may be entertained. But this view of the present scope of economic investigations is not acceptable to the more moderate thinkers of the historical school led by Professor Wagner, who recognise the fact that without the aid of explicit theory it is hardly possible to assign to phenomena their causal connections. Economic History itself needs to be interpreted by theory. These writers, however, admit that the theories now formulated must necessarily be provisional and should be regarded as subject to correction in the light of progressive economic knowledge. The necessity of generalisations in all stages of economic investigations has been forcibly explained by Professor Marshall in the following words:†

"This (the inexact and faulty nature of economic generalisations) might be urged as a reason against making any statement at all on the subject. But to do that would be almost to abandon life. Life is human conduct and the thoughts that grow up around it. By the fundamental impulses of our nature we all—high and low, learned and unlearned—are in our several degrees constantly striving to understand the courses of human action, and to shape them for our purpose, whether selfish or unselfish, whether noble or ignoble. And since we must form to ourselves some notions of the tendencies of human action, our choice is between forming those notions carelessly and forming them carefully. The harder the task, the greater the need for steady patient inquiry; for turning to account the

* *English Economic History and Theory*, Preface.

† *Economics of Industry*, P. 24. This great Cambridge economist is unquestionably the leading exponent in the English-speaking world of the present conception of static economics which is based on a reconciliation between the deductive and the inductive methods of economic inquiry.

* Keynes—*Scope and Method of Political Economy*, P. 319.

† *Ibid.* P. 319.

experience that has been reaped by the more advanced physical sciences, and for framing as best we can well thought-out estimates, or provisional laws, of the tendencies of human action."

In concluding this paper it may be observed without fear of contradiction that the conception of Political Economy held by the moderate section of the historical school is the most rational and inspiring ideal that has yet been placed and can ever be placed before the student of economics. Although not much has yet been done to give the ideal a practical shape, there are reasons for hoping that in the future the progress of inquiry on the lines suggested by the historical thinkers will be more rapid and more satisfactory than it has been in the past. This conception of economics is in keeping with the dignity of economic study and is in conformity with its varied requirements; according to this conception the position of the study as a science is fully recognised—it is not reduced to a mere study of economic history—and its universal validity assured; and when such a study has been developed the conflict which has been going on between national and cosmopolitan political economy for over half a century will once for all disappear, for students of economics in India. This conception of the study has a special appeal. The central subject of economic inquiry in India to-day is: how to build a modern industrial system in this country on a stable and efficient basis; and for such an inquiry a dynamic economic science based on comparative study and establishing principles of economic development alone can be useful. When all this has been said

it should be frankly admitted that acceptance of this new conception of economics does not lead to a denial of the necessity and utility of static and territorial or national inquiry. For the development of a dynamic study it is necessary that we should clearly understand the characteristics of the various stages of economic development, and a static study will enable us to understand the characteristics of a given stage of this development. Further more, so far as economics is related to Psychology, a certain part of dynamic economics itself will largely consist of static generalisations. Finally it must be said that no system of economic study of a general character will be able to explain all the economic facts of a particular territorial life. Hence special territorial inquiries will always have their utility and use, specially for legislators and statesmen. But such inquiries will be purely of a descriptive character and will not justify any endeavour to develop what are called national systems of economics. From what has been said it would follow that the labours of that long line of thinkers who have worked in the realm of static economics have not been in vain, and that they will never cease to be useful to students of economics. And every serious student of the subject will fully subscribe to Roscher's prediction that "the future will accord both to Ricardo and Malthus their full meed of honour as political economists and discoverers of the first rank."

SATISH CHANDRA BASU.

* *Principles of Political Economy, Preface.*

A NEW ANECDOTE OF AURANGZIB

Promptitude in repelling foreign invasion.

FROM the news-let, "The Emperor of Persia sent by Muhammad Sadiq, the leader of the merchants, the Empress of Isfahan, Shah Abbas had left his city, and sent his advance-guard to Isfahan."

The Emperor immediately mounted his own Arab horse and issued forth. Nobody could venture to speak to him [against this course] at that time. Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Mir Jams, being exceedingly bold, submitted, "Your Majesty's advance-guard have not been sent forward yet. It is necessary to halt till they arrive [at the next stage]."

His Majesty answered, "Before I knew [of the Persian king's hostile intentions] I might have been excused [in lingering here]. But after getting the information, negligence and delay would only be causes of the decline of my fortune. What need is there of the arrival of the 'advance-tents'?" (Verses)

The man of God is not a stranger
in the east or the west ;
Whichever way he goes, the country
has not parted from Him !"

After entering the garden [outside Agra], the Emperor held a public audience and told his officers and clerks that the march would begin the next day and that he would halt [only on reaching] Lahore. The Chamberlain petitioned, "The march has been undertaken all of a sudden. It is impossible for the necessary things to reach us."

Across the sheet of the petition the Emperor wrote, "The eternal journey which no man can avoid, will have to be undertaken all of a sudden, without previous warning. What shall I do then? This

my present journey should be considered as like that [eternal voyage.] I shall march further on in the same manner in which I have arrived up to this place. Nay, it is not even necessary to mark out [the lengths of the successive] stages; I shall [daily] travel as long as I can. (Verse)

The wayfarer in the path of death is not in need of stages."

Text.—Abdus Salam Khan's 2nd Ms.

Notes.—In September 1666, Aurangzib then at Agra learnt from the reports of his spies that Shah Abbas II. wanted to enter Khurasan with a view to invading India. The Emperor at once sent his son Muazzam with Jaswant Singh towards the Panjab (4th September.) On 9th October he himself left Agra for Delhi, but made no haste to reach the north-western frontier. On 12th December, at the hunting lodge of Palam, he learnt that the Shah had died on 22nd August. (A. N. 974, 984, M. A. 56—58.) A taunting letter which the Shah sent to Aurangzib by the hand of Tarbiyat Khan, the Mughal envoy in Persia, shortly before his death is given in *Faiyasil-qawanin*, 496-499. In it he threatens to invade India.

[This anecdote will occupy a place between § 50 and § 51 in the *Anecdotes of Aurangzib* published in the *Modern Review*, from September to December, 1909.]

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A NOTE ON CO-OPERATION

[Now that the Sister Nivedita, the great soul that lighted the path of many a seeker after truth, is no more among us, the only consolation we can find is from her various writings, that have been hitherto published. Of these, her letters are in no way the least important. They are brimful of sound and practical motherly advice, and will always remain as ineffaceable footprints on the sands of time. Perhaps there is a good number of these letters the contents of which are known but to a few besides their respective addressees. It is therefore devoutly to be wished that such letters, as are not yet published, may be soon placed before the public to its great advantage. With that hope, and with an earnest entreaty that many more of the late Sister Nivedita's letters may soon appear in print, this letter of hers, which the kindness of my friend Mr. ——— of ——— has allowed to keep with me as

a memento of an inspired soul, has been surrendered to the public.—Govind Pai.]

AS to what you can read. First, for what PART of the national work do you wish to train yourself? I believe it rightly carried on, India is now entering on a period in which her motto is to be—"Mutual Aid: Self-organisation: Co-operation."

If you will look into the matter you will see that most cases of oppression and corruption—where the advantage of numbers is so uniformly on one side, as here—could be met by *Organisation*. It is more difficult to do wrong to 10,000 men who stand solid and are intelligent, than to an isolated and illiterate person. Take the case of clerks in offices, of Government servants, railway servants, ratepayers, peasants. Much could be done amongst all these classes by simple enrolment and united action. But everything depends in such cases on the organiser, who is usually the secretary. Do you care

to do such work as this? It is not merely for self-protection that the organ could be used, but for obtaining credit, tools, knowledge, co-operation and mutual aid of many kinds.

If this is the branch which you are to take up, you will find that the subject has a history and a literature of its own. Read up *Co-operation* in the Encyclopædia Britannica. Write to the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, 22 Lincoln Place, Dublin, Ireland, for their papers, and for advice and answers to definite questions. Read *Mutual Aid*, a scientific work, by Kropotkin, published by Heinemann. Study the history of Trade Unions. Study the history of Co-operation in Denmark. And study particularly the history of small countries, Norway, Sweden, the Hanseatic League, Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, etc. Make a small society for reading and discussing these subjects. Indeed do this in any case. Share your own knowledge, and co-operate in extending and deepening it. Above all, think things out, and put your thought into practice, learning from your own mistakes. Organise a single group of people for some definite aim, and see how you get on. Organise a class for, say, legal aid. That ought not to be difficult. But I think it would be a better experiment to make than organising for a charity, an enterprise which we are all accustomed to attempting and failing in. Organise for a united struggle of some kind, against something definite.

Or do you want to specialise in politics? In that case you must study the Economic History of India,—and the Congress publications, together with the books of Dutt, Digby, Naoroji, P. C. Ray and others, with the speeches of Ranade, Gokhale and so on, will be your best fare.

Or is it INDIA? In that case, work at History and do not neglect the History and Geography of other countries besides your

own. For remember, it is the national sense in the World-sense that we have to achieve. The structure of human society,—Spencer, Tylor, Clodd, Lubbock and others; the history of early empires,—Assyria, Chaldea, China, Persia, Egypt, Greece, etc.; and for INDIA,—Tilak's two books, Fergusson's Architecture, Cunningham's Ancient India and other books, M'Crindle's collections, Archaeological survey reports, etc., etc., etc. In this kind of reading, constantly reinforced by pilgrimages to the places of which you read as far as possible—you can find the materials for a history yet to be written.

Or will you serve the great cause through the Industrial Revival? In that case all that helps for co-operation should help you. And a different class of work is wanted.

Or do you care to undertake the work of getting modern knowledge written up in the vernaculars? What books have you in the Malabari tongue, in which *women* can read History? If you worked at this in that language, you would need helpers, an army of them. And then, again, you would want the courage that is born of feeling that others were carrying out the same idea in other languages.

For this, we would need the heroic devotion of thousands, of our choicest graduates the country over, each choosing his own subject, and filling up a single space in your great roll. There is nothing that so much needs doing. Nothing that would bring more illumination with it. Here is a case of co-operation. Each man would give only a few hours of leisure daily. The rest of his time he would be earning his bread. Do you see?

But there are other causes. There is physical training, for example. This is much needed. And so on and so on.

In any case read everything you can lay hands on, by Frederick Harrison. His books are expensive, but worth their weight in gold. They are published by MacMillan.

NIVEDITA OF R.-V.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

CHAPTER XIV.

AURANGZIB ADVANCES FROM THE
DECCAN, 1658.

FROM 4th October 1657, when Aurangzib retired from the war with Bijapur, to 25th January 1658, when he began his march towards Hindustan as a claimant to the throne, he passed through a most anxious and critical time. Events which he could not possibly control were moving fast, and he was bound to move also if he was not to perish. And yet the future was so dark and the danger of every possible course of action so great, that a wise decision was extremely difficult to make. His present position was daily growing more untenable, while the future was ominous. But the difficulties, great and complex, which he overcame raise to the highest pitch our admiration for his coolness, sagacity, power of managing men, and diplomatic skill. If it be urged that these do not completely account for his success and that he was also beholden to Fortune, then the impartial historian of the period must admit that Aurangzib had done every thing to deserve Fortune's help.

Whichever way Aurangzib turned he was faced with danger. The exulting Deccanis interpreted his retreat from Bidar as a confession of defeat. The Bijapuris boasted that they had rolled the tide of Mughal invasion back; their armies tried to hem the Imperialists round; and their local officers drove out isolated Mughal outposts. Even the Sultan of Golkonda seized the opportunity of the retirement of Mughal troops: he renewed his efforts to retain a hold on the Karnatak and tried to seize some villages near the frontier fort of Udgir.*

* The Bijapur historian asserts that Aurangzib escaped with his army from the Bijapur territory only by bribing the *wasir* Khan Muhammad (*Basatin-i-Saltanah*, 349.) *Adab*, 708, 1979.

Yet Aurangzib could not remain where he was. The news had got out that the Emperor had ordered peace to be made and recalled the additional troops sent to the Deccan. It was impossible for Aurangzib to punish the Bijapuris by arms, or to overawe them by a display of superior force. He could not even safely stay in their territory. A cruel fate threatened to snatch away from his grasp the fruits of his long and costly war with Bijapur, just when he was about to taste them. True, Adil Shah had agreed by solemn treaty to pay a huge indemnity and to cede the fort of Parenda and a large tract of land. But how could he be held to his promise now? Concessions wrung by force could be maintained by force alone.

Aurangzib, therefore, determined to play a game of boldness in order to realise the terms of the treaty before the Bijapuris could recover from their recent defeats or learn of the full extent of the weakness and distraction of the Imperial Government. He at first gave it out that he would stay at Bidar in readiness to punish the Bijapuris if they broke their word. Later on he announced a wish to march in person to Ahmadnagar, and actually sent his army under his son there, in order to overawe the refractory *qiladar* of Parenda, who was not yielding up his charge. In his letters to Bijapur he frequently invoked his father's authority in demanding the quick payment of the promised indemnity and threatened

war in case of default. He is forced to choose between two evils: to lose his chance for the Crown, But this policy of facing round to Bijapur and making military demonstrations in the South had its drawbacks too. The affairs of Hindustan had necessarily to be neglected. The longer Aurangzib delayed in maturing his plans for contesting the throne, proclaiming himself a claimant, and marching on

Hindustan, the greater was the time that Dara gained for recalling the chief captains from the Deccan, winning over officers and men far and near, consolidating his own power, and effectually counteracting Aurangzib's possible designs. Moreover, during this period of suspense all ambitious and selfish men were likely to go over to Dara in the belief that the timid and slow Aurangzib would never make himself Emperor.*

If, on the other hand, Aurangzib concentrated his forces, made a public claim to the throne, marched northwards and openly broke with the Imperial government by enlisting troops and forcibly detaining with himself the officers ordered back to the Court,—then he would, no doubt, check Dara in time, he would secure the adhesion of ambitious adventurers. But at the same time the helpless condition of Shah Jahan,

or to lose all the gains of the Bijapur war.

the civil war among the princes, and the temporary collapse of the Imperial authority would become

patent to Bijapur, and all hope of getting Parenda or the promised indemnity would be gone. And at the same time his other enemies in the South would raise their heads: Golkonda would recover the reluctantly ceded and eagerly coveted province of Karnatak; Shivaji would raid the Junnar and Ahmadnagar districts. In short, the fruits of the last two years' warfare in the South would be totally lost to him.

The whole history of Aurangzib's changing anxieties and hopes, plans and devices, and the variations of his policy with every fresh development during this eventful period, is clearly and fully unfolded

The policy he followed.

in his numerous confidential letters to Mir Jumla preserved in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*.† Briefly put, his first plan was to realise the terms of the Bijapur treaty as quickly as possible and then, secure about the Deccan, to embark on the struggle for the throne. The success of this plan, depended on the Bijapuris promptly keeping their promises, before the secret of Shah

Jahan's hopeless illness leaked out. The letters tell the story of how the hope of a speedy settlement with Bijapur daily grew fainter and fainter, how he tried diverse means to get the promised territory and money, how he conceded to Bijapur one by one the hard terms wrung out of it by the treaty,—till at last, in despair of getting anything from Bijapur, he gave up all thought of the South, and turned his undivided attention and resources to the pursuit of his schemes in Northern India.

Compelled to give up for the present the idea of further conquests from Bijapur, Aurangzib, on 28th September, sent Mir Jumla towards Parenda

to take delivery of the fort in terms of the treaty. Qazi Nizama, who accompanied the Mir, was soon afterwards deputed to Bijapur to realise the promised indemnity. But before the Mir's departure, Aurangzib had held long and secret consultations with him and taken his advice on every possible contingency in anticipation. Even after Mir Jumla had gone towards Parenda, Aurangzib wrote to him almost every day, and important oral messages were delivered and consultations held with him by means of confidential officers like Shaikh Mir and Abul Fath, who made repeated trips between the Prince and the Minister. Not a step was taken without first seeking Mir Jumla's advice. "I have no friend or confidant but you," as Aurangzib told him.

The Prince set out on his return from Kaliani on 4th October and reached Bidar in five days. A Mughal garrison

Aurangzib re-treats from Kaliani

under Ali Beg was left to hold Kaliani. At Bidar, according to the Emperor's last orders, Aurangzib was to halt and keep hold of the conquered territory. But untoward events rendered his stay here useless and even dangerous. High officers like Mahabat Khan and Rao Chhatra Sal had left for Delhi at the Imperial summons. Another great general, Nairi Khan, though entreated by Aurangzib to stay till he was relieved, had abandoned his post at Bir to return to his charge of Raisin in Malwa. The retreat of the army from Kaliani was taken to mean an abandonment of the new conquest.

* *Adab*, 94a.

† *Adab*, 92a—95a (Aurangzib to Mir Jumla), 107a—108a (Qabli Khan, by order of Aurangzib, to Mir Jumla), 178a (Qabli Khan to Aurangzib).

The Bijapuris grew bolder and attacked detached Mughal parties wherever they could find them. Their general Afzal Khan with a large army crossed the Binathora river and advanced to recover the Kaliani and Bidar districts. Worst of all, the Bijapuris intercepted near Naldurg Aurangzib's despatch to Mir Jumla together with the deciphered copy of a secret letter he had received from his agent at Delhi, and thus they learnt the truth about Shah Jahan's critical condition and the hostility between Dara and his brothers.* Aurangzib himself was growing more and more anxious at having got no fresh letter from Delhi for several days past. Was his father dead? If so, he must make an attempt for the throne without further loss of time.

So, he provided for the future with his usual foresight and wisdom. Bidar Fort was repaired, the ravages of the late siege restored, its artillery properly arranged, and the necessary provisions and munitions stored. A garrison of 5,500 under Mir Jafar was left here. At this time Aurangzib wrote to Murad a letter which merely said, "You have not written to me for a long time past . . . I shall soon return to Aurangabad. You must have heard the news about the Imperial Court." But his real message, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance between the two brothers against Dara, was orally entrusted to Allah Yar, the confidential messenger who carried the letter to Murad. He also wrote similar letters to Shuja in Bengal. A communication received from Delhi the 17th, after a long silence, only confirmed his suspicion that Shah Jahan had lost his control and that affairs at Court had taken a new turn. Therefore, he made up his mind, and started from Bidar on 18th October, 1657.†

and Bidar to the old Mughal territory.

Immediately there was the greatest rejoicing in the Deccani kingdoms. Here were the Mughals abandoning their late conquests as untenable. In vain did Aurangzib try to put a bold face on the matter; in vain did he write to Quth Shah: "The retreat

* Rambo, 60. *Adab*, 197a, 202a, 149b, 157b. Aqil Khan, 16. *Naldurg*, 27 miles N. E. of Sholapur (Ind. 44: 57).

* 1657, 228, 1660 and 6, 1660; Rambo, 60.

of my army was due to a wish to reassure the people of Bijapur who were frightened by its presence and had abandoned the cultivation of their lands, and also because I had got news that my Begam's illness had increased."‡ The plea was too palpably false to be believed. While his vanquished enemies were raising their heads in the South and a storm was brewing against him in the North, Aurangzib received one of the severest domestic shocks: the day after leaving Bidar† he learnt

Death of his principal wife and wife Difrās Banu. the mother of three of his sons had died at

Aurangabad on the 8th of the month.

Shah Jahan had ordered Aurangzib to stay at Bidar; but the Prince now got a plausible excuse for marching to Aurangabad, viz., to console his children newly bereaved of their mother. For some weeks after leaving Bidar he did not write any letter to the Emperor, nor give any reason for his return to Aurangabad.‡ But he corresponded frequently with Shuja and Murad, especially the latter, who was nearest to him, and thus built up an alliance against Dara. Murad's first letter, sent with a confidential servant named Muhammad Raza on 19th October, had crossed Aurangzib's letter to him (written about the 15th). And now, assured of his support, Aurangzib sent him the key to a cypher in which their future correspondence was to be conducted, as "prudence is needful, and writing in the ordinary alphabet is not proper."§

On leaving Bidar, Aurangzib's plan at first was to go to Pathri, some 120 miles north, where the road for Burhanpur and Hindustan branches off from that leading to Aurangabad.

If he heard of Shah Jahan's death on the way he would follow the former route and march into Northern India; otherwise he would set his face westwards and

* *Adab*, 71a.

† *Adab*, 198a, asserts that Aurangzib learnt the news on 19th October one march out of Bidar, but 190a states that the news reached Aurangzib's Court at Bidar in the night preceding the 18th.

‡ *Adab*, 198a and b.

§ Aurangzib to Murad (*Adab*, 160a-170a), to Shuja (*Adab*, 170a-171a). Murad to Aurangzib (*Faiyas*, 413-435).

return to Aurangabad, the seat of his viceroyalty.* But the period of uncertainty was only prolonged; no decisive information came from Delhi, and for weeks after leaving Bidar Aurangzib passed his time in the greatest anxiety and vacillation.

On 18th October he learnt from a letter of his Agent at Delhi that Shah Jahan had become helpless; on the 21st, came another letter, saying that the Emperor's illness was decreasing. A third letter, received on the 22nd, brought news of an opposite tenour: Dara had become supreme at Court and was daily strengthening his position. A secret message from the Collector of Agra, evidently professing devotion, reached Aurangzib at this time. It only confirmed his worst suspicions: the very fact of such a letter being written meant that a demise of royalty had taken place or was very imminent; "one of these two alternatives must have happened,—Shah Jahan is either dead or a helpless invalid."†

In view of these facts Aurangzib proposed to send his son Muhammad Sultan with an army to Burhanpur, to close the ferry over the Tapti river, to detain in the Deccan nobles like Nasiri Khan then returning at the Imperial summons, and also to assemble the local landholders in the Prince's service and to enlist new troops. But to do so would have been to commit himself openly; it would have been an overt act of rebellion, which he could not have explained away if Shah Jahan recovered. Aurangzib, therefore, hesitated, asked Mir Jumla's opinion, who condemned the proposal and requested that Muhammad Sultan should be sent towards Parenda instead.‡

In fact, while days and weeks wore on without the expected event taking place at Delhi, Aurangzib and Mir Jumla were wistfully looking towards Parenda. Every letter of Aurangzib to the Mir contained an urgent order "to settle the affair of Parenda as quickly as possible, in order that the most important business of all may be undertaken before it is too late." The minister still flattered himself that the fort could be secured by threat or bribe, and both these

means were employed in turn. But Aurangzib made a more correct estimate of the character of the Bijapuris and their future line of action than Mir Jumla did. He frankly wrote, "No trust in the words of the Bijapuris.... They used to lie even in the life-time of Khan Muhammad (who was in our interest). There is no hope that the affair (of peace) will be accomplished.... No good waiting in vain near the fort of Parenda."*

Mir Jumla, however, persisted in his own view. At his request Aurangzib sent him solemn written promises of high favours addressed to the *qiladar* of Parenda to induce him to give up the fort. But the attempt failed. Then Mir Jumla tried a show of force. To please him Aurangzib reluctantly sent Muhammad Sultan with a part of the army from his side at Pathri (4th Nov.) to join the Mir near Parenda. The young prince was told to place himself under Mir Jumla's orders, and "to be guided entirely by his judgment."†

Mir Jumla had hoped that the force accompanying Sultan would be exaggerated by popular report and this would cow down the Bijapuri *qiladar*. Aurangzib even made a public declaration that he was himself going to Ahmadnagar to coerce the Bijapuris, and ordered the palace there to be got ready for his use.‡ But all these tricks failed. The news of Shah Jahan's illness became public. The Bijapuris shrewdly guessed the situation. They knew that Aurangzib, with his depleted force and distraction about the succession, was not prepared to renew the war with them, and so they delayed yielding their forts and paying the promised indemnity. Mir Jumla, still hoping against hope, lingered near Parenda, trusting that his envoy at the Bijapur Court would influence the sultan and his Ministers and secure the peaceful surrender of Parenda. Though every moment was precious for "the most important business of all" and Aurangzib was impatient to get Mir Jumla back at his side to make the necessary preparations for war with Dara, yet he permitted the Mir to

* *Adab*, 198a.

† *Adab*, 199a-200b, 169b.

‡ *Adab*, 200a, 201b.

* *Adab*, 200b, 93a and b.

† *Adab*, 201b, 203a and b.

‡ *Adab*, 71a, 150b.

continue in that quarter with M. Sultan for weeks longer if by so doing he expected to get Parenda. About 6th December Sultan was recalled to his father's side and Prince Muazzam was sent in his place to Mir Jumla's camp near Bir.*

But the hope of getting Parenda and the war-indemnity grew fainter and fainter, and, as the complexion of affairs at Delhi grew more and more ominous, Aurangzib relaxed and finally abandoned all his claims on Bijapur and tried to make friends with Adil Shah in a fashion amusing to those who know not the crooked ways of diplomacy. As early as the end of October he had instructed Mir Jumla to terminate the affair of Bijapur by giving up all claims to Parenda and tribute, and remaining content with Adil Shah's promises and oaths to maintain peace on the withdrawal of the Mughal army. But evidently Mir Jumla still hoped to get the cessions and he did not then adopt the policy here recommended. He spent three

After 3 months Mir Jumla returns without success to Aurangabad.

months in the Bir district, within easy reach of Parenda, in the vain hope of inducing the Bijapuris to keep their promises. At last even he was undeceived; he confessed that there was no good in staying there any longer. His return to Aurangabad was hastened by a peremptory order of recall received from Shah Jahan about 22nd December. Leaving Bir about the 27th of the month, he reached Aurangabad about the 1st of January, 1658.†

Aurangzib had arrived at Aurangabad on 11th November, 1657, and set himself to the task of preparing the way for his own succession to the throne. He had one eye turned on Mir Jumla at Bir and another on Shah Jahan at Agra. The idea of his marching to Ahmadnagar to overawe the Bijapuri officers was definitely abandoned. On 18th October he had taken a very necessary precaution by sending a force under Malik Husain to Handia to seize all the ferries of the Narmada and prevent correspondence between Dara and

the Mughal officers in the Deccan. He also wrote friendly letters to the Gond Rajahs of Deogarh and Chanda, through whose territories his road to Agra lay. A few men in his camp who had tried to send news to Agra were punished and carefully watched, and a secret courier was expelled. At the same time he urged his friends to collect news. "We should

forms an alliance with Murad and Shuja.

be on the watch to get news from all sides." His

alliance with Murad was made strong and its terms clearly defined. Letters were frequently sent to Shuja, both by way of Agra—which route was unsafe, being in his enemy's hands,—and also through Orissa. But distance forbade any useful league or concerted action between the two brothers. So, they were content to vow mutual friendship and a common hostility to Dara.*

But what line of action was Aurangzib to adopt now? His followers were looking up to him to declare his policy. A prompt decision was required from him; but a decision at this stage was most difficult to make, and beset with dangers. The news from the Imperial Court was

Conflicting news from Delhi.

conflicting. The first intimation of Shah Jahan's illness was followed by a

long silence; from about 8th October to the 18th he received no tidings of his father's condition. Then (on 18th October) he learnt from his agent at Delhi that Shah Jahan had lost all control and that the state of affairs at the capital had taken a new character. Three days afterwards came a letter (written on the 5th) saying that Shah Jahan's illness was decreasing and that he was conducting business without difficulty. The next day brought another letter (dated the 10th) from his agent at Court which stated that Dara had virtually usurped the government and was doing everything at his own will,—changing officers, taking away jagirs, and collecting men and money, though the orders were issued in Shah Jahan's name. Other communications from Agra only increased his distraction and uncertainty about Shah Jahan's real condition.

* *Adab*, 935-944, 946.

† *Adab*, 2025, 946.

* *Adab*, 932, 2015, 1702, 2032.

His followers were equally distracted.

Aurangzib's dis- As he wrote to Mir Jumla, traction: "The army of this province, after a year's hard campaigning, has lost heart on hearing of the Emperor's illness, and has been unsettled in various ways. They are in greater trouble than can be described. Many (of my) officers want to return to the Emperor."* How harassing Aurangzib's anxieties were and how open to objection every possible line of action before him was, will be seen from the following letter which he wrote to Mir Jumla in cypher:

"The desires of my well-wishers can be realised only when the occurrence of Shah Jahan's death is verified, and the news of it arrives. Otherwise, what probability is there that in the Emperor's lifetime and before the divulgence of the heart's secret desire of my other comrades (allies) such a work will be undertaken, and the project of advancing and crossing the (frontier) river carried out? But I gather from my Court agent's letter that it is impossible for the Emperor to recover from this disease; he has not strength enough left to pull him back to life. Most probably the affair has (already) become past remedy.

If in such circumstances I delay in equipping my army and publishing my claim (to the throne), in what hope will men consent to keep my company? If the officers here, seeing my negligence and indifference, return to the Court, and Dara becomes aware of my condition, it will be impossible for me to attract other worldlings and seekers of rank. So, I have determined on this:—if we can quickly conclude the affair of Bijapur, it will be good, because then I can reach Burhanpur before the screen is withdrawn. Shaista Khan recalled to Court, somebody else appointed in his place (as Governor of Malwa), and Dara wins over the zamindars (of that province) and seizes the forts of Raisin, Mandu, &c. The fort of Raisin, which is under Nasiri Khan, can be got (by us) now without effort, and the army of this province can be led by hope to accompany me, and fresh troops may be carefully enlisted.

But if the Bijapur affair is delayed, and my scattered forces cannot be concentrated, and, in the meantime, the true news (of Shah Jahan's death) arrives, the time for most of the above works will have already slipped away. That is the reason why I have been hurrying you."*

When, in the 4th week of December, Mir Jumla received a strict order of recall from Shah Jahan, Aurangzib's depression reached its lowest point. He wrote to his confidant: "Friend, God assist you! What shall I write about my own troubled

state or describe how the days pass over me? I have no remedy save patience."*

Murad, too, was urging him in letter after letter, to be immediately up and doing and not to give Dara further time to strengthen his own position and cripple his brothers' power beyond repair. But Aurangzib refused to raise the banner of rebellion before knowing for certain that Shah Jahan was dead. His own army was small, and he was making desperate efforts to collect the sinews of war by securing the payment of at least one portion of the Bijapur indemnity. Possibly also, he waited to let Dara show his hand and divide his strength by attacking one of the brothers first.†

But the quick march of events forced Aurangzib's hand. He learnt by 24th November that Dara had decided to send an Imperial army against Shuja who was advancing from Bengal. Shah Jahan's policy (he inferred) was clearly this: 'So long as a few days of his life remain and out of regard for him no unfilial movement is undertaken from any quarter, he will make such arrangements that after (his death) no injury may be done by any (of the other three princes) to Dara.'‡

Dara's plan with regard to the South was now fully unfolded. He wanted to weaken each of his two brothers there and set one against the other. For this he made the helpless Shah Jahan transfer Berar from Aurangzib to Murad and remove the latter from the viceroyalty of Guzerat. But Murad had discussed with Aurangzib and prepared himself beforehand for such a contingency; he refused either to take Berar or to give up Guzerat.§ Dara then sent two Imperial armies under Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan, the governors-designate of Malwa and Guzerat, to bar the path of Aurangzib and expel Murad from Guzerat. These two forces left Agra on 18th and 26th December. Murad's jagirs in Malwa were taken away, and Shaista Khan removed from that province as friendly to Aurangzib. In December

* *Adab*, 936.

† *Adab*, 944.

* *Adab*, 934.

† *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, § 5. *Adab*, 903.

‡ *Adab*, 903.

§ *Fayaz*, 413-414.

Murad crowned himself and took Surat Fort by force; and such overt rebellion could not be left unpunished by the Imperial government. Lastly, Mir Jumla received a formal Imperial letter of recall which it would have been flat rebellion to disregard. Similar letters reached Aurangzib's officers.*

The time for action had at last arrived. Further inactivity under these circumstances was impossible if Aurangzib hoped ever to be king or even to live in freedom. His mind was made up. He sent a most flattering letter to Mir Jumla, highly extolling his wisdom, thanking him for his entire devotion to his interests, and placing him above all his other followers.

"I know you are faithful to your word. Your intention in going to Hindustan was and is no other than to increase my power and grandeur and to make me succeed in my heart's desire.

Aurangzib invites Mir Jumla to his side to help in preparing for war. You have often said within my hearing, 'I wish for life only that I may see the master of mankind (= Aurangzib) on the throne; and in realising this aim I value not my life or property.' Now is the

time to display your devotion. I do not need others in making the necessary equipment for this business, while you are alive. I care not for those (officers) who have been estranged from me by reason of my partiality to you. Come to me, so that with your advice I may engage in preparations for the work of gaining the crown."†

Mir Jumla returned to Aurangabad about 1st January, 1658, avowing that he was going to Agra to wait on the Emperor. But a plot had been already contrived between him and Aurangzib, and a little play was acted to save the Mir's family at the capital from Dara's vengeance. Mir Jumla feigned fear of Aurangzib's intentions and refused to see him, saying, "As I have been ordered by the Emperor to go to him, I have no choice but to obey." Aurangzib sent him a friendly message through his son,

He arrests Mir Jumla by collusion, on a false charge of treason.

Muhammad Sultan, "to drive all suspicion out of his mind" and to persuade him to visit the Prince in order to receive an important oral message for the Emperor. As soon as Mir Jumla entered the chamber of

Aurangzib, he was arrested at a preconcerted signal,* and all his property and artillery seized by Aurangzib in the name of the State. But the mask had not yet been thrown off, and so Aurangzib gave an ostensible reason for this act: he publicly announced that Mir Jumla was thus punished because he had not sufficiently exerted himself against Bijapur and was in secret collusion with the two Deccan sultans! But his real motive comes out in the letter which he wrote to the Mir after defeating Dara, when he set him free and said, "You insisted on going back to the Court at an inconvenient time in spite of my urging you to the contrary."† The captive *wazir* was lodged in the prison-fort of Daulatabad, to be released, restored to his property, and promoted to the highest rank of the nobility with the honoured titles of Premier Peer (*khan-i-Khanan*) and Faithful Friend (*Yar-i-wafadar*), as soon as Aurangzib made himself Emperor.‡

Even at this stage Aurangzib was not prepared to break openly with the Imperial Court by taking an irrevocable step. He urged Murad to abate his ardour and practise subterfuge. For himself he announced that his loving heart had been distracted by hearing sad rumours about Shah Jahan, and that like a dutiful son he was going to Agra to see his father in his illness, release him from Dara's control, and thereby save the empire from alarm, confusion and tumult. As his pious journey to his father was likely to be resisted by Dara's creatures, he was taking his army with himself; but his mission was entirely pacific. So he wrote to Shah Jahan's new *wazir* Jafar Khan.§

In the meantime, from the beginning of January he had pushed his military prepara-

* Kambu, 10b. Aqil Khan 20. *Alamgirnamah* 83 and 84.

† Aqil Khan, 20. *Adab*, 67b 95a (Aurangzib writes, "That I imprisoned you was not due to any disloyalty on your part. Only you showed remissness in exertion and insisted on going back, &c."). Khafi Khan writes "Aurangzib imprisoned Mir Jumla at Daulatabad as a stroke of policy to prevent his ill repute." (ii. 9). The official history, *Alamgirnamah*, also admits that Mir Jumla was arrested "for political reasons" (84).

‡ *Adab*, 96a. *Alamgirnamah*, 191, 563.

§ *Alamgirnamah*, 41. Masum 44. Kambu 11c. *Adab*, 123 a. (after the battle of Dharmat). *Fayyaz* 466-467 (Murad to Jafar Khan).

* *Adab*, 91b, 202b. Kambu, 10a.

† *Adab*, 205b. (a report of Aurangzib's words that Qasbi Khan wrote to Mir Jumla).

tions most vigorously on. First, he wanted to settle the problems of the Deccan and secure the sinews of war. Letters were written to Qutb Shah pressing him to pay up the balance of his indemnity. Since his return from Haidarabad Aurangzib's tone towards the Golkonda king had been harsh and chiding. He was particularly displeased at Abdullah having intrigued with Dara and poisoned the Emperor's ears against him. He frequently duns him for the arrears of tribute and the balance of the promised indemnity, urges him to banish from his mind the vain dream of keeping hold of the Karnatak, and warns him to withdraw from that province his officers (especially Abdul Jabbar), who were obstructing Mir Jumla's agents there. Further the Golkonda king is commanded to restore the relays of postmen established by Mir Jumla from Mughal Deccan to the Karnatak across the Golkonda territory. When Qutb Shah prayed for the remission of a part of his indemnity, Aurangzib tauntingly replied, "What can I do? You better intercede with Jahanara and Dara, and through their mediation submit a petition to the Emperor." And again, "You do not keep your promises but are listening to wicked and ruinous advice. I cannot save you!"*

During the invasion of Bijapur Qutb Shah is asked to send a contingent of auxiliaries. "You have kept 12,000 horsemen in spite of your (pretended) poverty. Send me 5,000 of them quickly, as you promised. Do not delay in providing the arrears of tribute. Recall your men from Mir Jumla's estates in the Karnatak." A harsh and rude officer, Mir Ahmad Said, was sent as Mughal envoy to Golkonda to hustle the defaulting king and exact the arrears of tribute. When Aurangzib retreated from Bidar, he thus rebuked Qutb Shah: "I learn that on hearing of the march of the Imperial army from Bidar and the circulation of some false rumours (about Shah Jahan's death) among the vulgar, you have changed your attitude of fidelity, and your silly ministers have given you improper counsels—so that you are making delay in sending escort and despatching the collected

arrears of tribute; you are treating to a fox-like policy and are passing your time idly under a false hope.... Relying on false news, you have ceased to keep your former promises!"†

But soon afterwards his own needs forced Aurangzib to assume a gentler tone. First, he instructed Mir Ahmad not to pain the king's mind in realising the tribute due. Later on, the objectionable envoy was recalled and one more acceptable to the king was sent in his place, with instructions to behave gently to him. When his vanguard was being sent to Burhanpur, Aurangzib urged Qutb Shah thus: "Now is the time for you to show your friendship and exert yourself that nothing unfriendly may be done." A little later, when Aurangzib himself marched northwards to contest the throne, he sent a most conciliatory letter to Qutb Shah, urging him to guard the frontiers of Mughal Karnatak from mischievous persons and not to encroach on the Imperial territory.‡

Aurangzib also sent friendly epistles and presents to the Queen Mother of Bijapur, urging her to expedite the payment of the indemnity, and also despatched a secret oral message to her. Just before marching to Burhanpur he wrote again to her: "I hope the Deccani Sultans will remain quiet (during my absence) and you will keep your promise (about sending the indemnity money), so that I shall reward you when I have become Emperor."†

We have seen how as early as October Aurangzib had proposed to Mir Jumla a friendly settlement with Bijapur by abandoning all claims to the territory and indemnity promised by that State in the recent treaty.§ This policy, held in reserve at that time, was now put in practice. Adil Shah was informed by the Prince, "At Mir Jumla's wicked advice I had attacked your kingdom as well as Golkonda. Guard your people well. Let there be peace and happiness. Remain

* Adab, 694, 704—710.

† Adab, 644, 712, 674 and 6, 724.

‡ Adab, 526—536.

§ Adab, 504 and 4.

* Adab, 594—636, 694—704 (Aurangzib to Qutb Shah).

loyal and keep your promises.... I agree that

(1) the fort of Parenda and its dependent territory, the Konkan, and the *mahal* of Wangi, which had been annexed to the empire,

together with that portion of the Karnatak which had been granted to the late Adil Shah,—should be left to you as before, and (2) out of your promised indemnity of one crore of rupees, thirty lakhs are remitted.

Protect this country; improve its administration. Expel Shiva who has sneaked into possession of some forts of the land. If you wish to entertain his services, give him *jagirs* in the Karnatak, far from the Imperial dominions, so that he may not disturb them. Send the reduced indemnity. Be loyal, and you will be amply rewarded.—I am going to Hindustan with my army. Now is the time to show your loyalty and friendliness. The late Adil Shah had promised to send a contingent to me, should an occasion for it arise. Do you send me at least 10,000 cavalry. I shall grant you the territory up to the bank of the Banganga. I promise not to accept the offer of Shahji or of the sons of Bahlol and other officers of yours to enter my service. So long as you remain faithful, no officer of this Court will molest your dominion. Should any one come from Hindustan to invade your country, I shall defend it.”*

The concessions here made were ample beyond Adil Shah's fondest dreams, and he knew that they would be withdrawn as soon as Aurangzib's need was over. Indeed the above offer contained conditions liable to great latitude of interpretation; and afterwards, in his hour of victory over his rivals, Aurangzib seized this loophole to repudiate his promises and to demand more than all that Bijapur had agreed to yield† by the treaty of August, 1657.

But some money realised from the Deccan sultans now fell into Aurangzib's hands and helped to equip him for the arduous struggle for the throne.‡ Mir

* *Adab*, 1628-1636.

† *Adab*, 1678.

‡ The public money in the Deccan just before the invasion of Bijapur was 64 lakhs of rupees,—viz., Reserves of 20 lakhs at Daulatabad and Asir, and of 30 lakhs in the other public treasuries, Golkonda indemnity of 2 lakhs of *das* (=10 lakhs of rupees).

Jumla's wealth and excellent park of artillery, served by European gunners, were of inestimable use to Aurangzib, who had attached them early in January. These “supplied the much-needed means of Aurangzib's progress towards his object, at this critical time,” as the historian Aqil Khan Razi points out.

All this time Aurangzib was intriguing actively but in secret with the courtiers at the capital and the high officers in the provinces (especially Malwa). Some anecdotes have come down to

Aurangzib intrigues with the nobles at Court and the generals.

us which prove that Aurangzib was regarded by the ministers, and even by Shah

Jahan himself, as the ablest of the princes. I find it impossible to reject them entirely as prophecies made after the event. Of all the four sons of Shah Jahan he had the best reputation for capacity and experience; the known record of his actual performances was most varied and distinguished. Evidently all self-seeking nobles and officers recognised him as the coming man, and hastened to secure their future by doing him friendly turns or at least by sending him secret assurances of their support. As Dara reported to Shah Jahan, “Aurangzib is winning over the nobles and the pillars of the State. He is doing his work by means of secret epistles.”*

The enlisting of new soldiers had been going on apace. A bounty of one month's pay was advanced to all recruits.

Muhammad Beg in Khandesh was ordered to select and engage as many Bundela infantry and Buxari artillerymen of reputation as he could get. Two officers were sent to bring 2,000 maunds of saltpetre from Balapur and to buy sulphur

realised by Ahmad Said about Dec. 1656 (*Adab*, 1656, Waris, 1216). Bijapur present of four lakhs of rupees in cash and kind brought to Aurangabad by Abul Hasan, in the 3rd quarter of 1656 (*Adab*, 1918). From this total must be deducted the cost of the war with Bijapur and bribes to Bijapuri deserters, against which the 12 lakhs worth of booty taken at Bidar was a partial set off. What wealth, if any, Aurangzib and Muhammad Sultan secretly took from Quth Shah we know not; but popular report greatly magnified it.

* *Ruzat-i-Ahmeri*, Nos. 54 and 5, India office Pers. MS. 370.1. 81a. Kambu, 86, 100. Aqil Khan, 25.

and arsenic at Surat and convey these materials to Burhanpur for manufacturing gunpowder. Lead for making shot in sufficient quantity was stored at Burhanpur and Handia. A quantity of gunpowder and fuses, evidently taken from the Deccan forts, accompanied the Vanguard led by Muhammad Sultan. A thousand soldiers were enlisted by Sultan Beg in the *sarkar* of Bijaygarh. Many Maratha chiefs also joined Aurangzib with their contingents. In this way his army was swollen to 30,000 picked troopers, besides Mir Jumla's excellent train of cannon served by English and French gunners.*

Aurangzib was even stronger in officers than in men and material. During his rule of Deccan he had gathered round himself a band of very able servants, all attached to him by gratitude and some by personal affection. They did him signal service during the contest for the throne, often giving up their lives in stemming the enemy's onset in the hard fights of the War of Succession. Those who survived naturally rose to the highest offices, and were at once the pillars of his throne and ornaments of his Court during the early years of his reign. Such were Murshid Quli Khan the *diwan*, Shaikh Mir the warrior and confidential adviser, Aqil Khan Razi the equery and personal attendant, Qabil Khan the facile and trusty secretary, Khan-i-Zaman the energetic Inspector of Ordnance, Muhammad Tahir, a veteran captain raised to the peerage as Wazir Khan, the faithful envoy Isa Beg (created Mukhlis Khan), the high-born and experienced Shamsuddin Mukhtar Khan, and above all that jewel of a servant Mir Jumla, great in war, greater still in counsel. Of the Imperial officers who had served in the Deccan, besides Multafat Khan, his able son Hushdar Khan, Najabat Khan, Qazi Nizam and some others, Aurangzib secured the adhesion of Nasiri Khan, recently transferred from the Deccan to Malwa. Lastly, he released from prison and took with himself Rajah Indradyumna of Dhamdhara, a valiant Rajput of Malwa. Two other of the most devoted Hindu

followers of Aurangzib were Rao Karan the Rajah of Bikanir and Subh-Karan the Bundela chieftain of Datia and father of the more renowned general Dalpat Rao.

Before leaving the Deccan he took steps to maintain his hold on the country during his absence. Shah Beg Khan was recalled from the Karnatak with his detachment, and ordered to guard the province. Prince Muazzam was left at Aurangabad with two high officers and a strong force to carry on the government and to prevent the public peace from being broken by Shivaji. Aurangzib did not lose his fear lest that "son of a dog," as he called the youthful Maratha leader, should seize the opportunity of his absence. His new-born son Muhammad Akbar was left in fort Daulatabad with his harem, but two other sons, Muhammad Sultan and Muhammad Azam, accompanied him to the war. Some forts were also repaired and a wall of defence built round the suburb of Karan-pura, as the absence of the main army in Northern India might tempt spoilers. The officers were ordered to engage houses at Aurangabad and Burhanpur and leave their families there. Money was given to them in aid of these necessary arrangements.*

On hearing of Murad Bakhsh's coronation and Mir Jumla's arrest, Shah Jahan sent letters of reprimand to his two sons, ordering them to return to the path of obedience and duty. But they pretended to see only Dara's hand in these Imperial letters, and insisted on going to the capital to pay their respects to the Emperor in person. At last, his preparations being well advanced, Aurangzib considered further delay useless, especially as Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan on reaching Malwa were sure to strengthen Dara's interests there and organise the local zamindars to bar the road from the South. So, after giving to Murad the impatiently-expected notice to start, he sent his eldest son with the Van towards Burhanpur (25 January, 1658), and himself left Aurangabad with the rest of his army eleven days afterwards (5 Feb.). He now began

He openly marches northwards to contest the throne.

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* *Adab*, 93b, 168b-169a; Isar-das (16a) and Aqil Khan (15) both estimate Aurangzib's army at 30,000 strong. Also Kambo, 118. A. N. 42.

† *Adab*, 99, M. U. ii, 205.

* *Adab* 201a, 168b, 92a, 123a; A. N. 43-46; *Dilhaska*, 18-21.

to exercise royal prerogatives, bestowing titles, posts, and promotions of *mansab* (rank). Muazzam was created Viceroy of the Deccan and Wazir Khan that of Khandesh.*

Burhanpur was reached on 18th February, and here the organisation of the army and the preparations for the March were completed. A month's

At Burhanpur he halts one month.

halt was made in this town. Aurangzib had written a letter to Shah Jahan inquiring about his health and hoping that the Emperor would soon completely recover, look after the administration himself, and put an end to Dara's usurpation of the supreme authority. But day by day only alarming news of the Court reached him. His agent Isa Beg, too, arrived from Agra and fully unfolded the state of affairs there, saying how after his illness Shah Jahan doted on Dara to an extreme and that Prince had made himself Emperor in all but the name. Isa Beg was the bearer of secret messages from many nobles, professing devotion to Aurangzib and asking him to push on to the capital, without fearing the largeness of the Imperial army, as it was at heart hostile to Dara.

Encouraged by these promises of support and unwilling to let Jaswant Singh have more time to consolidate his power in Malwa or close the northern road effectually, Aurangzib set out from Burhanpur on 20th March. From Mandwah he sent his

eldest son back to arrest and imprison Shah Nawaz Khan, and imprison Shah Nawaz Khan, who was unwilling to accompany Aurangzib in his open rebellion, and had lingered behind at Burhanpur under false pretexts. This high officer, though he was the father-in-law of Aurangzib and descended from the royal blood of Persia, had to sacrifice liberty to loyalty,

* A. N. 42—46, Aqil Khan, 24—26, Kambu, 10b, Masum, 42b—45a.

(26 March). By Aurangzib's order, he was kept a prisoner in the fort of Burhanpur for seven months.*

At Mandwah there is a parting of the roads to Hindustan. One path running north-eastwards crosses the Narmada, crosses the Narmada at Handia. But Aurangzib took the other route, turned to the north-west, and in seven marches reached Akbarpur on the bank of the Narmada, the stream that has divided Southern India from Northern since time immemorial. Here he forded the river without the least opposition (3rd April) and then marched due north towards Ujjain, through the pass overlooked by the hill-fort of Mandu.

On 13th April he reached the environs of Dipalpur and learnt that Murad had arrived some miles west of him. A messenger was sent to invite the younger Prince to join him without delay. Next day, both the armies began and joins their march, and on the Murad. way, near the lake of Dipalpur, the brothers met together; their armies were united; and with redoubled strength and confidence they pushed on towards Ujjain to encounter Jaswant, who was only one day's march in front. In the evening Aurangzib encamped at the village of Dharmat, on the western bank of the Gambhira (an affluent of the Chambal), and decided to fight the enemy next day.†

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* A. N. 46—53, 209, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib* § 6, Kambu, 10b, Aqil Khan, 23—24. *Mandwa* is a station on the G. I. P., Railway, 19 miles N. N. E. of Burhanpur, (*Ind. Atlas*, Sheet 54).

* *Akbarpur*, 22° 9' N. 75° 32' E. on the Narmada, 13 miles west of Mandlesar (*Ind. At. Sh.* 37 N. E.) The hill-fort of *Mandu* is 14 miles north of Akbarpur. *Dipalpur*, 22° 50' N. 75° 36' E. (Sh. 36 S. E.) *Dharmat*, 23° N. 75° 43' E. is 12 miles north of Dipalpur, 2 miles S. W. of the Fatehabad Railway Station, and 14 miles S. S. W. of Ujjain. (Sh. 36 N. E.) A. N. 53—56, Aqil Khan, 26, Isar-das, 17.

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN COTTON INDUSTRY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By PROF. P. G. SHAH, M.A., B.SC., M.S.C.I., FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, LAHORE.

EARLY HISTORY.

INDIA has been regarded as the seat of origin of the cotton manufactures: the cultivation of cotton and its spinning and weaving having been the national industry of the natives of India from time immemorial. In the Rig-Veda we read of a "woman weaving a garment" (ii, 38-4), of "female weavers" (ii, 3-6), of the warp and the woof (vi, 9-1), etc., and of carpets fringed with gold, of cotton and woollen clothes, and of the colours used in dyeing cloth.* The Mahabharata, Ramayana, and the Puranas, not to mention the later Sanskrit writings, are full of references to the cotton goods; during the Buddhistic period the export of Indian cotton fabrics was of world-wide importance. Herodotus (445 B.C.) wrote that cotton was the customary wear of the Indians: "they possess likewise a plant which instead of fruit, produces wool of a finer and better quality than that of sheep: of this the Indians make their clothes." (Herodotus Bk. iii, 106.) Arrian† also wrote, "the Indians wore linen (?) garments, the substance whereof they were made, growing upon trees: and it is indeed flax, or rather something much whiter and finer than flax. They wear shirts of the same which reach down to the middle of their legs, and veils which cover their head and a great part of their shoulders." "The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" (A. D. 63) mentions that the Arabs and Greeks carried on a trade with the Indian seaports, Patala, Ariake, Barygaza (the modern Broach), and Masalia (the modern Masulipatam) in calicoes and the superior muslins of Bengal, called by the Greeks, "Gangritiki." The

Romans also used Indian cotton clothes; these are mentioned in the list of goods charged with duties in Justinian's (A. D. 552) Digest of the Laws. Marco Polo (13th century) mentions the Coast of Coromandel, and especially Masulipatam, as producing "the finest and most beautiful cottons that are found in any part of the world." Tavernier (17th century) mentions the "white calicuts woven in several places in Bengal and Mogulistan;some of these are so fine you can hardly feel them in your hand, and the thread, when spun, is scarce discernible;there is made at Seconge a sort of calicut so fine that when a man puts it on, his skin shall appear as plainly through it, as if he was quite naked."

EARLY PART OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

India could produce large quantities of such cheap and elegant cotton fabrics coveted by merchants of various nations till the beginning of the 19th century. Though there were no powerlooms or big factories, the Indian weaver could produce very fine cloth with his antiquated loom arranged in his own house or often in the open air. The conditions through which the industry passed or the way in which the hand-loom weaving was conducted during the century can be best judged from the information given by various writers during the period.

The industry is described by Dr. Francis Buchanan, a medical officer of the East India Company, who was officially deputed in 1800 to travel in Southern India, and in 1807 in Northern India to make economic inquiries into the economic condition of the people. Writing of the district of Dinajpore in Bengal, he shows that the spinning and weaving of cotton prevailed throughout these provinces. The fine yarns are spun with an iron spindle, and without distaff, generally by women of

* R. Ghose, "History of Hindu Civilisation as Illustrated in the Vedas."

† Arrian's "History of India" translated by Rooke, London 1815, p. 213.

ank; the women do not employ all their time at this work, but only so much as is allowed by their domestic occupations. The coarse yarns are spun on "a small miserable wheel turned by the hand." The hand-mill is used to free the cotton from its seeds, and the bow to tease it. "The following capital is required for the weaver's business; a loom 2½ rupees; sticks for warping and a wheel for winding 2 annas; a shop, 4 rupees; thread for two ready-made pieces, worth 6 rupees each, 5 rupees,—total 11 rupees 10 annas, to which must be added a month's subsistence. The man and his wife warp, wind, and weave two pieces of this kind in a month, and he has seven rupees profit, deducting, however, the tear and wear of his apparatus which is a trifle. A person hired to weave can in a month make three pieces of this kind, and is allowed 2 annas in the rupee of their value which is 2½ rupees (4s. 6d) per month. The finest goods cost 2 rupees a piece for weaving."

Orme writes in his "Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire," p. 409, that "on the Coast of Coromandel and in the province of Bengal, when at some distance from the high road or a principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman and child is not employed in making a piece of cloth. At present, much the greatest part of the whole provinces are employed in this single manufacture."—"the progress of this manufacture includes no less than a description of the lives of half the inhabitants of Indostan." The extent to which the industry was practised is easily explained by the fact that the raw produce was abundant and that by centuries of continual practice the Art was perfected and suited to the temperament of the people. Thus, "the women spin the thread destined for the cloth, and then give it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquisitely as those who have prepared it. The rigid clumsy fingers of a European would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvas with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric (muslin). It is further remarkable that every distinct kind of cloth is the production of a particular district in which the fabric has been transmitted perhaps for centuries from father to son,—a custom

which must have conduced to the perfection of manufacture." (*Ibid.* p. 413).

Mill explains the unequalled manual skill of the Indian weaver, thus:—"It is a sedentary occupation, and thus in harmony with his predominant inclination. It requires patience of which he has an inexhaustible fund. It requires little bodily exertion, of which he is always exceedingly sparing; and the finer the production, the more slender the force which he is called upon to apply. But this is not all. The weak and delicate frame of the Hindu is accompanied with an acuteness of external sense, particularly of touch, which is altogether unrivalled: and the flexibility of his fingers is equally remarkable. The hand of the Hindu therefore constitutes an organ adapted to the finest operations of the loom, in a degree which is almost or altogether peculiar to himself."

Baines, in his "History of Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain," p. 75, is also of similar opinion: "It is then a physical organisation in the natives, admirably suited to the processes of spinning and weaving; to the possession of the raw material in the greatest abundance; to the possession also of the most brilliant dyes for staining and printing the cloth; to a climate which renders the colours lively and durable; and to the hereditary practice by particular castes, classes, and families, both of the manual operations and chemical processes required in the manufacture;—it is to these causes, with very little aid from science, and in an almost barbarous state of the mechanical arts, that India owes her long supremacy in the manufacture of cotton."

The superiority of the Indian manufactures was thought by some to be due to the very simplicity and crudeness of the process. "The price which Indian cotton bears is inferior to that commanded by the cotton of America. Yet the cotton of the East is capable of producing fabrics of unequalled strength and durability. This circumstance may not be attributable entirely to the quality of the material, but in some degree also to the simplicity of the mode of manufacture. . . . The circumstances under which the cotton goods of India are fabricated, doubtless have some effect in promoting durability. The thread is spun

by hand—the weaving is performed by a hand-loom, and the process of bleaching is effected by steam and exposure to the sun. The injuries inflicted upon the fibre by the use of machinery in the first two operations, and of mineral acids in the third, are thus avoided; the cloth is not subjected to the process of singeing, and there is throughout no sacrifice of strength to either beauty or economy.*

Various writers on India at this period are full of admiration for Indian manufactures and their superiority. "India produces, on the one hand, a great mass of coarse fabrics, and, on the other, a small quantity that is exquisitely fine to meet the requirements of the poor population and the few rich, respectively. The delicate and the flexible form of the Hindu, the pliancy of his fingers, and exquisite sense with which they are endowed, even his quiet indefatigable perseverance, all render him peculiarly fitted for this description of employment. The Muslins of Dacca in fineness, the calicoes and other piece-goods of Coromandel in brilliant and durable colours, have never been surpassed. Yet they are produced without capital, machinery, division of labour, or any of those means which give such facilities to the manufacturing interest of Europe.†

INDIA: THE MOTHER OF COTTON INDUSTRY.

The influence of India on the Cotton Industry of the different parts of the world is thus described by an English writer‡:—"Our own condition, at a period very recent, would but ill-compare with the then inhabitants of India; our moral condition with the advantages of climate was absolutely below the latter, and the position of the manufacturing art in India, surpassed even that of our woollen manufacture; and to this day, with all our appliances we cannot surpass in fineness the muslins of the East. When our people were in primeval darkness, the East was in comparative light.....India, too, is the source whence we received indirectly our ideas of trade; it was the manufac-

tures of that country as of China, that inspired the minds of our forefathers with the wish for luxuries according to the received notions of the times. The period in which the manufacture was carried on in India, formed, comparatively speaking, the dawning of our day; the sun was then travelling from another and past era in the world's commerce. The Indian Manufacture was the forecast of that light, which, intensifying on its road hither, gained the needful warmth to dispel the early misty morn and develop the embryo state; and strengthened by the energy of the European it has given rise to a new era of commercial splendour never before witnessed."

TREATMENT OF INDIAN GOODS IN EUROPE.

It is difficult for Indians at present to get a proper idea of the excellence of Indian cotton goods a few centuries ago. It might give some idea of their superiority and cheapness, if it be mentioned that they were a source of terror to all the manufacturing nations of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries and were generally prohibited by legislation. Owing to the beauty and cheapness of Indian muslins, chintzes, and calicoes, there was a period when the manufacturers of all the countries of Europe were apprehensive of being ruined by their competition. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch, and English East India Companies imported these goods in large quantities; they became highly fashionable for ladies' and children's dresses, as well as for drapery and furniture, and the coarse calicoes were used to line garments. To such an extent did this proceed that, as early as 1678, a loud outcry was made in England against the admission of Indian goods, which, it was maintained, were "ruining our ancient woollen manufactures." This resulted in high duties on the imports of Indian goods and, finally, in prohibition by a series of Acts. The first prohibitive Acts were the Acts 11 & 12 of William III, cap. 10 (1700) which forbade the introduction of Indian silks and printed calicoes for domestic use, either as apparel or furniture, under a penalty of £200 on the wearer or seller. But this Act was insufficient to prevent the people from using what was cheap and good and so we find Daniel Defoe complain-

* (Thornton, "India: Its State and Prospects," London 1835, p. 70).

† Murray's "British India," London 1832, vol. II, p. 449.

‡ "The Cotton Trade of Great Britain" by James Mann, London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1860, p. 20.

ing bitterly against Indian manufactures in 1708; and had to be followed by various other Acts of increasing stringency. "The general fancy of the people runs upon East India goods to that degree, that the chintz and printed calicoes, which before were only made use of for carpets, quilts, etc., and to clothe children and ordinary people, become now the dress of our ladies; and such is the power of mode as we saw our persons of quality dressed in Indian carpets, which but a few years before their chambermaids would have thought too ordinary for them; the chintz was advanced from lying upon their floors to their backs, from footcloth to the petticoat, and even the queen herself at this time was pleased to appear in China silks and calico. Nor was this all, but it crept into our houses, our closets, and bedchambers; curtains, cushions, chairs, and at last beds themselves were nothing but calicoes or Indian stuff, and, in short, almost everything that used to be made of wool or silk, relating either to the dress of women or the furniture of our houses, was supplied by the Indian trade. Above half of the woollen manufactures was entirely lost, half of the people scattered and ruined, and all this by the intercourse of the East India trade."* Another writer in "A Plan of English Commerce" published in 1728 also complains of the evils of the consumption of Indian manufactures not only in England but in other countries also:—"The calicoes are sent from the Indies by land into Turkey, by land and inland seas into Muscovy and Tartary, and about by long-sea into Europe and America, till in general they are become a grievance, and almost all the European nations but the Dutch restrain and prohibit them." (Quoted by Baines, p. 80.)

EXPORTS OF INDIAN COTTONS DURING THE CENTURY.

It is thus concluded from the above account of the export trade of Indian cotton goods, that the magnitude of the Indian trade was something very enormous. After the prohibitive duties in England during the 17th century it is not possible to expect a very large export from India. Exact

figures of exports are not available, but it will be seen from the following figures of export to different countries that though the first years of the century showed large exports, they fell down very rapidly during the next twenty-five or thirty years:—

America.	Denmark.	Portugal.
1801 13,500 bales.	1800 1,500 bales.	1799 9,714 bales.
1809 258 "	1820 150 "	1825 825 "

In 1815, India not only clothed her vast population but sent to England cotton fabrics worth £1,300,000. In 1816-17, the export was worth £1,659,438. Milburn wrote ("Oriental Commerce," 1813), "India exports large quantities of cotton fabrics which are famous for great durability, permanence of the whiteness, delicacy of texture, purity and fastness of colours, grace of design, and, above all, for their cheapness." But this state did not last long in the century: the advance of the British power-loom, protected by immense duties on imported Indian goods, soon reversed the balance of trade. The Indian exports to England were decreasing while England continued to send larger amounts of cotton goods to India.

Compiled from R. C. Dutt's works.	Exports from England mainly to India.		Imports from India to England, etc.	
	£		Bales.	
	1794	156	1800	2,636
	1800	19,575	1802	14,817
	1810	74,695	1810	1,167
	1813	108,824	1813	557
	1827	296,177	1820	3,186
	1840	2,222,089	1827	541
			1840	£690,584

From Evidence of G. G. De H. Larpen before Committee, 1840.	Cotton piece-goods from Britain to India.		Cotton piece-goods from India to Britain.	
	Yards.		Pieces.	
	1814	818,208	1,266,608	
	1821	19,138,726	534,495	
	1828	42,822,077	422,504	
	1835	51,777,277	306,086	

Thus, it will be seen that by 1840, India had almost ceased to export cotton piece-goods to England, but on the contrary was receiving nearly three times what she exported to all countries. The gradual undermining of the cotton manufactures of India is of sufficient importance to be dealt with a little in detail; it illustrates the negative

* Daniel Defoe, 'Weekly Review,' January 31st, 1708, quoted by Baines in his "History of British Cotton Manufacture," p. 79.

aspect of List's maxim quoted at the outset, and shows the disastrous effects of free trade between a dependent country and a well-developed independent nation. During the above period of about 3 decades, England rose from the rank of nonentity in cotton manufactures to a high position as a manufacturing country. On the contrary, India sank down in the cotton fabric market importing, instead of exporting, large quantities.

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURES.

The way in which the ruin of Indian Cotton Industry was brought about is too complex to be briefly summarised, but the following causes may be mentioned among the most important : —

1. The comparative high price of Indian cotton fabrics, which employed manual labour, as compared with that of English goods, manufactured by modern machinery, restricted the use and importation of the former in England. Indian articles were the cheapest in the European market before the introduction of machinery* but after the revolutionising inventions in England between 1760 and 1790 by Watt, Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton and others, England could produce cheaper cotton fabrics if she was given good raw material, *vis.*, cotton.

2. But in spite of the higher cost of production, Indian goods could be sold in the English market with a profit of 50 to 60 per cent. and heavy duties of 60—70 per cent. were levied on Indian goods to protect the English infant industry. As these duties allowed some kinds of Indian goods to be imported specially for the rich, they were at last prevented from being imported by positive prohibition. Such a prohibition

* "India is the original seat of cotton manufactures and so long as the industry depended on hand processes Lancashire was quite unable to compete with the age-long traditional skill of the Indian handworkers in producing the finer fabrics. Machinery changed all that, and England became an exporter of muslins, calicoes, and other cotton goods to India, and all other countries. . . . It is a very remarkable story without parallel in the industrial history of other countries. By dint of native inventiveness, energy and enterprise, assisted by certain natural advantages, Lancashire became purveyor to the world of the most widely used and generally useful of all the textiles, though so far from the source of the raw material." — *Industrial Geography*, by Dr. A. H. Hall, Longmans, 1906, p. 63.

for a country like India whose only market for surplus goods was England, meant an immediate destruction of the industry: if India had been independent, or had any other market open for her, the same result would not have been brought about.

3. The demand for Indian goods in the foreign market, even if destroyed, would not have produced so great effects, if the importation of cheap English goods had not also diminished the local demand for Indian goods. Whereas the exportation of Indian goods was subject to high import duties in England (see below), the English goods were admitted in India on paying a nominal duty of 3½ per cent. —

Duty on Indian goods in England.

	1812.	1824.	1832.
Muslins	27½ per cent.	37½%	10°.
Calicoes	7½ "	67½ "	10 "
Other cotton goods	27½ "	50 "	20 "

Baines in his "History of British Manufacture," p. 82, mentions that in 1835 the English cottons paid a duty of 2½ per cent. while Indian cottons paid in England a duty of 10 per cent. and Indian silks 20 per cent. A petition, dated 1st September, 1831, signed by several natives of Calcutta for the reduction of this duty was not granted, though at that time no Indian mills existed. In this unequal struggle, it was natural to find India losing ground, though it might be said to her credit that in spite of the cotton fabrics being highly taxed in England, Indian yarn was imported in large quantities by the Manchester and Blackburn weavers for use in their factories.

4. However the disadvantages of the tariff system were surpassed in its evil effects by the treatment given by the East India Company to the manufacturers in India. The Company was required to send goods worth a certain amount fixed from time to time by the Court of Directors: and to get this amount during the year, the Company's servants locally entered into willing or unwilling contracts with the weavers, (at prices fixed by the Company) who were to work in the Government factory to produce the particular patterns required for exportation. These forced

contracts were made binding upon not only the weaver but also his family by the regulations passed by the Government. Under such troublesome conditions, it cannot be expected that the weavers could continue long in face of the economic and moral degradation nor that the weaving industry would thrive any longer. We soon find that the weavers abandoned their ancestral craft and turned to the cultivation of cotton.

5. This tendency of retrogression towards agriculture was fostered by the commercial policy of England, which regarded India as a colony to which England could export her manufactured goods in return for Indian raw materials. Consequently, every facility was given for the cultivation and exports of cotton of good quality. As late as in 1860, this policy was advocated by the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester: "the true policy of the Government is primarily to legislate so as to drain the raw cotton out of the country, and create a demand for our manufactured goods in lieu of those now manufactured in India."* This policy of favouring cotton cultivation, while the weaving industry was under stringent regulations, had the desired effect of turning the weavers into cultivators, and thus indirectly destroying the Indian cotton manufactures.

These were some of the causes that checked, and ruined to a great extent, if not completely, the hand-loom industry of India. The state of affairs in the fifties represented, as we have seen already, a large export of raw cotton (worth 4 million sterling in 1858), diminishing exports of cotton goods (8 millions) and increasing imports of cotton manufactures (5.6 millions).

POWER-LOOM FACTORIES.

However, another industry, viz., power-loom industry, was soon rising to take the place of the decaying India cotton manufactures. Several shrewd Englishmen saw that they had to pay double freights in importing Indian cotton, and exporting piece-goods to India: and that it would be a considerable saving of profits if the Indian cotton was transformed into cloth on the spot. Thus, even after

accounting for high cost of erection of machinery, inefficient labour, it could be shown by statistics, that "India can manufacture by machinery at a cost 20 per cent. less than Great Britain can sell British manufactures in the Bombay market" (see Mann *Ibid.*, p. 76). With this view, several cotton factories were started with English capital; the first was established in 1818 at Fort Gloster near Calcutta (the Bowren Cotton Mills Co., Ltd.): this Company got its charter as a Cotton Mill, a coffee plantation and a rum distillery. The Bombay Spinning and Weaving Mill was floated in 1851, and began to work in February 1856 under the management of Mr. Cowasji Nanabhoy Davar. An abortive attempt was made by Mr. Landon to start a cotton factory at Broach—a centre for the best Indian cotton. The Ahmedabad Spinning and Weaving Mill was started in 1859 under the management of Mr. Ranchhoral Chhotlal, C.I.E. The work of pioneering the industry being done, many other mills soon followed. In spite of various difficulties about skilled labour and management, these first mills were a financial success.* The peace and security of life and property that prevailed in India after 1858, the direct control of India by the Crown, the favorable attitude towards Indian Industries avowed publicly in the great Proclamation, and in general, the government of India by statesmen rather than by merchants—all these contributed greatly to the rise of new industries in India, the foremost among which stands the Cotton Mills Industry. The progress in the number and the capacity of the Indian mills has been very rapid in recent years: in 1861, 12 mills were at work, in 1881, they were sixty, in 1891, 140 and in 1909, 364. A more complete idea of the growth of the mills, in their number and

* The early success of the industry can be realized from the fact that the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company paid its first dividend of Rs. 600 per share; and the second half-yearly of 400 Rs.: so that the share-holders received Rs. 1,000 as interest on a nominal share of Rs. 5,000 (Life of the late R. B. Ranchhoral Chhotlal, C.I.E., by B. D. Badshah, "Times" Press, Bombay.) Again the shares of the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Mills were at 58 per cent. premium in 1859. (Mann "History of British Cotton Trade," London, 1880, p. 77.)

* The Cotton Trade of Great Britain, by J. A. Mann, Manchester 1860, p. 74.

amount of work, can be obtained from the following table* :—

* This table is mainly prepared from the reports of the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association. The figures given here are larger than those given from

year to year in the Government Publications. The returns for capital in the 2nd column are those from the Statistics of British India for 1907-8 and do not include the proprietary concerns but only joint-stock companies. These figures, again, are not complete for our purposes after 1908-9, as the Native States are excluded from that year.

Year.	No. of Mills.	Capital in lakhs.	Spindles in thousands.	Looms in thousands.	Employees in thousands.	Consumption of cotton in thousand cwts.
1851	1	5	29	nil	5	No Record
1866	13	No Record	309	3'4	7'7	"
1876	47	"	1100	9'1	No Record	"
1880	56	"	1461	13'5	44'4	1076
1885	87	656	2145	16'5	67'1	2086
1890	137	845	3274	23'4	102'7	3529
1895	148	924	3809	35'3	138'6	4695
1900	193	1188	4945	40'1	161'1	5086
1903	192	1188	5043	44'0	184'3	6087
1906	217	1265	5279	52'6	208'6	7082
1907	224	1337	5333	58'4	205'6	6930
1909	263		6193	82'7	233'6	6772

The above table shows the growth of the cotton mills in India which is remarkably rapid, specially looking to the difficulties (to be referred to later on) with which their advance is beset. The progress, however, is not very gratifying, specially when compared with that of other countries, e.g., Japan, and when the vastness of the Indian continent is taken into account. The Mill Industry of Japan may be said to date from 1891, and during the last few years she has made marvellous progress. During 1889, she imported 62,000 bales of yarn from India, but in 1899 only 250, and in 1900 none, were imported : on the contrary, she exports yarn now, and is a steady competitor of India for the Chinese market. Moreover, 204 mills (in 1904) looking to the vast length and breadth of India is nothing in

comparison* to 2,077 mills in Great Britain : 1,201 in the United States : 500 in Italy : 420 in France : 390 in Germany : 304 in Russia and Poland : 257 in Spain : 64 in Japan : 22 in Canada, (in 1904)—although a great many of these countries do not produce cotton for themselves.

Before studying in detail the progress of the cotton mills, it will be interesting to note the peculiar tendencies and circumstances which have facilitated it, and those that have checked it. The Indian manufacturer has certain points of advantage over his English competitor.

ADVANTAGES OF THE INDIAN MILLS.

The raw produce and the market for the finished product are both near, thus saving a double cost of freight, etc. The Indian

* Relative position of the Chief Cotton Manufacturing Countries.

Countries.	No. of Mills.	Spindles in Millions.	Looms in thousands.	Consumption of Cotton in 1,000 bales.	Hands employed in thousands.
Great Britain ...	2077	50	720	3270	530
U. S. A. ...	1151	21	488	4164	307
Germany ...	390	8'5	212	1580	350
Russia ...	304	7	157	1200	355
France ...	420	6	106	840	99
India ...	192	5	42'5	1765	181
Italy ...	500	2'25	110	560	130
Austria ...	125	3'25	110	600	100

This table is quoted by Dr. Shadwell in his "Industrial Efficiency, Vol. I, p. 64. The spindle and loom capacity of India do not bear any proportion ; this might be explained by the action of the excise duty, which leaves the spindles untaxed.

labour is cheap, abundant, docile, and less liable to strike: this point is well under the eye of the English manufacturer, who has tried to equalise the labour conditions by limitation of work, etc., forced by legislature: but it should be noted that Indian labour is not so efficient as it is cheap. Indian manufacturers generally possess a more intimate knowledge of the market and its fluctuations than the foreign manufacturers. The Indian goods are naturally welcomed and encouraged in the Indian market with a legitimate feeling of sympathy (Swadeshism) which cannot be extended to foreign goods except for their cheapness and durability. In the first years of Indian Mills, English manufacturers had to pay an import duty of 5 per cent: it had to be soon abolished by 1882, under the agitation of Lancashire; it was levied again in 1894, but this time yarn produced in India, of such counts as would compete with Lancashire, had also to pay 5 per cent. duty. In 1896, yarns were freed, and a general excise duty was levied at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the production of all woven goods whether coming in competition with Lancashire or not; the details of the adoption of this duty will be found in the History of Tariffs given in Appendix II, p. 151.

EXCISE DUTY.

The duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is to be paid by "every mill in British India, upon all cotton goods produced in such mill:" and has served as a check on the growth of Indian mills. An ordinary mill in India, with a capital of 6 lakhs, pays 30-40 thousand Rupees as excise duty on production, whether the mills pay a good dividend to the shareholders or not: and often the share of the net interest paid to the shareholder barely exceeds this amount.

The amount of the excise duty realised from the cotton mills is as follows:—

		Lakhs of Rupees.
1896-7	11'23	"
1897-8	11'66	"
1898-9	13'75	"
1899-1900	13'39	"
1900-1	12'16	"
1901-2	17'69	"
1903-4	20'77	"
1904-5	23'81	"
1905-6	27'06	"
1906-7	29'00	"
1907-8	33'99	"
1908-9	35'43	"
1909-10	40'06	"

The increase of the cotton mills and of the capital invested in the industry have been often brought forward as arguments to show that the excise duty has not hindered the progress; but it cannot be denied that the progress would have been more rapid and thorough in its absence, than what it has been in spite of the duties. At least, "the present excise duties on certain cotton goods ought unquestionably to be abolished. Nobody in India, be he European or Native, regards them otherwise than an altogether unnecessary and indefensible sop to Lancashire. Apart from political considerations, however, these Indian excise cotton duties form one of the most extraordinary monuments to British economic eccentricity that the whole of the Tariff controversy affords. Whilst, on the one hand, the free-traders of England are never tired of asserting that the protectionist policies of foreign nations can only handicap those nations and that Great Britain with the healthy free-trade principles is absolutely unassailable by such devices, the free-trade cotton spinners and weavers of Lancashire take very good care that India does not impose even $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for revenue purposes on their products without an accompanying and corresponding excise duty! From the point of view of Great Britain and of the Empire as a whole the excise duties are unnecessary and inexpedient,"—Mr. M. P. De Webb, (quoted in the report of the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association for 1907, p. xiii.) "India and the Empire," p. 157.

DIFFICULTIES OF INDIAN COTTON MILLS.

Besides this difficulty about the excise duty (like which none is levied in any country throughout the world) the Indian mill-owner labours under certain other disadvantages. The cost of erection of a factory is far greater in India than in England. The Englishman can set up in his mill a spindle at the cost of about 1*l*. per spindle, including the cost of building, etc., whereas in India we have to spend Rs. 40 or more per spindle. This makes the initial outlay required here $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as that in England; consequently, the mills built from the capital of poor India cannot compete with English mills, either in their number or the fulness of equipment of each mill, or the cheapness of the manufacture. Also,

the high rate of interest paid by the Indian Mill-owner, not only debars him from using more floating capital, but takes away a large portion of his net earning—thus diminishing the profits of the shareholder. The rate of interest in England is about 2 to 2½ per cent., whereas, the Indian Banks have to give 3—3½—4½ per cent.; while the Indian mill-owner has to pay generally from 4 to 9 per cent. as interest. Just as the cost of machinery is too great, so also the cost of fuel and the "stores," which have to be imported, is also greater. Before the working of the Bengal coal-mines, India imported her coal from England and Australia: but, even now, the Bengal coal is not cheap: its price is increased by about 200 per cent. before it goes from the colliery to the cotton mill—the prices being about Rs. 4 and Rs. 11, respectively. The immense freight charges affect also the price of raw cotton, and the cost of sending the manufactures to the market. The freight charges are far less heavy where the system of State Railway Monopoly does not exist. The short staple of Indian cotton leaves a portion of the Indian market uncontested for Lancashire: Indian cotton cannot yield higher counts above 30s. Consequently, Indian mills have to import these higher counts to weave finer fabrics.

INDIAN LABOUR.

Indian labour, though reputed to be cheap, is not efficient. The Indian labourer is ignorant and idle, wastes much of his time in loitering and whistling, and works indifferently. The Factory Commission reported that he "likes to spend an average 2½—3 hours per day outside the factory." The English labourer is keen at his work and does it neatly and accurately done, he values his time and his own labour. The efficiency of the English and the Indian Mill hands is in the ratio of 6:1. A Lancashire weaver works single-handed from 4 to 6 looms and will turn out from each an average of 78 lbs. of coarse cloth working 55 hours or 468 lbs. in all; whilst the Indian weaver can attend to only one loom and can turn out 70 lbs. only of a similar cloth per week, and an Indian hand-loom weaver turns out barely 50 lbs. per week. Thus, a weaver in Lancashire can do the work of at least six Indian power-loom

weavers or nine hand-loom weavers; and thus, in spite of the so-called cheapness of Indian labour, a pound of cloth costs 17 pices in India (excluding the price of the raw material) against 14 pices or its equivalent in England, and 21 pices on the Indian hand-loom at Ahmednagar.*

According to some, the closing of the mints against the free coinage of silver, and the recent increased duty on silver have affected the progress of Indian Cotton Mills. The duty on silver amounts to 3 per cent. bounty to Japan and China, and 3 per cent. penalty on the Indian yarn spun for the Chinese and Japanese markets. The Mill-Owners' Associations of Bombay and Ahmedabad believe that the recent increase in the duty on silver has seriously affected their trade relations with China and Japan, the trade being already impaired. "Formerly Japan was amongst one of our best customers, and in 1888-9 she took from us more than 23 million lbs. of yarn. Now she takes none, but, on the contrary, takes instead large quantities of raw cotton, thereby raising the price of our raw material, while lowering the price of our finished products in the Chinese market. The largest quantity of raw cotton shipped to Japan in a single year was 2,526,200 cwts. in 1901-2. But in the eleven months of the current year 1909-10, no less than 2,573,400 cwts. have been shipped."†

Apart from these external disabilities of the cotton mills, our Mill-Owners lack in the necessary business capacity and commercial integrity. In the foreign markets, no efforts are made to keep hold of those already secured, but the quality of the goods is not kept uniform, and few make systematic efforts to push their goods into new markets; many are content with a smaller profit rather than be ready to adapt themselves to the requirements of the new markets. There is little of healthy competition in the home market: a lack of originality has resulted in many dishonest practices, e.g., imitation of established labels, short reeling in spinning, and heavy sizing of cloth. It is high time for our cotton mills to enter into combinations

* Thomson. Benares Industrial Conference.

† Sir Sargun J. David in his Council Speech, quoted in the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association Report for 1909-10, p. 16.

both for production and sale; it is necessary to avoid conflict in home market by specialising in certain branches of production and to control the foreign markets by the regulation of marks and labels under a syndicate or guild such as organised in England or Japan.

PROGRESS IN PRODUCTION OF YARN.

In spite of various disadvantages mentioned above, Indian cotton mills are showing good progress. We will study this progress, first, with reference to production, export, and import of yarn, and, then, with those of manufactured goods:—

Years.	Production of yarn.		Exports of yarn.		Imports of yarn.	
		Million lbs.	Million lbs.	Crores Rs.	Million lbs.	Crores Rs.
1876-7	...	.....	8	'3		
1888-9	...	.....	.....	.....	52'5	.....
1895-6	430 { 41 above 20s. 388 lower	...	.....	6'2	.....	2'89
1898-9	502 { 61 above 20s. 440 lower	...	.....	6'4	45'5	2'55
1900-1	352	...	.....	.....	.....	2'4
1903-4	578 { 104 above 20s. 473 lower	...	252'4	9	28	2'1
1905-6	655	...	297'5	12	45'7	3'2
1908-9	657	...	235'4	9'6	41	3'6
1909-10	627	...	261'3			

The table shows a steady increase in the production of yarn and its exportation; indicating a prosperous state of the industry. It also showed a large and steady decrease (till 1905) in the importation of yarn which was used in the hand-looms. It might be also pointed out that the increase in the production was due to an increase in the output of the higher count yarns for which Egyptian cotton was imported—192,544 cwt. in 1904-5, and 161,476 cwt. in 1905-6: the steady decrease of yarn imported from

1888 to 1903 is of a similar significance showing that India could supply a large portion of this demand. The increase in imported yarn in 1905-6 was due to increased use of finer counts, and to the decrease in the import of Egyptian cotton. Thus, it is clear that Indian mills have succeeded in checking imports of foreign yarn, while carrying on a good export trade themselves; let us see how far they have succeeded in reducing imports of cotton manufactures.

Progress in Woven Goods.

Year.	Production in million lbs.		Export in crores of Rs.	IMPORTS.	
				Crores of Rs.	Million yards.
1880	...	.....	1'5 (?)	16'9	
1890	...	.....	.....	26'3	
1894	...	.....	1'3	29'5	
1897-8	{ grey 83'1 others 8'1 } 91'2	...	1'2	26'4	
1899-1900	98'6	...	.....	24'6	
1903-4	{ grey 111'4 others 26'5 } 137'9	...	1'6	29'9	2,032
1905-6	{ grey 133'6 others 30'2 } 163	...	1'8	39'0	2,463
1906-7	{ grey 136'0 others 29'7 } 165'7	...	1'6	37	2,318
1908-9	192'3	...	1'7	22	1,954
1909-10	{ grey others } 228'7	...	2'0	36	2,192

These figures show that the production of woven goods has advanced very rapidly during the last 10 years, the increase amounting to 170 per cent. in spite of several

periods of depression. These occurred between 1893 and 1900, owing to the disturbances in exchange relations with China which followed the closure of Indian mints,

to plague, to famine, and to overproduction: and after 1907, when it has been the result of overproduction and high price of cotton. The depression is produced frequently by the tendency to overproduction among the mill agents whose profits depend in many cases upon production (about 3 pice per lb. as commission), i.e., on the annual output. It should be also noted that a large portion of the goods, nearly 80 per cent., are grey or unbleached, indicating a backward state of bleaching or dyeing; however, there are slow signs of improvements as seen by the decrease in the percentage of unbleached goods from 91 per cent. in 1887 to 80 in 1906-7, to the total output. Moreover, this proportion varies from province to province: "in 1901-4, Madras showed 64 per cent., the Central Provinces 28 per cent. and Bombay 17 per cent., of their manufactures as bleached and coloured goods, hosiery, etc."

The exports of Indian piece-goods are comparatively insignificant and show no rise. The imports of piece-goods in India are steady and do not show very great decrease. This indicates that the work of the Indian Mills is not of a type to drive away the Lancashire goods: in fact, the coarser qualities woven by the Indian Mills form only a part of the total Indian demand for cotton fabrics. This shows that there is an immense field for Indian Cotton Mills and the progress achieved is but a part of the race to be run and won. If our manufactures are to displace English imports, our mills must produce goods of better texture and finish, and pay greater attention to up-to-date methods of dyeing, bleaching, mercerising and finishing. It appears also that the spinning industry of India has advanced to a far greater extent than her weaving industry: and this may be, partly at least, due to the action of the excise duty which leaves the yarn untaxed, but affects the weaving industry: and the taxed cotton fabrics of India, perhaps, cannot stand in competition with cheaper and better goods from England.

The rise of India cotton manufactures depends upon the increase in the cultivation of cotton; and the cultivation of cotton in the first-half of the century went on increasing, as judged by the export.

EXPORTS OF RAW COTTON.

A comparison of the exports of raw cotton from India during the various years of the century with the imports of manufactured cotton goods in India will show that India was passing through a transformation from a manufacturing country to an agricultural country. Apart from the value pointed out above, a brief history of the cultivation of cotton in India is interesting in itself, as showing the benefits of the attempts made by the Government from time to time to increase the cultivation of cotton. England was importing large amounts of cotton from America, and wished to diminish these by getting her demands supplied by India. Imports of Indian cotton were encouraged by a special rate of duty. Thus, in 1798, East Indian cotton paid 4 per cent. *ad valorem* duty, while West Indies cotton paid 8/9, and American 12/6 per 100 lbs. (at 6d. per lb.) Several attempts were made after 1788, in order to improve the quality of cotton, by sending machinery for cleaning the cotton before exportation, by offering bounties for cultivation, by establishing various experimental farms in the cotton districts to try American seeds.* One of the defects of Indian cotton, *viz.*, its dirtiness, was removed but the length of the staple (1'02 inches average as compared with 1'82 American and 1'52 Egyptian) could not be improved by the various attempts.

Exports of Raw Cotton, lbs.		Imports of Manufactured Cotton Goods.	
1793	729,000	1794	£156
1803	3,183,000	1803	£27,876
1817	40,291,000	1813	£108,824
1827	68,000,000	1827	£296,177
1840	77,011,000	1849	£3'1 millions
1866	803,000,000 lbs.	1858	£5'6 "
	£35 million	1866	£13'7 "
1878	336,000,000	1878	Rs. 201 "
	Rs. 93 million	1882	" 239 "
1882	672,000,000	1892	" 286 "
	Rs. 149 million	1899	" 271 "
1898	560,000,000	1901	" 297 "
	Rs. 111 million		
1907-8	806,000,000		
	Rs. 257 million		

CULTIVATION OF COTTON. EARLY EXPERIMENTS.

Several experienced American farmers

* "Productive Resources of India" by Dr. J. F. Royle, London, 1840.

were brought out in 1840 to try the American plants in India. Mr. Mercer, who was at their head, gave his opinion in 1845, after trying a series of experiments in different parts of India situated in different climates, using different methods of cultivation for different soils, that "the experimental farms were only a useless expense to the Government; the American system was not adapted to India: the natives of India were, from their knowledge of the climate and the capabilities of the soil, able to cultivate better and much more economically than any European." Dissatisfied with this result, the Court of Directors appointed the Cotton Committee of 1848, which also could not give very bright hopes. The Committee reported that there was not much room for improvement in the methods of cultivation, but that the depressed state of the farmer, uncertainty in the revenue assessments, and want of good roads, prevented the exportation of cheap and good cotton.

GOOD POINTS OF INDIAN COTTON.

The Indian cotton was liked much by the English merchants in spite of its shorter staple because of its cheapness and other qualities, *viz.*, its colour which improved the appearance of cloth and yarn, the power of the thread to swell up on bleaching so that the interstices in the cloth were filled up, and the property of being dyed uniformly. These are the peculiarities that have steadily kept the export demand of Indian raw cotton. The export of raw cotton from India may be said to have begun practically from 1813, under a pressure due to the loss of the American supply temporarily, and in 1840 had reached to a high figure of 77 million lbs. The rapid increase of the exports indicated the suitability of Indian cotton for English mills: this was remarkable because the rise was effected in spite of the competition of America, which was so near England, and which was helped by English capital in cultivation and by mechanical and scientific aid scarcely available to the Indian farmers. Again the rise of export was in the face of continually falling prices: thus in 1813, the price of Surate at Liverpool was 154d to 200 per lb.; in 1820, from 64 to 12d; in 1824, 54d to 8d; in 1830, from 3d to 1d; in 1840, from 4d to 5d. This anomaly

is explained by Mr. Chapman* as due to the fall in freights, fall in exchange, the pacification of the country, and the consequent diminution of danger and cost of carriage within India, and to the change of route by which the cotton is more cheaply carried to the sea. The increase in the volume of the export trade can be easily seen from the tables in Appendix I; the largest value was received for the exports when, during the American War of 1865-7, England could not get the American supply. But since then the demand has fallen down and no great fluctuations in export have been noticed. The export during the last few years (after 1907-8,) has again risen owing to the increase in the cotton mills in the world, *e.g.*, in Japan, etc.

RECENT CULTIVATION.

Although the demand for Indian cotton is steadily increasing, it does not mean that its quality also is improving. Sir George Watt thinks that the Indian farmers are getting careless: and are growing low grade varieties, those that ripen early, and are hardy enough to grow without much care being bestowed upon it. The Indian mills have been using this cotton, spinning lower counts, the limit of the demand of which was soon reached, and the doors of China were shut against the low-quality goods. Consequently, as long as the quality of the Indian cotton is not kept at its best, the mills will not be able to hold their own against European competitors; and it was with this view that one of the members† of

* "The Cotton and Commerce of India" by John Chapman, founder and late Manager of the G.I.P. Ry., London, 1851, p. 68. Mr. Chapman shows in the book the amount of benefit that might accrue to the customers of Indian cotton in England, by a suitable railway system through the cotton areas of Bombay.

† "Poverty compels our agriculturists to go in for short-stapled cotton only, inasmuch as it takes a shorter time to grow and yields larger quantities. In fact, long-stapled cotton is grown only at Hubli, Barshi, Muglai and Surat. The Weaving Industry, which is as yet in a rising state, will have to suffer much in future if the mill-owners will depend upon the Government and remain indifferent. I therefore recommend that mill-owners should float a company with a capital of at least 50 lakhs of Rupees for buying waste lands from the Government reclaiming them and introducing the cultivation of long-stapled cotton. The adoption of such a course only will give encouragement to the rising industry of the country."

the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association expressed the necessity of the mills owning large tracts of land for the cultivation of superior cotton.

EXPERIMENTS IN SIND.

The experiments made recently by the Government about growing of cotton in Sind and the United Provinces are fraught with important consequences. "The Experiments so far conducted on the perennially irrigated areas of Sind, showed that the Egyptian cottons can be grown normally, and can give a larger yield by changing the sowing time from June to March.....If the whole of Sind were put under perennial irrigation (through a dam constructed at Bakkar), the potentialities of the province for cotton-growing could not be surpassed even by the United States."

HAND-LOOM WEAVING.

The hand-loom industry of India needs a separate mention, specially of its recent development. The history of the cotton manufactures in the first-half of the last century is the history of hand-loom weaving. The decline of this industry has been already noted; and although India is no more exporting cotton goods in large quantities, her capacity for producing cotton goods of good quality even at the present day, is greater than the combined power looms of India, about which so much has been written and spoken in terms of approbation. This fact is clear from the following table* :—

* This table is quoted from a paper read by Mr R. B. Patel, M.R.A.C., before the Calcutta Industrial Conference on "Hand-loom Weaving."

Class.	Warp Counts.	Weft Counts.	Hand-loom supply in million yards.	Power-loom supply, million yards.	Imports, million yards.	Total Consumption, million yards.
Coarse	... 6s to 16s ...	6s to 20s ...	900	60	300	1,260
Coarse-Medium	... 20s to 26s ...	20s to 40s ...	150	500	1,100	1,750
Medium	... 26s to 40s ...	30s to 50s ...	450	40	750	1,240
Fine	... over 40s ...	over 40s ...	150	...	350	500
Total	...	...	1,650	600	2,500	4,750

It will be seen that in spite of a large amount of capital employed in the power-loom factories, the total production is far less than that given by the hand-looms: and again the possibilities of increasing this production are great.

ADVANTAGES.

The smallness of the capital required as outlay, the cheapness of the labour, good quality and strength of the fabric, adaptability to village life, where the market is quite near—all these facts have helped the industry to hold its own. Moreover, the advantages over power-loom are great; the lowest and the highest counts which are not so easy of manipulation with the power-loom, are utilised with considerable success by the hand-loom. Besides, sometimes the demand for a particular pattern is comparatively too small (e.g., the cloth for Puggis) to allow the power-loom factory to go in for it; whereas the hand-looms can do the work cheaply and

easily.* Again India is the country of small industries; and hand-loom weaving suits her best, as it will save her from the evils of concentrated industrialism, of overcrowded cities, and of unequal distribution of wealth. If hand-loom weaving could pay in Europe, it should pay much more in India.

PROGRESS.

Consequently, much has been done recently for the growth and encouragement of this industry by the people as well as the Government. There is an aspect of the possibilities of the hand-loom which may be noted, that by increasing the speed of the hand-loom, say from the present 20 picks per second to 50 picks per second, we can increase the production of cloth of the various kinds from 1,650 million yards to 2,470, without employing more men or

* "Mr. Chatterton has successfully woven Shawls from imported wool on the Salem fly-shuttle hand-loom."

increasing the cost of labour. The cloth will be cheaper, and the country will be able to withstand the imports of foreign goods. (R. B. Patel, loc. cit.) It is possible to increase the speed of hand-loom, and several improved patterns are being shown at the exhibitions: but there is another difficulty, namely, that about the finishing of the goods produced by the hand-loom.

DYEING AND BLEACHING FACTORIES.

There is not a sufficient number of bleaching and dyeing factories in the country to supply the needs of the hand-loom industry: recently, some of the mills have been introducing dyeing and bleaching plants; but these are sufficient only for the mills

and cannot do much work for the hand-loom. This was already pointed out in noticing the larger percentage of unbleached goods turned out by the cotton mills; but the number of bleaching and dyeing factories is limited. This was due partly to the want of sufficient technical knowledge among the dyers to understand the new processes of dyeing with coal tar colours, until the manufacturers of these dye-stuffs sent their own specialists to teach the art. The destruction of the vegetable dyes and colours will be referred to later on, but it is sufficient to point out in connection with the textile industries that India is very backward in the condition of her dyeing and bleaching trades.

THE LEWIS INSTITUTE

OUR people in Calcutta will be surprised to learn that Chicago, the fifth city in the world, with a population of 2,185,283, has only four higher institutions of learning, excluding the three Catholic *cols*, while there are a dozen colleges of arts and science in the city of Calcutta. Of these four places of learning two are universities, and the other two are technical institutes.

The North-Western University was organized by the Methodist people in the year 1855, at Evanston on Lake Michigan, in the outskirts of Chicago. It teaches courses in arts and sciences, in medicine and dentistry, and in pharmacy. The courses of civil, electrical, mechanical and chemical engineering have been provided for this year. There are three thousand and thirty-one boys and one thousand two hundred and fifty-two girl students. The teaching staff consists of three hundred and five male and forty-nine female instructors. The school fee averages 300 rupees per year.

The University of Chicago was founded by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, the richest man in the world. He has contributed Rs. 10,500,000 including his last gift of Rs. 30,00,000. The University with 6,360 students is second only, perhaps to

the Paris and Berlin Universities. The University is opened for forty-eight weeks in the year. It gives courses in arts and sciences of all descriptions, in languages both ancient and modern and in theology. This year the University will collect Rs. 12,000,000 from among its contributors and sympathisers and will soon open colleges for engineering courses. Besides contributions from its founder Rs. 22,500,000 have been donated by many rich men and women. The schooling fee is Rs. 120 per term or Rs. 480 per year excluding laboratory fees and expenses. There are 277 male and 75 female professors. Of 6,360 students 3,076 are girls.

The Armour Institute of Technology was founded by Mr. Armour, the richest meat merchant in the world. It imparts courses in all sorts of engineering—such as civil, electrical, mechanical, chemical, fire, mining, marine, and architectural engineering. There are 808 students. The schooling fee is Rs. 360 for a year of nine months.

The State University of Illinois is situated outside the city of Chicago, which consists of 710 professors, 2,805 male students and 828 female students.

The Lewis Institute was founded by Mr. Allan C. Lewis, a man who had bequeathed

almost all his fortune for the purpose. That such an institute can be maintained with comparatively small funds even in America, where the expenses are higher than those in any other country, is instructive to our people, specially those who are connected with the National Council of Education. Hence I will briefly narrate the origin and the growth of the Lewis Institute.

By a will Allen C. Lewis set aside Rs. 16,50,000 for the purpose of opening a school where technology should be taught to the boys, arts and sciences to the girls, and night instruction given to all sorts and conditions of men and women. Subsequent to his death in the year 1877 the trustees invested the money in accordance with the wishes of the donor, whose intention was that the money should be utilized when it amounted to Rs. 2,400,000. Be it said to the credit of the trustees, the sum amounted to Rs. 4,800,000, when the institute was opened in September, 1896.

The buildings are fire-proof structures of brick and had been erected at a cost of twelve hundred thousand rupees for buildings and four hundred and fifty thousand rupees for equipments. The Arts Building is a six story structure; the Engineering Building has seven stories, and the Gymnasium in the rear of the other buildings has two stories. The Auditorium of the Institute with a seating capacity of about a thousand chairs, comprises the first and second floor of the Arts Building. A high well-lighted basement occupies the entire floor space covered by all the buildings and the alleys which separate them. Both the Engineering and the Arts Buildings are supplied with elevators for carrying students up and down, and the most approved appliances for heating and ventilation, and are equipped with all apparatus needed for the successful accomplishment of the work that has been undertaken.

THE LIBRARY.

Besides books that are kept almost in every lecture room for the immediate use of the Professors, the main library consists of about seventeen thousand volumes and about three thousand pamphlets, selected with immediate reference to the use of each department. It is essentially a working library, containing all necessary

reference works with representative books in the various sections of history, biography, literature, fine arts, engineering, mathematics, physics, chemistry, philosophy, philology, and sociology. One hundred and sixty-three periodicals are currently received. Library assistants serve in turn at the reference desk and assist in making the students familiar with the arrangement of the books, and the use of the dictionary catalog. The catalog is a clear, simple guide to the resources of the library, free from confusing technicalities. The Dewey system of classification is used, with Cutter book numbers.

As the college authorities do not keep dramas and novels of recent production, the library may be said to contain a good collection. But I am sorry to note that the library does not contain a single book on Hindu philosophy, on philology, though the libraries of the other institutes keep quite a good number of them. Since writing this, however, some volumes on the Upanishads have been ordered. That the Yankee does not know, nor care to know much about the ancient history of the world is manifest when one notices the meagre copies of books that are kept in the library on the subject or when one sees that the text books used for such purposes are written by country (rural) teachers whose knowledge is no better than that of our hungry writers of historical text-books for Entrance or Middle Vernacular Courses.

THE EQUIPMENTS.

It is almost impossible to describe the equipment of a polytechnical institute in an article like this. Suffice it to say that the college has the following rooms for the courses signified by the name itself, besides the lecture and recitation rooms. There are two or more lecture rooms for each subject; since all students may not be able to attend the class in certain hours or one professor may not be able to look over the work of more than a limited number of students. There are many laboratories, such as dynamo, mechanical, strength of material, hydraulic, steam, general and advanced physical, chemical, geographical, geological, biological, bacteriological and culinary. In addition to these are wood shops, pattern shops, advanced and elementary machine

shop, forge shop, foundry, eight rooms for drawing and design, blue-print room, pottery rooms and four sewing rooms.

There is one big lunch room and kitchen on the first floor, where most of the teachers and students take their lunch during the half-hour recess at noon. It is interesting to mention that about a thousand boys and girls take their lunch in that room without any noise or disorder. There is also a lunch room in connection with the cooking-laboratory on the fifth floor.

DEPARTMENT OF STUDIES.

The Institute gives four year courses in mechanical engineering, two year courses in arts and sciences and two year courses in domestic arts and sciences and household economy. The Academy department of the Institute gives four year courses in arts, sciences and mechanics leading to an Academy certificate.

The students of mechanical engineering must have credit for fifteen units in academy courses, and should study four years both practical and theoretical courses prescribed in the Institute bulletin. They are sent in and out of Chicago on trips visiting factories and experimenting in the works themselves.

Students entitled to the degree of Associate in Arts are required to finish assigned courses in English, Latin, Greek, German or French European history, philosophy, economics, and industrial history of the world. They must have high school credits in addition to credits in general physics and solid geometry for the entrance requirement.

The Associates in Domestic Economy are those who finish two year courses in the following subjects, the admission requirement being the same as is shown above for the Associate in Arts. These subjects are rhetoric in English, chemistry of foods, cooking, plant physiography, sewing and design, drafting, human physiology, bacteriology, sanitation, food and dietetics, economics of home, millinery, laundry, and textiles. The students, as is seen from the courses above, do mostly practical work in the laboratories on the subjects. They are sent out to do work in the Hull House, the *Ashram* of Miss Jane Addams, the greatest living American woman. After this year

girls will be given a four year college course in household economics leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science. Home Economics mean not only cooking and sewing but the management of a home as well as a house.

In the cooking department one of the girls in turn is appointed as manager of the works connected with the department. She makes the estimate of expenditure, buys all requisites in consultation with the instructor and her fellow-students for the time she is in charge. She must have a keen eye economizing the cost by managing intelligently. The students are required to cook, serve and wash the dishes themselves. Each student is supplied with a stove and a drawer for keeping all utensils she requires in connection with cooking. Most of the evening students are nurses of the hospitals of Chicago. Daily the students prepare lunches for delegations of visitors from all parts of the city or a few teachers or students of the Institute including themselves. These parties are all pre-arranged. Only limited numbers are served there.

The four years academy curriculum preparatory to the college curriculum, is, to my mind, a splendid eyeopener to a secondary student. Here he learns besides the high school courses, physics, solid geometry, machine shop, pattern shop and instrumental and projection drawing. If he discontinue his course there he can some day become a foreman or draftsman on good remuneration.

SUMMER AND EVENING COURSES.

The summer courses are designed for students who wish to shorten the time necessary for completing the work required for graduation, to make up deficiencies in scholarship, or to pursue special courses in shops or laboratories. Provision has also been made for such evening instruction as will enable young men and women who are employed during the day to continue their education along those lines which will be of the most service to them in the work in which they are engaged. In point of number of students and benefits derived by them no work of the institute is more important.

The classes for evening courses are from six until ten in the evening. For the convenience of teachers in the public schools

certain courses in Mechanical Arts and In Domestic Economy are given from four to six in the afternoon and on Saturday mornings.

THE CO-OPERATIVE COURSE.

The co-operative course for shop-apprentices was started two years ago to fulfil the aim of the founder of the Institute. The manufacturers have shown their interest in their apprentices by being willing to incur the inconvenience of changing from week to week the boys who are working on a job, besides paying their tuition of Rs. 150 a year. As the tuition does not cover more than half the cost of instruction, the Institute is contributing Rs. 150 a year for each boy.

On each alternate week the shop apprentices are sent to the Institute for five school days of eight hours each and report to the shop on Saturday. In computing wages, the school week is counted equivalent to the regular shop week.

The Institute reports to the employers weekly the progress of the boys with the statement of the time spent in school.

Two years courses in English, mathematics, physics, machine shops, machine sketching, forging, mechanical drawing, shop and foundry practices are given to the boys. The first year boys get on an average of Rs. 12 to 15 each besides tuition and the second year boys get Rs. 15 to 24 from their employers.

POTTERY.

The Institute gives a practical course in pottery. Working people may be benefited by taking a course during his or her leisure hours, since the class is open from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. There are nearly 50 school teachers who take the course in this subject.

TUITION AND FEES.

Each student has to pay Rs. 15 as registration fee, this being paid but once. The tuition for a college year of thirty six weeks, is Rs. 180, while Rs. 5 is charged for every laboratory course.

THE OPENING WEEK.

The Institute opens about the 20th of September every year, though the regular studies begin a week later. New students

register their names in the first week or earlier and they are assigned to classes on the basis of certificates. Test examinations are held during this week in the form of recitations, oral or written, which determine the fitness of the student to begin the work in the classes to which he or she has been assigned.

Two hours daily, however, are spent throughout the week in the college auditorium, where Institute songs and National songs are sung by the newcomers in chorus.

THE SONG OF THE INSTITUTE.

ESTUDIANTINA LEWISIANA.

1

We are the students of Lewis,
Courageous and canny and gay,
Always jolly,
In our folly,
Let the future present what it may.
||: Life was not made for the quitter,
Down with the coward and mope!
Drink off the sweet with the bitter,
Here's to our joy and our hope.: ||

2

We are the students of Lewis,
Of Lewis the tried and the true,
Allen Pater,
Alma Mater,
We're as loyal as steel to the blue.
||: Throned by the highways of racket
Calm in the midst of the noise,
Bee we face life and attack it,
Teach us thy firm equipoise.: ||

3

We are the students of Lewis,
Of Lewis the tried and the true,
Alma Pater,
Allen Mater,
We're as loyal as steel to the blue.
Canny and jolly and gay,
Firm in the midst of our folly,
When the bugle sounds,
When the bugle sounds,
When the bugle sounds the call "To arms"
Then is heard the shout,
Then is heard the shout,
Then is heard the shout,
"Here we are! here we are! here we are!"

We are the students of Lewis,
Of Lewis the tried and the true,
Allen Pater,
Alma Mater,
We're as loyal as steel to the blue,
Yea Lewis, Yea Lewis, Yea Lewis,
L—E—W—E—S Lewis.
Here we are.

Interesting speeches are delivered by the director welcoming the students and speak-

ing on the origin and the growth of the Institute.

All the departments of the Institute are open from 8 to 5 for the day students, 4 P.M. to 6 P.M. for school teachers, and from 6 P.M. to 10 P.M. for the evening students.

SOCIETIES AND CLUBS.

There are a number of societies, clubs, and fraternities, attached to the Institute of which the two Dramatic Clubs, the Girls' Glee Club, the Men's Glee Club, and the Parnassian Society deserve special mention. The Dramatic Club present two plays each term. The most ennobling work of the College Dramatic Club, perhaps unprecedented in the annals of any such college club in the United State, was the performance it gave in the fall quarter, in the Hull House for the "Milk Fund" of the children of the striking garment workers of Chicago at a price of Rs. 1-8 per ticket.

These girls and boys in the play do not act, nor do they aspire to act like the professional actors or actresses, but they smartly represent the character of the *dramatic personae* in their best. At the end of the second term the musical organizations give an opera in the Auditorium Theatre of the city for which as many as 2500 seats are sold to all grades of people of the city. The price of these seats range from Rs. 2-4 to Rs. 4-8.

Both the glee clubs jointly sing in the play assisted by a chorus of about 400 voices from the students of the Institute and also assisted by the Lewis Institute Orchestra. All taking part are instructed in vocal and instrumental music by the musical professors of the Institute. The opera that will be produced this year is written by two former students of the Institute.

Every Monday all the students of the Institute are invited to join the orchestra or the chorus in the college auditorium, where songs are taught by the said professor.

The Parnassian Society, is a literary club composed of some forty members of the college. The work consists of parliamentary practice, and the discussion of political and social matters. The society sometimes invites prominent men to talk on matters which chiefly interest the

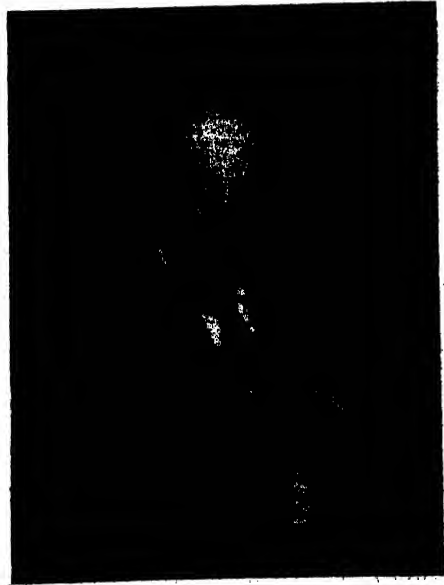
young people. They sometimes interest themselves in some lively amusement.

LECTURES.

The Institute provides for interesting free illustrative lectures now and then by men or women of note. Series of lectures are delivered by Professors of Chicago University as University Extension Lectures at a price of Rs. 1-8 per ticket. Sometimes professors of other universities deliver itinerant lectures. Free lectures are also delivered by the candidates for mayoralty and membership. Many free lectures are delivered in the Institute Auditorium in connection with engineering education and practice by the expert men of the Mechanical and the Electrical Engineers Association of the United States.

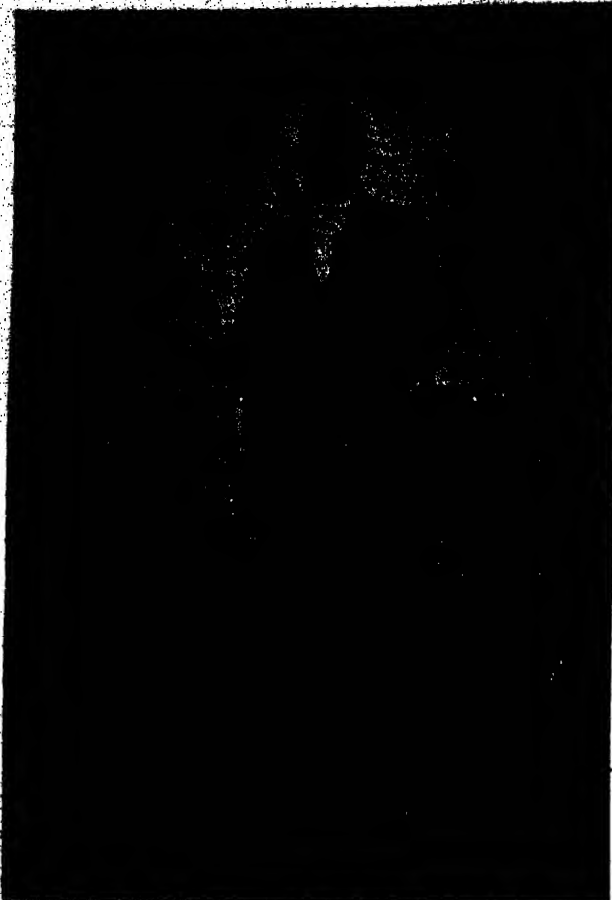
THE DIRECTOR AND THE DEAN.

The head of the Institute is the Director, Mr. Carman. I have never seen before a person so dutiful in his age. He is in his office regularly from morning till night, busily engaged in matters concerning the students and the faculty.



DR. LEWIS.

He supervises all the departments of the Institute, and looks to the weekly work



MR. JOGES CHANDRA DUTT AND HIS COMBUSTION ENGINE.

of the students. He sometimes gives friendly advice to the students who need it.

Dr. Lewis, the Dean of the College, is a man of vast erudition and experience. His interest, enthusiasm, and childlike eagerness prove that he is more a student than a teacher. He is a reader of the young people's minds, and as such, he draws out what a pliant boy hesitates to express. He helped many Hindoo boys out in many ways. He befriends every student most honestly, no matter whether he is a Jew, Gentile, or Hindoo. In every thing concerning the staff, students, and Institute, one will see the Roman hand of the doctor.

ST. J. DUTT, M.E.

For the last ten years the Institute has

maintained a higher course and given the degree of M.E. (mechanical engineer) to the successful candidates. Among the 18 successful last year, Sj. Joges Chandra Dutt, of Dacca, has secured the degree of M.E. He has made a good record in the Institute, and has visited many factories during his residence in the Institute. He is now spending most of his time in revisiting them, and making notes on any special feature. He is working as a consulting Engineer on remuneration. He constructed a eight horse-power combustion engine when he was in the school. Owing to the great effort of Dr. Lewis, Dutt Sahib got a scholarship in the Institute. Even Sj. K. Chatterjea, of Barisal, who was a special student in the Institute for two years, was allowed the privilege of a free-studentship. Our country-men may naturally expect many things of Sj. Dutt, but our people, for obvious reasons, are slow to give facilities to really expert hands and that is why the progress is slower than our expectations. One of

the reasons is, as an American interested in our welfare puts it: "You are not, as yet, moved by a common national spirit! Your students abroad as well as the guardians at home are striving more for self-aggrandizement than for the cause of the country!"

Sj. P. Sharman, a young man formerly of the Punjab, is taking special courses in the Institute. I have been a student here for the last college year. Most probably I shall take courses for a year more before I go to any university.

THE STUDENTS AND THE FACULTY.

There are 51 men and 23 women in the teaching staff. The directors, three deans,

and the registrar form the administrative officers of the Institute. The Institute is managed by a board of corporation consisting of 11 members, the director included, of whom five are the trustees of the fund. The President of the Chicago University and the President of the University of Illinois are among the members of the board of corporation.

Day students—	1127
Men 710	
Women 417	
Summer students	218
(Deducting students of the Institute.)	
Men 109	
Women 109	
Evening Classes	1697
Men 1234	
Women 463	
Total day and evening students	3042

One fact which seems to me remarkable concerning the faculty and the students of the institute, is the democratic spirit which prevails here. There are no rules to obey, and yet there is no disobedience. Students are expected to act like ladies and gentlemen. Teachers and pupils seem like one body of students. Nobody stands on his dignity, and so nobody cares much to upset dignity. The junior students publish every year the "Lewis Annual" in which the social and literary life of the students and the school spirit is brought to the public.

Two steam engines with a capacity of seventy-five and sixty kilowatts are used for lighting the buildings and furnishing power to the laboratories and shops. The heating of the building is done by steam from the same boilers as furnish steam to the engines and the temperature of each room is accurately controlled by an automatic thermostat arrangement which keeps the temperature of the room at any desired point. In addition to this gas is used for the laboratories and the cooking. There are numerous wash basins, lavatories and filtered-water pipes in the building. All the lavatories are supplied with soaps, clean towels, and hot and cold water. Two separate gymnasiums are maintained for the boys and girls, to which bath rooms are also attached.

THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR
ENDING JUNE 30, 1909.

Value of property.		Rs.	As.	P.
Institute buildings	...	1,213,008	5	6
Do. grounds	...	3,354,840	0	0
Do. equipment	...	588,539	13	6
Total	...	2,156,388	1	0
Other resources [Fund invested]	...	3,398,055	13	6
Value of all properties	...	5,554,443	14	6
Income.				
Tuition	...	299,281	10	6
Income from other sources [Interest, Rent Revenue of the fund invested]	...	232,920	7	0
Total	...	532,201	1	6
Expenditure.				
Instruction and School administration	...	291,865	11	0
Engineers and Janitors	...	39,967	7	6
Shop and Laboratory supplies	...	19,806	4	6
Fuel and other supplies	...	38,223	16	6
Repairs and alterations	...	5,881	13	6
Student Service	...	14,983	5	6
Total	...	410,727	4	6
Other expenses	...	26,494	13	0
Total expenditure	...	437,222	1	6
Excess of income over expenditure	...	42,986	0	0

In the items of expenditure it may be seen that Rs. 14,983-5 had been paid to the "pay-the-way" students for the services rendered by them. These students, both boys and girls, do odd jobs, work in the laboratory, or wait in the library.

The registrar of the institute distributes work among the desiring students. He arranges with the people outside the school and gets jobs from them in firms or in private places for the students.

THE EXAMINATION AND CREDIT.

At the end of each quarter of twelve weeks the final examinations are held, but the grades are assigned by the daily work done by the students. These works are the working out of practical problems, experiments in the laboratories, or writing themes.

Students getting 95 to 100 per cent. of the marks will get "A," which stands for excellent. Eighty-five to 95 per cent. gives a grade of "B," which means good. Seventy-five to 85 per cent. will allow a grade or "C" which is the equivalent of fair. The grades A, B, or C entitle the students to the credit on the institute records.

KAILAS C. DUTT CHOWDHURY,

IN GERMAN PRISONS

IN the year 1900 of the Christian era, a well-to-do Civil Engineer of Paris, Paul Chorenne by name, was arrested in Germany, and afterwards tried and condemned to seven years' penal servitude for espionage by the Supreme Court at Leipzig. He regained his freedom in 1907 after serving the full period of his punishment. Throughout his incarceration he continued to protest his innocence vigorously, and petitioned the Imperial throne several times for mitigation without effect. He made a determined attempt to effect his escape from prison, which was all but successful. The reader will find M. Chorenne's account of this incident most fascinating, by reason of its similarity in all respects, except the main one of eventual success, to the wonderful performance of his fellow-countryman, le Capitaine Lux of the French army, in making his escape from the prison fortress of Glatz in Germany during last Christmas.

At the close of the year 1909 M. Chorenne published his book—*Mes Prisons en Prusse* (My prisons in Prussia), recounting his prison experiences. It at once jumped into popular favour in the French capital owing to its topical human interest. I have culled the most absorbing portions from this book and strung them together into a more or less connected narrative. M. Chorenne's story is of special interest at this moment when the nations of Europe are indulging more and more in the pastime of spying on each other's vital secrets, and when, as now, so many British naval and military officers are languishing in German prisons and military strongholds. The perusal of the story will likewise give rise to many interesting speculations in a thoughtful mind, not the least of which would be the old popular saw that 'money makes the mare go everywhere,' and the oft-quoted truism that 'truth is often stranger than fiction.' But I leave the reader to indulge in his own fancies on perusal of M. Chorenne's stirring account, promising to revert to the subject

on some future occasion, as the writer has his own goal experiences to fall back upon and to compare with those of others placed in a similar position.

K. K. ATHAVALA.

I

THE ARRIVAL AT THE CENTRAL HOUSE OF HALLE.

Halle: We descend from the carriage and reach the exit of the Railway Station. "To the Zuchthaus, driver," briefly called out one of the guards when we had taken our places in the first public conveyance that drove up.

It was a miserable morning in March. It had rained and snowed at the same time a moment before. The sky above and the town beneath were both of a dirty grey colour, dismal and oppressive. The cab stopped before a huge door, and we alighted. I knew them now, those dark forbidding portals, the bare sight of which is enough to congeal the laugh on the lips of the passers-by. A warder imposing alike by his tall stature and the rotundity of his prominent abdomen, opened the stern doors, and his rubicund face of a Falstaff appeared to say, "Now then, enter, we are not as bad as the people think." We cross the intervening court and mount the staircase of the administrative building. A glass door bars our way. The usher who accompanies us rings the bell. A young Superintendent with a head of fair curling hair and sympathetic features introduces us into the office corridor. He was the superintendent of the office, was the *Sieur Nies-tatek*, the most charming young man in the House. Presently a door opens in front of me and I am told to step inside.

Surrounding a long table sat some ten persons with grave respective faces, the governor of the Prison surrounded by his office staff. The governor holds in his hand the papers, the usher has given him, and looking up, he questioned me.

Do you confess the crime for which you are punished?

No, Sir.

You should reflect. Meanwhile your mother and sister are certainly to be pitied. Remember that there could be no question of a pardon without previous confession.

I could only regret it.

It is good. You can retire.

Outside, the little superintendent with fair curls accosted me in his most ingratiating manner.

Let us go to find the Hausvater to procure your equipment from him.

The Hausvater, paterfamilias of the Prison, is the official charged with the care of the equipment of the prisoners. He holds the rank of the chief warder and carries a sword. Two prisoners assist him—one as a secretary and the other as a general factotum, or "calfactor," as he is styled in Germany.

"The father of the family" lived on the first floor of an isolated building, the ground floor of which was taken up by the kitchen and the wash-house, and the basement by the bakery. He showed himself very amiable, almost sweet. The "Calfactor" dropped at my feet all the pieces of my equipment, while the secretary made an inventory of the things I brought with me. During a momentary absence of Hausvater from the room, the latter seized the opportunity to address me in a low voice and the purest French.

The Hausvater is a devil. For eight years, now, I am living a life of hell with him.

Who are you, then, my poor friend?

Cabannes, condemned to ten years' hard labour for communicating secrets of State to France.

But the interesting communication was here cut short by the return of the Hausvater, who turned me over to the overseer of the wash-house with orders to give me a hot bath and have my head and face shaved.

These operations over, I was taken back to the store-room where Rindermann, the "calfactor" or factotum, gave me a mattress in three sections, with the necessary sheets, a costume for Sunday, and the regulation dish.

"There you are, now, completely equipped

for entering on the campaign," the Hausvater laughingly said to me, of the fight of seven years: The good fairy who presided at your birth has made you a singular present in the cradle, by slipping in, surreptitiously under the very nose of your excellent papa, this draft on your house! And we never dishonour these drafts. It is our special recommendation that we always retain the bearer of such scrip when he presents himself at the counter.

And the 'father of the family' became boisterous in his hilarity, the while Cabannes winked at me from behind his back.

"Rindermann! bring the funny lout here, now stand him there and place the three pieces of mattress on his head. There; Good; the bundle of the dish and linen in the left hand: So: That's it: Perfect. And now my friend, I will conduct you to your tent."

I was laden like a mule. The mattress I had on my head and which I held with my right hand, was heavy enough to break my neck-bone. Rindermann, however, had the kindness to help me in descending the stair-case and to escort me as far as the court-yard, where he left me to return to the store-room.

Assailed by the wind in the open court-yard, I totter under my weight, which causes some amusement to a squad of inmates who are just then traversing the court in Indian file. I straitened my body, but a furious gust of the March wind staggers me and the load falls precipitately.

The "father of the family" and his children the prisoners, all laugh outright. I gather the three pieces of the mattress and try to replace them on my head, one! two! three! with a supreme effort I raised the bundle to my head, but the heavy mattress again drops on the ground and involves me in the fall. This time, there was a regular explosion of laughter and they all hold their sides in very pain. Never was there witnessed such supreme fun before!

But the governor appears on the scene at this moment, and with a stroke the scene changes. The laughter ceases abruptly.

"Mutzen ab" (hats off), commands the warder in charge of the division in a stentorian voice, and simultaneously all heads are uncovered.

The governor touches his head in recognition of the salute. The warder advances in rapid strides, halts before the governor, clicks his heels together, and reports:—

"Division 14, thirty men at exercise. Nothing fresh. All's well."

"Mutzen auf!" (cover your heads), yells the warder, and all heads are covered again.

"Holloa! Schultz! Schwartz!" cries the Hausvater, and delivers a hand-blow with energy. I will teach you to laugh in future, you gay dogs!

At this psychological moment the governor passes by close to us, and the Hausvater stiffens up, clicks his heels together, and reports:—

"The new arrival, Your Excellency! for the rest nothing fresh."

I was installed in cell No. 96 on the third floor of the wing of the prison building, marked B. D.—a great nice cell with two windows on the south measuring twenty one cubic metres, double the size of the cell at Leipzig, which was, to me, an agreeable surprise.

The bell rings, it is mid-day, and the distribution of the rations commences. A frightful uproar is raised. On all the floors, doors are banged, bolts unfastened, the jingling of keys, and the din of sauce-pans, busy stampings of feet, and general cries, all are mingled together. All the demons in hell appeared to have been let loose in the corridors. For an instant I thought that a revolt had broken out. My door opens suddenly and the warder, with his face on fire, cries to me in an ear-splitting voice:—

"The rations, your poringer, quick!"

I hurried up with my plate. A prisoner filled it up for me with barley gruel, with a single turn of his hand, another thrust in my left hand a piece of brown bread and a square of stinking cheese. The door is shut again with violence, and the cyclone pursues its course.

Presently the calm which succeeds a storm prevails everywhere. The prison is silent, the monster is digesting. At the outset it is impossible for me to swallow a fourth of my portion although the bread and cheese are good and the gruel passable.

A chance, at last, if I may be allowed to risk the use of a word expressing excessive optimism—warder Haberland, my

gaoler, turns out to be an excellent fellow in spite of appearances. And, in the sequel, he showed himself very amiable, and made considerably easy for me the first month of my new life.

The warders or overseers have contracted the charitable habit of ill-treating newcomers in order to inspire them with holy terror and proper respect. I was spared the infliction of this humiliating test. Haberland put me in possession of all the usages of the House, the dodges played by the prisoners and the warders, the characters of the different officials, in a word, he instructed me in a most valuable manner.

At two o'clock the same afternoon a warder came to look for me in order to take me to the secretary's office.

Mr. Secretary Stock, a man still young, of a bilious yellow complexion, who was given to punctuate his conversation by coughing and spitting alternately, set himself to the task of posing me the usual questions about my family, the education I had received and the number of languages I spoke. He complaisantly asked me if I was given to drink, if I had committed my crime in a state of drunkenness, and if I was a habitual criminal. My replies were most carefully entered in the register.

While they were revising my description, I had remarked in front of me, at the other end of the office, an individual in the garb of a prisoner, who opened his mouth when I spoke, and inclined his head when I inclined mine; in short he repeated all my gestures. His face was smooth, and clean-shaven, his head was also shaved and he wore a collar knotted twice round his neck. Moreover, he resembled—Oh! singular caprice, my late grand-father. The person regarded me steadily. I smiled, he smiled, I made him a little friendly sign with my head, he responded by doing exactly the same. Suddenly I sneezed, he did likewise: It was too much; and it was only then that I became aware of the fact that I was standing in front of a glass, and that I did not recognise the reflection of my own person in my new habiliments.

The Secretary terminated the interview with the following admonition:—

I warn you before-hand that mutiny is punished with thirty to fifty lashes on the

bare back, and additional hard labour up to ten years: Every prisoner who behaves well lives here like a "got in Frankreich" (literally—like a God in France). But to their misfortune they generally break or bruise their bad heads in their ill-considered attempts.

Thereupon, he read to me the rules of the establishment and afterwards presented me to the Catholic priest. The latter is a man of about thirty-eight years, tall, square-shouldered, a good rosy face, smiling and clean shaven, the eyes a bit large, moist with tears, and a half bald head. He was clothed in a floating black redingote, covered with an immense round hat of soft felt. He is the best, the most obliging man and, therefore, the most imposed upon by the prisoners, as I did not take very long to to know. When we were alone he held out his hand to me and said:—

What have you done, my poor friend, that you should be condemned to seven years of penal servitude?

I told him my story in a few words.

Do you know Jansen, the publicist of Brussels?

"No, Sir."

"He is leaving here shortly. Condemned like you for the same offence, he has passed eight years with us. During his sojourn here he has had two congestions, had paralysis of the left side also, and his life has been in continuous danger: and well! in spite of all, our efforts to obtain his pardon have been in vain. The Government is without pity and without mercy. Do not therefore count on its clemency as long as you do not confess your crime: for confession is the necessary preliminary, the *sine qua non* of obtaining a pardon."

Freezing words these! and the good cure hastened to change the subject by adding:—"But since the good God, in His incomparable wisdom, has conferred on you seven years of compulsory leisure, and as the Parisians have lost you for that time, do give me your friendship by studying our holy Catholic religion thoroughly. Believe me, you will not be a loser thereby. My entire library is at your disposal, and it is well filled, I assure you."

I thanked the good priest effusively and told him that I would read with the liveliest pleasure all the books that he had

promised to lend me, for I have always been partial to works of philosophy.

At the conclusion of the last interview the warder conducted me back to my cell. The news of my arrival had spread like a train of gun-powder; and hardly had I returned to my cell than the whole crew of foremen, warders in charge of other corridors, contractors, and inspectors came to visit me, turn by turn, and asked me a thousand questions about my process and about Paris. I did not hear a single unkind or uncivil word about France. At about five o'clock the governor himself called in person to inform me that I was at liberty to write to my mother and that my advocate Maitre Zehme had just notified to him his intention to visit me at the end of the week.

Evening closed in. At seven o'clock rice-soup and a chunk of brown bread apiece was distributed among the prisoners. The food was decidedly wholesome, better than I had dared to expect. The rye-bread was even excellent!

At eight o'clock the lights are extinguished and the doors closed for the night. The bell rings, and suddenly from all parts of the vast edifice, rise up vociferations, shouts, and piercing cries! The whole of the prison is singing, but each division apart, without giving a thought to its neighbour. I opened the window, the great court-yard resounds with a frightful cacophony, while the pug-dogs of the adjoining houses yelp in a dismal manner by way of accompaniment. I shut the window, again, and lie down exhausted as I was by the emotions of the day. The next morning at six o'clock the bell rings, and I am awake with a raging fever. I had caught cold in my poor, insufficient covering.

MILITARY TAILOR.

Warder Haberland, late Schutzmann of Hambourg, who had put in twelve years service, which was, however, not well noticed because he was fond of play and drink, here came to announce to me that the governor had ordered me to learn the trade of Military Tailor, the equipment of the Prussian Army being entirely manufactured in the State Prisons. The foreman tailor would presently bring me the necessary outfit and give me my first lesson in tailoring. Now,

for the trade of military tailor; well; it was as good as anything, since the rules of the establishment require that I should learn one. At least I will be able to mend my breeches when I return to normal life.

Scarcely had I time to resume my seat in my cell when the office warder came to seek me on behalf of the governor. "A visit," he laconically observed to me, and, on entering into the gubernatorial cabinet, my joy was great to meet there my Liepzig advocate Maitre Zehme. He had business at Halle and being well acquainted with the governor of the prison had come to see me with the idea of being of some use to me.

Governor Regatz desired to show himself amiable. "Do not think," he explained to Maitre Zehme, "that my prisoners are at the mercy of the warders and other officers. No! no! the arbitrary official has no room in the administrations of the Prussian prisons. It is not as in France. The prisoner possesses some inviolate rights—his rights of man, and if he behaves well he is well treated. Only, I have introduced in this prison the caserne or barrack system neither more nor less."

And that was true.

The practical result of this interview was that the governor permitted me to buy a knitted woollen vest for the cold. I was also given a letter from my sister the first after my condemnation. I could not read it without some misgivings but as it always happens, the enormity of the misfortune which had knocked me down had had the effect of reassuring my nearest relatives. It appeared to them impossible that the Emperor should resist their entreaties for my pardon. It was noon when I returned to my cell, where a dish of peasoup in lard and a piece of brown bread were awaiting me. This is the ration best beloved of the prisoners. I have even seen them devour an enormous quantity of this favourite dish. I had for my neighbour in the next cell a young accountant of the name of Schwartz, a robust dog, condemned to penal servitude for committing forgery. The other was one, of the name of Schultz, late office-boy in a provincial tribunal where he had taken advantage of his official position to help an important prisoner to escape. Both of my neighbours did not long to learn that

I ate only a fourth of my portion of soup, and then to entreat me, through the medium of the warder, to send the remainder to them instead of throwing it away into the refuse tub. They were dying of hunger, they remarked. But it was only a metaphor, and much exaggerated at that. Indeed, as a matter of fact no one would die of hunger in this prison. For here is an account of what takes place at every meal time. The warder distributes first of all to every one his proper portion, a litre of peasoup and two hundred and fifty grams of brown bread; then after this general distribution, as there always remains a quantity sufficient to feed six to eight adults, the attendant calls out in the corridor:—"Nachtsich!" (The dessert, gentlemen!) "Wer noch will klingeln" (whoever desires to have more should ring!). And then on all sides a terrible din is raised—an infernal hubbub, for every one is ringing, every prisoner desired to have more than his rightful share!

One day I was witness of a scene which I will never forget. There was amongst us a prisoner named Konnecke, a little man of twenty-five years, strong, knock-kneed, with a sickly complexion, a professional thief who had stolen a paper-cutter and who helped the foreman of the paper-mill to transport the packages to the truck or the store-room. That day Konnecke was absent at the time of the distribution of the rations. The warder, whom I was helping to carry the ration-tub, asked me to go into his cell, get his dish, basin, and ewer and to place them in front of his door. We filled his dish with his rations and then continued our work of distribution from cell to cell. At last when every one had had his regulation quantity there remained about four portions in the tub. "Good," said the warder, "it is hardly worth the trouble to make them ring for this little quantity, Konnecke will certainly take another mouthful. Fill, Schroeder."

And to my inexpressible horror, the attendant filled with pea-soup the ewer as well as the basin of Konnecke, while the warder held his sides with laughter on observing my scared look!

I have omitted to describe my new cell of apprentice-tailor. A great sliding table runs the entire length of one side—this is

called the "schneidertisch" or tailor's table. It is surmounted by a shelf furnished underneath with a row of hooks. On the side of the town between the two windows stands a second table with high legs, square and small. This is the "Esstisch" or dinner-table, which is soon destined to play a role in my history. It is fixed to the wall by cramp-irons. The iron bedstead occupied the third side of the cell. It is raised up against the wall and harbours the famous mattress in three pieces which is so hard that I took one whole year to get myself used to its surface. The fourth side is most interesting—there are two large doors in it, side by side, only separated by a wooden post which forms part of their frame. Two large doors for a single prison cell! It appears that this cell was formerly divided into two small dungeons by a partition-wall, which was afterwards pulled down. Above the door in the wall gapes a black opening—the mouth of the ventilation chimney. In the angle to the left of the entrance two little brackets support the ewer and the basin, underneath are hung a shovel and a small bloom. There, in that discreet corner, is the curule chair, in German, "Leibstuhl." In the angle to the right of the doors is mounted the hot-air stove—that is to say the great iron funnel of the steam heating apparatus—which is likewise soon destined to play a role in my history.

To resume the inventory of the cell:—to the left of the entrance door fixed to the wall at the height of a man of ordinary stature are a set of double shelves. There are posed on these in orderly fashion the perringer of crockery and the pig-head spoon, a glass bottle in which the prison gourmands make pickle in vinegar of strips of salted herring, the soupdish, the tin of blacking, the clothes brush, the wax tins for polishing the floor and shoes; a small board in the form of an oblong plate—the "haringbrett" or herring plate—on which the prisoner receives every week a salted herring; a framed slate provided with a pencil, secured to it by a string; and a placard enumerating all the objects in the cell, proclaimed the orderly spirit of the Prussian administration; lastly, on the further head of the shelf are a catechism, a prayer-book, and a Bible in their

austere bindings, assuming an air of affected dignity; while a blue copy-book is the next place sounded the profane note of the little school-girl order. My curiosity prompts me to open the blue copy-book first of all. On the very first page I read:—

"Thou art, a prisoner! The iron bars of thy window, the bolts of thy door, the colour of thy clothes everything proclaims to thee that thou hast lost thy liberty. The Lord has not suffered that thou shouldst continue to abuse thy liberty, and wallow in thy vice and shame, and he has cried to thee in a voice of thunder:—'Halt! thus far and no further!' The pain which the terrestrial judge has inflicted on thee comes to thee from the celestial Judge, whose order and peace thou hast troubled, and hast likewise violated his commandments. Thy sojourn in this house is a punishment, and all punishment is bitter, but do not forget that thou alone art the cause of it. This punishment, nevertheless, is a blessing to thee. It will teach thee to curb thy passions, to lay bare thy bad habits to obey without question, to observe the divine law and the law of men; it will invite thee to repent of thy past, and will give thee the necessary strength to begin again a new life agreeable to God and man alike. Bend, then, thy knees under the brazen hand of God!"

And further on:—

"Bow down thy head before the laws of the State! Bend thyself to the exigencies of the regulations—whatever their command, execute it without murmur, for it would be far better for thee to obey with a good grace than to suffer for thy obstinacy. Thus thou wilt find thy interests well served and it will be a living confirmation of the words of the prophet. Thy present punishment does not appear to us a pleasure but a misery; later on, meanwhile, it will bear a gratifying fruit and will give him who has suffered by it internal peace and a love of justice! May God protect thee!"

Brrr! It is the regulation of the house which makes this beginning, and I promise myself to finish the reading some other day.

An alert young man with a military helmet covering his head, happens to enter my cell like a gust of wind. It is the foreman tailor. He held in his hand a satchel, some rags, and a great empty bag which he threw in a corner.

I come, he remarked, to give you your first lesson in tailoring.

And his two black eyes sparkle with intelligence and regularity. Already he has taken his seat at the table legs crossed, with a thread and needle in his hands.

That is how a needle is threaded, do you see?

It lasts for about ten minutes. This lesson in the art of threading a needle, then, suddenly, as suddenly as it began, the young foreman bounded from the table

and disappeared, leaving me staring at a needle and two skeins of thread. I profited by the opportunity to explore the inside of the satchel of which methinks he made me a present. It contained a metre measure, two pairs of scissors, a thimble, a piece of wax, a knife, an awl, a round of blue chalk, and a bone polisher. During this inventory I hear a rustling sound at one of the doors, the cover of the peephole is displaced and in the void is discovered presently a dark spot of a glassy reflex in the midst which appeared a human eye whose look instantly crossed mine.

On his side finding himself detected the observer did not wait to pack off at a wolf's step, for it is always a very ugly thing to be surprised while spying on another! Most of the warders, and specially the younger ones, disdain to make use of such means, caring little to merit the epithet of "Schleicher" or spy, with which the prisoners gratify the rare guardians who have their eyes always glued to the peep-holes.

Time passes slowly in prison. I pass hours, heart oppressed, in following with my eyes in the March sky the march of squadrons of clouds which are drifting towards the west—towards France—towards Paris! In order to see as much of the sky as possible, I mount up on my stool, though it is forbidden. In front of me the town of Halle extends, far away, in its gray banality. Above the roofs which are still streaming from the last shower of rain rise up, here and there a steeple, there a belfry, or a watch-tower, or cupola. In a glade are observed the denuded trees of a park, and a street and its passers-by, all clothed in a wonderful kind of prestige—that of liberty. In the great court-yard at my feet; the sentry in his peaked helmet was resounding with the tramp of his iron-shod boots the pavements of the road which was set in a waste land. His sentry box made a spot streaked black and white at the foot of the high wall. To the left, the little cemetery with the trees made bare by the winter, the melancholy of its cold stones, and its hillocks buried under the ivy. Above the wall facing me, the houses in the nearest street show their upper storeys. A woman young or old, a man, and a child appear at the windows, cast a furtive glance into the court below and disappear. Such

in brief is the spectacle destined to distract me during long years. I have omitted to mention the rooks and the sparrows which dwell in the court, for, quite a large colony of the feathered and winged creation inhabit the refuges which the prison roofs offer to them. The rooks are charming, truly! Their head is black, the throat and chest white, and the wings and tail black, they sport the colours, the Prussian colours, like the sentry-box! The sparrows are astonishing little animals, ardent in love, impassioned, and jealous, but not spiteful, they hold glorious fights between themselves, and fill the court and the entire prison with their clamour.

Four o'clock. It is the hour of my lesson with the little foreman. There he is entering my cell like a hurricane and installing himself at the table. But scarcely has he begun to give me an indication of the next lesson when there he was, up again at a bound, erect in the position of the military salute before a man who appeared at the door, a personage of about fifty summers, in uniform, with a flat helmet covering his head and a long sword dangling at his side. It is Herr Bohn, the redoubtable chief of six foremen tailors, a retired sergeant of clothing, who had passed all his life in the military equipment department, and who knows nothing besides it.

Do not inconvenience yourself, he observed to the foreman; then turning to me:—

"Look here! Mr. Parisian! It is very courteous of you to have come from such a distance in order to clothe our brave soldiers! I trust you will distinguish yourself by and by! The Prussian Government has its eye on you! It might be pleased with you for your zeal, and who knows! perhaps, at the end of seven years, if it is quite satisfied with you, it might return Alsace Lorraine to France".

Very edifying, indeed! but what follows is better still.

"What is your trade, outside," he asked me. "Engineer, Mr. Chief foreman!"

"Oh! but then, you know perhaps to use a sewing machine?"

I give a negative sigh, at the same time turning round in order not to laugh at him under his very nose.

At this moment warder Heberland entered the cell, and informed Herr Bohn that

the Chief Inspector wanted him; and the chief foreman disappeared incontinently! Then only my little foreman breathed with relief!

A lucky chance this that the Inspector has sent for him! We have now one full hour to ourselves. But tell me, is it true that you are an Engineer? It has been bruited in the prison that you are very rich—is it a fact? hold! That is the way to tack.

"I have a fortune."

"Ah! It is a good thing. Myself, now, I have not got a penny, but I have a wife and family to support." "You have seen how I have directed the needle? Follow me carefully. I pass it again by the last hole." "And I earn only three shillings a day; it is miserable. Just the thing to convert a man into a Socialist." "This stitch imitates that of a sewing machine." "By the bye, do you know Plötzensee? It is an immense prison in the environs of Berlin where more than two thousand prisoners are confined. They have stumbled against there some pretty underhand doings between the officials and the prisoners, among others they have found under the floor of a cell—." "Do you see the pretty little stitches, they are hardly visible but how it holds!" "Yes, they have discovered under the floor of a cell quite a respectable stock of beer." "This last stitch is difficult and much in vogue. The important thing is that it should be hardly visible." "And it even appears that certain prisoners of mark used to go in the evenings to the theatre in Berlin, returning to the prison late at night."

"Yes! yes, money is all powerful."

"Say, then! Foreman you are a man of intelligence and good heart. I am delicate in health. Tailoring will ruin my digestion. Let us see between ourselves, couldn't you now manage to have my work done for me by others? I will pay you one hundred marks a month for this service."

"It is worth the trouble! That is more than I earn. Now, listen! You have before you six months of the apprenticeship during which you will not be put to any task—at least, as we call it—you will work in the day at your ease, for, after all, you must learn the trade for fear of the supervision. After the conclusion of the period of apprenticeship I will arrange to

get a portion of your task done by the prisoners, and I myself will do the other, so that in a manner, you will have no more than a couple of hours' leisurely work to attend to, per diem; because it is necessary for you to be occupied, at all events, in order to keep up appearances."

"Done! Bring me tomorrow a pencil and paper that I might write to my friends in Paris. Eight days after, you will have your first payment of a hundred marks. Or, better still, I will make it two hundred that you might bring me every day some kind or other of table delicacy—a bottle of Port Wine or Malaga, a ham or a smoked tongue, a salmon or a caviare, a wing of chicken or a slice of roasted beef. That is settled then?"

"Oh! yes, it is. When I can render a service to a prisoner I never hesitate. The essential thing is that you should appear to be occupied whenever any official enters your cell. I leave you now for to-day. I have my last round to go."

Thus ended this memorable lesson, unique, without doubt, in the annals of tailoring and of which the result for me was immense!

The last traces of fever and catarrh had disappeared suddenly, and I took stock of my cell in the leisurely fashion of a paralytic individual who has begun to discover the use of his limbs. Strange, but it appeared to me presently that the prison is an almost comfortable place, if only one were not so ill-nourished and ill-warmed there!

As regards victualling, here is according to documentary title the ordinary menu of the week, such as was dictated to me on my slate by warder Haberland:—

In the morning: Coffee with milk and two hundred and fifty grams of brown bread.

MID-DAY.

250 grams of brown bread.
Sunday...Mutton and turnip stew.
Monday...Rice and cheese.
Tuesday...A dish of bacon and peas.
Wednesday...Barley gruel.
Thursday...Sour kroust.
Friday...Potatoes and fish.
Sunday...Potato soup.

EVENING.

125 grams of brown bread.
Sunday...Rice soup.

Monday...Soup of wheaten flour.

Tuesday...Potato Soup.

Wednesday...Soup rye-meal.

Thursday...Bread soup.

Friday...Rice soup.

Saturday...Unpeeled potatoes and salted herring.

Sunday...Soup of wheaten flour.

For a Teutonic stomach the above victuals are certainly good. For myself, I am sure I would have soon died if I had not had the resources of smuggled extras.

As to the heating, it is quite insufficient during the months of transition—October and November, and March and April; for they only light the heaters two days in the week and then only till noon, so that the thermometer in the cell scarcely rises up to 12° centigrade, and the poor prisoners keep on shivering through the long hours!

Yes, certainly the cold is perhaps the most terrible recollection that will remain to me of my captivity.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF INDIA AND ITS STUDY

II.

IF India itself be the book of Indian history, it follows that travel is the true means of reading that history. The truth of this statement, especially while the published renderings of our history remain so inadequate and so distorted, ought never to be forgotten. Travel, as a mode of study, is of infinite importance. Yet it is not everything. It is quite possible to travel the world over and see nothing, or only what is not true. We see after all, only what we are prepared to see. How to develop the mind of the taught, so that it shall see, not what its teacher has led it to expect, but the fact that actually passes before the eyes, is the problem of all right scientific education. In history also, we want to be able to see, not the thing that would be pleasant, but the thing that is true. For this we have to go through a strenuous preparation.

With a few of the counters of the game, as it were, we take it for granted that one is already familiar. The great names of Indian history, Buddhism, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Islam—mean something to one. Gradually each student makes for himself his own scale of signs, by which to compare the degrees of this or that quality that interests him. He chooses his own episode, and begins to see it in its proper setting. Behar, from its geographical and ethnological position, cannot fail to be one of the most complex and historically interesting

provinces in India. In studying Behar, then, we early learn the truth of the dictum of the late Purna Chandra Mukherji, and whenever we find a tamarind tree, mentally substitute by way of experiment, a bo, or when we come across a rounded hillock with the grave of a *pir* on the top, convert it into a stupa, and make it a Buddhist centre.* If we do this, and cultivate the habit of summing up our impressions, we shall be led to many wonderful and unexpected conclusions about the distribution of population at the Mohammedan invasion, the strength and forms of Buddhism, so on.

But one of the master-facts in Indian history, a fact borne in upon us more deeply with every hour of study, is that India is and always has been a synthesis. No amount of analysis, racial, lingual or territorial, will ever amount in the sum to the study of India. Perhaps the axioms of Euclid are not axioms after all. Perhaps all the parts of a whole are not equal to the whole. At any rate apart from and above all the fragments which must be added together to make India, we have to recognise India herself, all-containing, all-dominating, moulding and shaping the destinies and the very nature of the elements

* To the Mohammedan, the tamarind tree is holy, and the fact that on entering Behar, he would plant them in the place of the bo, or take the trouble to build a *pir's* tomb on a rounded hillock, goes far to show that the sacred character of tree and hill were still at that moment maintained in Behar. That is to say, Buddhism was remembered.

out of which she is composed. The Indian people may be defective in the methods of mechanical organisation, but they have been lacking, as a people, in none of the essentials of organic synthesis. No Indian province has lived unto itself, pursuing its own development, following its own path, going its way unchallenged and alone. On the contrary, the same tides have swept the land from end to end. A single impulse has bound province to province at the same period, in architecture, in religion, in ethical striving. The provincial life has been rich and individual, yet over and above it all India has known how to constitute herself a unity, consciously possessed of common hopes and common loves. Thus in the pursuit of epochs and parts we must never forget the Mother and the Motherland, behind them all. In remembering her and turning to her, again and again we shall find the explanation that had baffled us, discover the link that we required.

We must not be cowed too easily by proofs that such and such a cherished idea had a foreign or semi-foreign origin. In this world there is no such thing as real originality. Some mind more powerful than others, breaks up common symbols into their elements and recombines these in an unexpected fashion. This is the whole of what we call originality. The proof of a mind's vigour lies in its ability to work upon the materials it meets with. What is true of persons is true in this respect of nations. Some achievements, because we do not know their history, appear unique, solitary, miraculous. In reality, civilisations like religions, are a web; they are not statues or *salon*-pictures, great creations of individual genius. If we could unveil the spectacle of the genesis of Greece, we should find links between common and uncommon in every department of her extraordinary output, and much that now seems unaccountable for its beauty or its boldness would then appear inevitable. The fact that Egypt, Assyria, and the East itself were all within hail, had more to do with the peculiar form taken by the Greek genius than we are now prepared to grant. If so, the actual glory of Hellenic culture lay in the distinctiveness of its touch, and the energy of its manipulation, of the materials that came its way. Perhaps

above even these qualities was a certain faculty of discrimination and organisation, in which it excelled. But in any case the Greek race would not have produced the Greek civilisation in any other geographical or ethnological position than the one which they happened to occupy. The utmost that can be said in praise of any special people is that they have known how to give a strong impress of their own to those materials which the world of their time brought to their door. If this be the high-water mark then of national achievement, what is there to be said for that of India? Has she, or has she not, a touch of her own that is unmistakable? Surely it was a knowledge of the answer that led us to this question. Even in decorative matters, the thing that is Indian cannot be mistaken for the product of any other nationality. Who can fail to recognise the Indian, the Assyrian, the Egyptian or the Chinese touch, in, for example, the conventionalising of a lotus? In form, in costume, in character, and above all, in thought, the thing that is Indian is unlike any un-Indian thing in the whole world. For the mind that tends to be depressed by the constant talk of Indian debts to foreign sources the best medicine is a few minutes' quiet thought as to what India has done with it all. Take refuge for a moment in the Indian world that you see around you. Think of your history. Is it claimed that some other people made Buddhism? Or that Siva, with his infinite renunciation, was a dream of Europe? No, if India shared a certain fund of culture-elements with other peoples, that is nothing to be unhappy about. The question is not, where did they come from? but what has she made out of them? Has India been equal to her opportunities at every period? Has she been strong enough to take all that she knew to be in the world at each given period, and assimilate it, and nationalise it, in manner and use? No one in his senses would deny this of India. Therefore she has nothing of shame or mortification to fear, from any enquiry into culture-origins.

This nightmare being disposed of, there is still another. The Indian mind can hardly help making questions of antiquity into partisan arguments. Perhaps this is natural, but in any case it is a great

history is the popularizing of real historical enquiry. The mind of the student ought to be absolutely open on the point of dates. If there is the least bias in favour of one direction or the other, it is just like a weight on one side of a balance. Fair measure does not come that way! As a matter of fact, the strictly historical period in India, may be comparatively short, something less than thirty centuries, but there can be no difference of opinion as to the vast length of the total period of evolution. The oldest problems of the world's history have their field of study here. Those sociological enquiries that lie behind all history must be pursued in India. History proper only emerges, when a certain group of people becomes sufficiently consolidated to carry on common activities, in a direction and with a motive that we may call political. Man, as the political animal, is the subject of history. This is a stage that will be arrived at soonest by communities which are relatively small and compact, and inhabit clearly defined geographical confines, on the frontiers of other populations, not very unlike themselves in civilisation. Thus Egypt, Nineveh, and Babylon could not but arrive sooner than India on the historical stage in virtue of their very nearness to one another. But this does not necessarily mean that they could compete with her in actual age, or in the depth of the tendencies making for their evolution. And in any case, while these are dead, India lives and develops still, responds still, to all the living influences of the world about her, and sees before her, as the individual unit that her development has made her, a long vista of growth and perfection to be achieved. The art and architecture of Egypt date from four thousand years before the Christian era. Crete had a story almost as early. Who shall say what was the age of Babylon? But we must remember that when all these were already mature, India was still a-making. A long childhood, say the biologists, is the greatest proof of evolutionary advancement. Egypt, with her exceptional climate, made art and architecture the supreme expression of her national existence. India put her powers, perhaps as long ago, into the dreams and philosophy of the Upanishads. Cities

would have been built, forts, castles, temples and carvings would have been carved, in a few scenes in the progress of time. Human thought, written on the least permanent and most ephemeral of all materials, is nevertheless the most enduring of all the proofs of our antiquity. Who shall say that we have not chosen the better part? Every generation destroys the parchment of our record, and yet a million generations only make its truth the more assured. We can hardly dig so deep into the past as to come upon the time when in Egypt, or Greece, or Crete, or Babylon, the name of India had not already a definite sound and association. At the very dawn of history in Europe, her thought and scholarship were already held in that respect which is akin to awe. His old tutor in the fourth century before Christ, begs the conqueror of the world to bring him an Indian scholar! There is no need for discontent in the Indian mind, if those activities of which the historic muse can take account, activities intertribal, international, political, began for her comparatively late. India, alone of all the nations of antiquity, is still young, still growing, still keeping a firm hold upon her past, still reverently striving of it to weave her future. Are not these things glory enough for any single people?

At the same time, when these conditions are loyally recognised and accepted, we cannot doubt that the result will be a continual snatching of new morals out of the night of the prehistoric to be brought within the lighted circle of history. This will happen still more constantly if students will try to saturate themselves with the social habit of thought, that is to say, if they will accustom themselves to thinking of the human and psychological facts behind events. Only this habit can teach them when to postulate tribes and peoples for the individual names in ancient ballads, or when to read a war of migration and conquest for a battle. Only this can give them a sense of scale, to measure the drift and tendency of the forces coming into play during certain epochs. To multiply here and divide there, is very necessary, yet only rightly to be done by one who is accustomed to think sociologically.

The sociological habit is essential also if we would be in a position to gauge the

relations of India are not becoming less beyond her borders. We can well know that in the beginning of human society woman was the head of the family, and not man. Queens, who seem to us now something of an anomaly, represent an institution older than that of kings! In certain nations the memory of this ancient time of Mother-rule is still deeply ingrained. Others, like the Aryans, have long ago passed out of it. And some fragmentary communities in the world remain still more or less on the border line between the two. Only a deep familiarity with the traces of these different phases can give us a real clue to the history of Asia. Only a grasp of that history will enable us to compute distances of time truly. How old a given institution is, it may be impossible to say in terms of years, but we can tell at a glance whether it is matriarchal or patriarchal, or by what combination of two societies it may have arisen. The thought of goddesses is older than that of gods, just as the idea of queens is prior to that of kings.

The history of common things and their influence on our customs is a study that follows naturally on that of human society. Much of this we can make out for ourselves. For instance, we can see that the ass must be older than the horse as a beast of burden. Once upon a time the world had no steeds, no carrier, save this useful if humble servant of man. Let us dream for awhile of this. Let us study the present distribution of the donkey, and find out his name in various Aryan languages. All that the horse now is, as a figure in poetry, the ass must once have been. Noblest, fleetest, bravest and nearest to man of all the four-footed kind, men would set no limit to their admiration for him. The Goddess Sitola rides upon a donkey, because, in that dim past out of which she comes, there were as yet no horses

tamed by man. There was once no steed so royal as the milk-white ass, which is now relegated here to the use of *dhobies*, and numerous are the allusions to its use, and the glory thereof, in the older Jewish scriptures. The very fact that it appears in the account of the Royal Entrance, in the Christian story, points to the old associations of splendour clinging longer to the name of the ass in Arab countries than elsewhere, and in harmony with this is the fact that it is widely distributed throughout Africa. After the horse was once tamed, men would never have taken the trouble necessary to reclaim the ass, and from this alone we may judge of its great antiquity. At the same time we may form an idea of the time and effort spent on the gradual domestication of wild animals, when we read the reiterated modern opinion that the zebra cannot be tamed. Primitive man would not so easily have given up the struggle. But then he would not either have expected so quick and profitable a result. In the story of the commonest things that lie about us, we may, aided by the social imagination, trace out the tale of the far past.

Thus the mind comes to live in the historic atmosphere. It becomes ready to learn for itself from what it sees about it, at home and on a journey. The search for stern truth is the best fruit of the best scientific training. But the truth is not necessarily melancholy, and Indian students will do most to help the growth of knowledge if they begin with the robust conviction that in the long tale of their Motherland there can be nothing to cause them anything but pride and reverence. What is truly interpreted cannot but redound to the vindication and encouragement of India and the Indian people.

NIVEDITA OF Rk.V.

TEACHING AND RESIDENTIAL UNIVERSITIES

WE do not believe that there is any charm in words. An educational institution will not become a better instrument for the building up of character,

for, the training of the intellect and the imparting of knowledge, than it is, by simply calling it a teaching and residential university instead of calling it a

colleges with a hostel, if the men who are to teach belong to the same class to which our present-day professors belong and if their attitude towards their students remain the same as it is to-day. Those who think that teaching and residential universities are sure to do great things for India, must assure themselves first that the professors of these universities would be a far superior class of persons to the college professors of to-day, and that their relations to their students would be better than what they are in the case of our present-day college professors and students. We are not optimistic in this respect, though we wish good luck to those who are.

In our last number we quoted Burke to support our contention that circumstances are a great factor in human affairs and that therefore what may be necessary and feasible in one country, may not be feasible or necessary in another. In this article we contend further that, when the circumstances of two countries are different, a system which does good in one country may not produce similar beneficial results in another.

It has been taken for granted that because teaching and residential universities in England have done good to English youth, therefore such universities must do good to Indian youth. Let us, however, examine the conditions.

In England, professors and students can and do mix on terms of perfect social equality. They belong to the same community, race and society. In India European professors and some Indian professors, too, cannot and do not mix on terms of social equality with their students. They belong to different communities, races and societies. However affable the English professors here in India may be, the gulf between them and their students, generally speaking, is impassable, so long at any rate as India continues to be treated as the Cinderella of the British Empire. This may be a harsh truth, but it is a fact which it is perfectly useless to conceal or blink.

In England the intellectual and cultural aims and goals of professors and students are the same, and are not in any way antagonistic. An English professor naturally desires and intends that his English students should in time equal him in cul-

ture and intellectual equipment and strength; nay, he must often be delighted with the prospect of his students leaving him behind in the race, and outshining him in original work and name and fame. What a great stimulus all this must be to the work of both teachers and students! In India do the European professors welcome the prospect of their Indian students becoming their equals, not to speak of their being their superiors, in culture, in intellectual equipment and strength and in original work? Or do they work with such a prospect in view, to bring about its realisation? We have never heard that as a class they do so, or that a majority of them or even an appreciable minority of them do so. Do they as a class help and encourage their students to rise to the top? We shall be glad to know that they do or will do at the end of the next quarter of a century.

"Pursue knowledge for the sake of knowledge", that is a counsel of perfection. It does not rouse any suspicion if the adviser be a Sannyāsin. But if a man's mouth gives this advice, and his conduct shows that he intends to keep all the best paid appointments and all the power to himself and his class, then even we, backward and dull-witted orientals as we are, even we cannot help laughing *behind his back*. The Provincial Educational and other Services may have been constituted with the best of intentions, but they have served as a great damper on our educational enthusiasm, and they are calculated to dwarf our intellect and capacity and destroy our self-confidence and self-respect. So long as they are not put an end to, teaching and residential universities can do us but little good. Hence if Lord Hardinge wishes success to the true object of such universities, he should forthwith do away with these Provincial Services, making it possible for able men to rise to the top in all departments.

In England the political status, aims and goals of both professors and students are the same. The student is, or may be, when he comes of age, as much a citizen as his professor. There is no desire, inducement or thought in the professor's mind to keep his students in political tutelage or subordination. The students take part in politics and political debates and in political

elections. Politics is not taboo to them. There is no political surveillance or watching over them. There is no desire or effort to make them entirely non-political creatures, beings without national consciousness in a political sense.

All the circumstances detailed in the previous paragraphs make the relations between students and professors in British Universities cordial and sympathetic and fruitful of good results.

What is the case in India? The students desire to have perfect citizenship,—whether within or outside the British Empire need not concern the practical politician. The European professors, speaking generally, look upon such an aspiration as almost a crime. The students like to keep touch with contemporary politics. But there is a circular, strictly enforced, which prevents them from having anything to do with politics. The reading of newspapers and political periodicals is discouraged. Even the academic discussion of political topics is not allowed. Supervision and control of students with a political object in view is nowhere absent, degenerating in parts of the country into actual shadowing and spying. We are not here discussing how far such a state of things may or may not have arisen from political or administrative necessity; we are only stating circumstances as they are. And these circumstances lead many, if not most, European professors, to bring to their work the minds of police superintendents to some extent, making them look upon their students as potential political offenders. We do not see how mutual love and confidence can grow in such an atmosphere. Nor do we see how manhood can develop under such circumstances. For after all, it is the aim of universities to make *men*; not to erect palatial hostels and costly laboratories and pay handsome salaries to professors:

"Ill fare the *schools* to hastening ill a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

It may be said that we are importing politics into the discussion of an educational question. Is the rule, then, that politics should not be imported into the solution or discussion of educational questions, to be binding on non-officials alone? We do not think that any official, from the highest to the lowest, can say that the idea of controlling the whole life of a student, includ-

ing what (besides text-books) he reads, what he says and does and writes, what he hears, what company he keeps, &c., during the plastic period of youth, so that he may be cast as far as possible in a non-political mould,—that this idea had nothing whatever to do with the genesis of the residential university schemes. We do not think that any official can say that the residential university idea is an entirely non-political idea, that it is not in the least meant to tackle a political problem in a particular way. Whatever the officials may say, let us be frank and say at once that we do not believe in the current pious opinion that students should have nothing to do, even in an academic way, with politics. Man,—modern, civilised man, in any case,—is a political animal. And if we want our young men to be modern and civilised, they must be political. Men do not on coming of age all at once become what they wish to be. There is preparation needed. Politics is a serious thing. Unless a student takes interest in politics in his youth, he cannot become a politician or even a good citizen in his maturer years. Nobody has yet contended that the study of history is bad for students, though we may come to that yet. Politics is only contemporary history. If the study of past history be good and necessary, is the study of contemporary history, of how history is made, necessarily bad and needless? Government, no doubt, wishes to control and mould the lives of our students in order that they not make mischief and get into trouble; but it should be remembered that men who are, or have been made, perfectly harmless, actually or potentially, men who have been made incapable of mischief, are also likely to be powerless for good. Control should be such as to leave the development of many-sided capacity, initiative, resourcefulness and strength of character entirely unaffected. The glory of man's nature lies in this that his conduct may be self-determined. Even innocence, like that of some of the lower animals, is not noble if it be not self-determined. Therefore the more one is deprived of the opportunity and power of self-determined activity, the more difficult is it made for him to rise to the full height of his being.

Much has been made of the fact that there is no elevating social life in our uni-

verities. This social life consists in the relation of students among themselves and the mutual relation of professors and students. Our observations in the previous paragraphs will make it abundantly clear how much possibility there may be in the proposed residential universities of a sincere social life of an elevating character, based on the mutual loving, cordial and trustful relations of professors and students.

As regards social intercourse among the body of the students themselves, there are obviously difficulties in the way. There is, to begin with, the great division between Hindus and Musalmans. A social cleavage as regards intermarriage and interdining has existed all along. Social intercourse had, however, been growing in spite of this cleavage. Lord Curzon's attempt to create a Musalman province by the partition of Bengal, Sir B. Fuller's "favourite wife" theory, Lord Morley's communal over-representation of Musalmans and under-representation of Hindus in the enlarged legislative councils, and similar causes have made Hindu-Musalman relations more strained than before. When the relations between the grown-up men of two communities are not cordial, they are bound to have their counterpart among younger men. In the educational sphere the Hindu and Musalman University schemes are likely to produce similar results. The proposed Dacca University may not be a Musalman University, in the sense of being managed and staffed mostly by Musalmans and resorted to mostly by Musalman students, but that it is professedly intended to soothe Musalman susceptibilities, every newspaper-reader knows. So that there is no dearth of difficulties in the way of promoting neighbourly feelings between Hindus and Musalmans. In the proposed residential universities Hindu and Musalman students are bound to be kept apart in separate hostels. But even so far as the Hindus themselves are concerned, there will be much less social solidarity than was being gradually produced in and by means of the students' messes. We speak from our experience of Bengal. Before the students' lodgings had begun to come under the control of the University and to be inspected by university officials, students of different castes messed together and dined

in the same room, squatting side by side on the floor in the same line. But now "the principle of religious neutrality" has invaded the university-controlled hostels and messes, and Brahmins and Hindus and superior and inferior castes do not dine together. To be fair, we must say that the reactionary phases of the Hindu revival and of the Swadeshi movement have also tended to produce this evil consequence. But what was a tendency produced by these phases has been given a fixed outward shape by "the principle of religious neutrality." What social life there would be in the proposed residential universities can also be imagined from the annexed extract from an advertisement, published in the *Mahratta* of Poona, of the officially managed Tata Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore:—

Quarters are provided for the students at the rate of Rs. 10 per mensem. The students have up to the present been divided into four messes; namely, the Brahmin mess, the non-vegetarian Hindu mess, the Bengalee mess, and the mess for those living in European style. Separate mess rooms and kitchens and a staff of servants are maintained in each mess.

If four messes (and there may be more in future) based mostly on caste and province be necessary for a very small post-graduate institution, how many, one fearfully wonders, may a residential university require! The object of the present article is neither to assail caste nor to attack Hindu orthodoxy. The object is simply to show how little chance there is of a thorough-going social solidarity springing up among our young men as the result of residential universities.

From considerations briefly embodied in the previous paragraphs we have come to the conclusion that residential universities in India in her present circumstances cannot be expected to produce the results which they produce in Great Britain and other Western lands. But we do not want to be dogmatic. If anybody is so sanguine as to think that the proposed residential universities will produce the same social life and social solidarity among our students, and among students and professors,—the same culture, the same spirit of research, the same ardent love of freedom, the same civic consciousness, the same intellectual strength and alertness, the same responsibility and unfettered freedom, in one word, the same

character, then he is welcome to do so. We would only ask him to reconcile his optimism with the considerations we have urged.

We wish to place one more consideration before the public. It is the question of expense. We do not know whether the proposed residential universities would be strictly and purely residential, or day scholars residing with their guardians in the university towns would also be admitted. In the former case the number of students would be limited by two causes. Hostel accommodation cannot be unlimited, and the official tendency to restrict the benefits of high education within narrow limits, would stand in the way of the provision of ample hostel accommodation. The second limiting cause would be the comparatively expensive character of residential institutions. So that a purely residential institution can benefit only the favoured few; and if no non-residential institution teaching up to the standards of the residential university be allowed to exist in the same town, as is sure to be the case, then the poorer local students would not only not be benefited but would be actually deprived of higher education. And the poorer students not only form the majority of our young men but are the most capable and aspiring. Think then what the results of strictly residential universities may be.

Supposing, however, that the proposed universities would not be entirely residential, that they would also admit day-scholars residing in the homes of their parents or other guardians in the University towns, in what respect would they differ from our existing colleges, some of whose students reside in college hostels and some with their guardians? Would the rose

smell sweeter because of being called by another name? Would colleges be better places of education simply because one proposes to call them residential universities?

Apart from the expensive character of residential institutions, there is a more fundamental question that requires attention. If a student can attend college or university lectures from his home, as a day scholar, is it better for him to reside at home or to reside in the college or university buildings? Is home-life better, or college or university-life better? Unless his home is really degrading and his home-life really sordid, which cannot be predicated of the homes of our students generally, we think home-life, with its common joys and sorrows, its little or great trials and sacrifices, its daily round of household duties, such as characterise our homes, is better than college or university-life. We are a domestic people and our ideals are domestic. Wider ideals should be grafted on these without sacrificing them. But the comparative view which we have taken of home-life and hostel-life has commended itself to advanced thinkers in the West, too, as the following observations of Mr. Frederick Harrison will show:—

"The entire 'public school,' or barrack system, the college or cenobite system, as practised in England, with all their unnatural consequences and essentially material spirit, may be, as things are, necessary evils; they are thoroughly abnormal and vicious in principle. The normal and noble education can only be given in *familias*, and not in barracks or convents. The moral, religious and social stimulus of education ought to rise mainly there, and its ground-work should come from the parents."

Of the vicious habits often originating in school, college or university hostels, we do not propose to speak in detail.

REDISTRIBUTION OF BOUNDARIES

IT is not quite seven years when we had Lord Curzon overhauling the whole machinery of the Civil Government of this country and Lord Kitchener doing the same with the Military. And now we have

Lord Hardinge going in for equally expensive and farther reaching changes. Will it be impertinent in an Indian to suggest some real economy—now that three administrations have to be carried out?

one, and capitals (Dacca and Calcutta) deserted and new ones created. The Emperor's word having passed, it is idle now to inveigh against the Delhi expenditure, or the re-partition of Bengal. But in the redistribution of boundaries may lie the real retrenchment in expenses and the really satisfying arrangement which may well last for a hundred years to come.

I. *The North-Eastern Frontier*.—It will at once be conceded that recent developments in China and in Tibet require the presence in the extreme North-East of an officer directly under the orders of the Government of India who will keep *personal* control of the marches between China and Tibet on the one side and India and Burma on the other. That officer with a few assistants and a sufficient military contingent should be a peripatetic gentleman, with his dominions covering the Kachin country and the Lakhimpur district of Assam (the most North-Eastern), the Daffas, Akas, Miris, Abors, Mishmis et hoc genus omne; with one of his eyes across the border and the other over these savage tribes inside it. He should not have on his brain such comparatively advanced districts as Sylhet, Cachar, Goalpara or Sibsagar; he should be keeper of the marches pure and simple; and thus will real administrative efficiency gain, and not by creating a mongrel province which will be neither the one nor the other. By detaching the Northern portion of existing Burma (Kachin Country) from that province, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma will be relieved of much frontier troubles, and he will be in a position to devote that time and attention to Mandalay and Rangoon and Pegu and Moulmein which their civilization and importance demand. And be it noted that the Kachins, Abors, Mishmis and most Lakhimpur people are akin to one another in language and come from the same Ethnic stock. The capital of this N. E. Frontier may well be placed at the beautiful village of Sadiya—where there is already railway communication and where the buildings and cantonments need not cost more than a few lakhs.

II. It follows therefore that the southern portion of Assam from Sibsagar, south-west and south, should all go to the Bengal

Governorship, including the Naga country and Manipur. This tract is interspersed with hill tribes such as Garos, Khasis, Lushais and Nagas; and they will serve to give that spice and romance to the Governor, which the marshes of Lower Bengal so much want.

III. To tack on the whole of Purnea, and Santal Parganas, and Manbhum with Dhalbhum to Behar is hardly justifiable. They should go to provide a few healthy and light districts to the Bengal Civilian. And so should the Oriya districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, and Ganjam (the boundary being the Languliya River and the port of Chicacole in Ganjam) go to Bengal.

These districts of Orissa are so far away from Behar that it is hard for their people to get to it over the heads of the Nagpuri-ans. The rest of Orissa consists of the Tributary mahals—which are almost a compact area of native states—which may for the sake of the Imperial word be tacked on to Behar, without much discomfort to their peoples.

IV. The Benares Division of the enormous United Provinces, may, on account of the linguistic affinity and the permanent settlement of Land Revenue, be tacked on to Behar.

V. The *Doab*, viz., the country between the Ganges and Jumna as far as is opposite to Delhi and Gurgaon, viz.—the U. P. Districts of Bulandshahr, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur and DehraDun and the Punjab Districts of Gurgaon, Delhi, Roh-tak, Karnal, Ambala upto Simla Hills—to be formed into *The Viceregal Domains*. These are rich districts and will amply pay for the reasonable expenses of the Viceroy and his councillors with their offices. These domains will serve to be a check upon extravagances of "superior pur-zons" and immaculate commanders-in-chief. The Viceroy, instead of being the supreme authority in India, is sure in his isolation to be only a post office whereby will be communicated pious opinions for the enlightenment of the fossils of the India Office. And the only practical use of His Excellency at Delhi will be shows and Darbars, Honours and Dignities—for which this small but rich tract of country

—Brahmavarta and Madhyadesha of old—should be enough.

VI. If then the U. P. is to be shorn of the Benares Division in the east, and the Meerut Division in the west, it may well expand in the South. And we come to that mongrel Province—the Central Provinces. Linguistically, the northern portion of the C. P. is Hindi speaking, and the Southern (including the Berars) are Mahratta speaking. Well let the northern portion go to the U. P. and the Berars and the districts of Chanda, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Betul, Nimar and part of Hoshangabad be made over to the neighbouring Mahratta Government of Bombay. There will be a distinct saving of the administrative expenses in the C. P. whose revenue mismanagement has in times gone by resulted in almost continuous famine and the direst distress in the heart of India.

VII. What Bombay will thus gain, it may be presumed, it will digest to the satisfaction of all concerned. And it may well give up *Sind* to the Punjab; *Sind* being almost an independent administration and Karachi being the sole port to which the Land of the Five Rivers sends its produce for export. The Sindis are more akin to the Punjabi than to the Bombayite.

VIII. The Oriya speaking portion of Ganjam, it has already been suggested, should be linked with the rest of the Oriyas.

IX. And lastly Ranchi or Hazaribagh or Daltonganj should be the head quarters right through the year of the Triple Government of Behar and Chhotanagpur and Orissa. The waste of money implied in a summer capital and a winter one is now not only an anachronism but a folly when good places are available which can keep the brains cool, the body fit and the mind alert throughout the year and which will save the eternal flitting of Governments to the heights of the Himalayas, to the detriment of all interests save those of the high officials concerned. One less therefore will be welcome!

I have ventured to sketch the above idea here, in order to direct attention—not only of the Public but of the responsible Officials to real economy—present and prospective. I have much to say about each single proposal made above; but refrain, as much of your valuable space should not be taken at once by ideas which after all may strike some as chimerical.

K. P. Bosa.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND ART IN THE WEST

INDIA is looking outwards, eastward and westward. She is trying to think in terms of foreign travels. She is yearning to learn from all countries in order to set her own old house in order. She casts her eye on the whole globe and finds something to entice her everywhere. She discovers good wages in Argentina and British Columbia: she scents cheap technical education in Japan: she is attracted by the pearl-business in Paris: she sees rank and wealth waiting for her at the Inns of Court and the Civil Service examinations in London; she has miniature exhibitions of her art-ware and curios almost everywhere, at Naples, Gibraltar, Algeria and other places where the idle rich do most congregate. "Wherever you go, you are sure to find India

in evidence. That is a good omen, a happy augury of better things to come. Let our young men go abroad in groups, companies and battalions, by shiploads and caravans, in cargo-boats and cattle-ships, in any way they can, if only they go. Let them run away from home and wire for money from Aden or Singapore. India must breathe the free, fresh air of the sea before she can recover her health and strength. The ocean calls her, Sea-sickness is the best national tonic. The wanderlust must seize our boys and girls, and then the new era will dawn: then the new era shall dawn.

But a serious question presents itself to us at the outset. How can we best gain the esteem and good will of the intelligent

and influential sections of the community in any foreign country? We know that at present we are all helots (or nearly all of us), and that as a nation we have no social standing anywhere. People may pity us, but they can't respect us. Misfortune by itself is no passport to sympathy. Merit wins respect, not mere suffering. Now India is for the present simply hors de combat—she does not count at all. She is supposed to be pensioned off from history for the time being. She does not figure in politics and no one cares for her. She may as well not exist at all. She is just a big zero and nothing more. Under these circumstances, how can we show the world that we are not savages or idiots? How can we claim social recognition and esteem on account of our common kinship with the Aryan races? You know that after all the Europeans and the Hindus are descended from the same dear old Aryan ancestors. Only our forefathers chose India, which had rather a hot climate, while the other wanderers happened to pitch their tents in colder countries. Hence this cursed pigment, that erects a barrier between the Hindus and other civilised races everywhere. Well, that can't be helped, for if the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, still less can the Hindu do so. But we would like to re-assert our position as fellow-members of the Aryan family in practical life, and not merely in treatises on philology and comparative religion. That is the problem. The cultivated classes in America, France and Germany must be taught to sympathise with India and to appreciate her history and achievements. It is only through our historical traditions that we can call ourselves "civilised." India can be classed among civilised nations only by the luminous reflection cast on her present by her past, as the moon shines by the borrowed light of the sun. So we must try to find some way of bringing home to the consciousness of the upper classes of Europe and America the easily-forgotten truth that we are after all their kinsmen, though we may have wasted our substance in riotous living in recent times and may no longer be worthy to be called their brethren. But blood is thicker than water, and an Aryan race cannot be ranked with the descendants of Ham, however close the

two may have come to being "bedfellows in misery." The great heritage of the Caucasian intellect is ours, and we have also contributed to it.

Here I touch upon the only means that we can employ in order to secure for the Hindus adequate recognition as a civilised race. We must bring out all that is best and brightest in our history. We must not hide our light under a bushel now. We must on the contrary advertise our intellectual belongings everywhere, for a busy world cannot find out a man or a nation that is too timid or too modest to tell it the truth. Modesty is a great virtue for the individual, but national humility does not befit India at this crisis. So we must furbish anew all the old pots and pans, and send them to the great centres of Paris, Berlin, Heidelberg, Rome, Boston, New York, and Washington. There we have good connoisseurs, who can judge of the merits of different performances. India must make ready to present to the world whatever is valuable in her past work, for all backward nations are on their trial, and time is passing.

Now of all the treasures of Hindu history, one of the most precious is our philosophy. Grammar too is among our masterpieces, but the West has no use for *taddhita* suffixes and *bahuvrihi* compounds. The genius of Panini and Katyayana cannot therefore be made a marketable commodity now. Ancient India was also great in the sciences in Algebra and Geometry, in Astronomy and Medicine, but the modern world can have only an antiquarian interest in the *Sulva Sutras* and the *Surya Siddhanta*, for those old achievements have long since been surpassed in the West. No one will learn Astronomy from *Aryabhatta* or Medicine from *Charaka*, though a few hints from them may be gratefully accepted. Literature is another of our trump cards, and we can play it even now, for Kalidasa can never grow obsolete, so long as there are young men and lovely maidens in the world. And Valmiki too will remain a great name, (only the poem should be pruned a little in order to be put in shape). I doubt if other poets and dramatists can be appreciated here. Jayadeva will probably find admirers, as he sings of the deathless passion of love, and Bhavabhuti too

may gain an audience for the *Uttara-Rama-charita*. But the great difficulty with literature is that it loses more than half its beauty in the process of translation, and only a genius can translate poetry as Fitzgerald translated *Khayyam*. And even then Fitzgerald is to Omar much "as moonlight is to sunlight and as water unto wine." Nevertheless good versions of Sanskrit epic and lyric poetry can win popularity in the West. My esteemed friend, Dr. A. W. Ryder, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of California, has the gift of translating Sanskrit poetry into beautiful English verse, and he is an ardent admirer of Kalidasa and other dramatists. He is engaged in writing a large volume on Kalidasa, and has already translated the *Meghadūta*, *Sakuntalā*, and *Mṛcchakatika* into English. His verses can catch the popular ear, as he is not pedantic, and tries to interpret the poet rather than to give a mere paraphrase of the original. I am sure he will do a great deal to popularise Kalidasa in the English-speaking world. I shall on some other occasion present the readers with specimens of his poetry. In the meantime, I only wish "more power to his elbow," as the phrase goes.

Further, it is only Europeans who can interpret Sanskrit literature to the Western world through metrical translations. No Hindu can hope to achieve even the slightest success in this line. The poor performances of Mr. R. C. Dutt and others show that this part of the work must be left to gifted European scholars. The vinā of language, touched with alien fingers, gives only a few jarring notes.

I am one of those who believe that philosophy and art are our best instruments in this enterprise. Hindu philosophy is the great friend-foe of India. It is our pride and our curse. It is the most superb achievement of the Hindu intellect, and the most disastrous force in Hindu history. We have not much use for it at home just now. We have too much of Brahman and *mukti* for the moment in India. We want our young men to learn economics, science, and sociology, and not to unravel the mysteries of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, *Samprajñita* and *Asamprajñita Samādhi*. *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* can go on very well without our help just at present. Our scanty intellec-

tual resources should be devoted entirely to practical pursuits and not to metaphysical speculation. But with Europe and America, the case is different. These vigorous races, in the heyday of their career, possess a superabundance of energy, which seeks outlets in all directions. Their intellectual life is therefore extremely rich and varied. They can spare some of their ablest men for such out-of-the-way pursuits as the study of Assyriology and Egyptology and the investigation of the history of fossils and dialects. They are now in a condition similar to that of India 500 years before Christ. They can develop all the arts and sciences without injuring their social life in any way, for they have more vitality than they can consume in ordinary activities. Hence they start to discover the North Pole and recklessly sacrifice their lives for aviation. They welcome every contribution to their intellectual wealth, from whatever quarter it may come. India can therefore lay Europe under a debt of gratitude by introducing her philosophy as a subject of study at Western universities. All European scholars know that India is rich in metaphysics. Prof. Deussen of Kiel learned Sanskrit in order to study Hindu philosophy, and he is now the ablest expositor of the Vedānta in Europe. He has translated Shankara's commentary into German. Prof. Garbe of Tübingen is equally enamoured of the Sāṅkhya, and his treatise on the Sāṅkhya ranks as a standard work. He is also the translator of Aniruddha's *Bhāṣya* on the Sāṅkhya. Prof. J. H. Woods of Harvard took the trouble of going to India for the study of philosophy, and he now lectures on Hindu philosophy at that greatest of all American universities. Thus we find that there is a disposition in Western academic circles to recognise our philosophy as a regular subject of tuition like Greek or German philosophy. Prof. Rhys Davids, the noted Pāli scholar, has declared that the Dialogues of Buddha will one day rank with the Dialogues of Plato as masterpieces of philosophical literature. Harvard has indeed done India an inestimable service by including Hindu philosophy in curriculum, and arranging for advanced courses of lectures on the various systems. I was quite agreeably surprised to find Prof. Woods helping a few American students to

decipher Patanjali's Yoga-sutras in the original Sanskrit. The example set by Harvard will have far-reaching results, as what Harvard does today, other American universities will do tomorrow. Harvard is the premier university in this country. It is not very reasonable to study Sanskrit only for the sake of comparative philology and archaeological research. Up to this time, Sanskrit has been valued in the West, not for its literature or its philosophy, but for the resemblance of its grammatical forms to Greek words and the wealth of information about early customs and beliefs that can be gleaned from the Brahmanas and the Vedas. This way of looking at Sanskrit did not serve any useful purpose for us, as it tended to put Sanskrit on a level with Zend, Etruscan, or any other old and interesting language, which was to be cultivated merely because the people who spoke it happened to possess the great virtue of being "primitive." But the introduction of Hindu philosophy at Western universities alters the situation, for our philosophy deservedly ranks very high in the estimation of thinkers. If the Rigveda is read, a scholar will rise with the impression that the Hindus were a simple pastoral and agricultural people, fond of war and offspring. And that line of study does not lead further. But when our classical literature and our philosophical treatises are studied, people know that there were intellectual giants in India in those days. Our philosophy takes the Western mind captive on account of its variety, its boldness, its thoroughness and its clearness. Every one knows that Prof. Max Muller became an admirer of the Vedanta only through reading the Vedanta texts for purely literary purposes. It is impossible that the wonderful range of Hindu speculation, beginning with the Chārvākas and the Mādhyamikas and ending with the Shāṅkaras should not excite the admiration of all students of philosophy, whatever their personal views may be. I myself do not subscribe to any system of Hindu philosophy, but I see that those old thinkers perhaps exhausted the possibilities of human thought in the field of pure metaphysics. I know a professor of Sanskrit who calls the Hindus "specialists in philosophy." Thus our philosophy can supply

a connecting link between the educated classes in India and Europe.

The work of presenting our philosophy to the West can best be done at the Universities, for the common people as a rule have not much time for philosophy. It is only the superior minds that go in search of Reality. To the majority of mankind the world of the senses is the alpha and omega of life, as Mādhavāchārya sadly complained long ago. The Universities keep philosophy alive, and philosophy keeps the nation living, for philosophy, *rightly studied by the few who are fit for it*, is the mother of idealism in ethics. But we must remember that our old methods of treating Hindu philosophy must undergo a thorough revision, if we wish to introduce it at the universities here. On this all-important subject I have to submit the following observations.

First, Hindu philosophy must not be offered in connection with any religious sect or cult. It must be altogether dissociated from religion of every type and variety, for the universities are not concerned with religion at all. They may welcome pure philosophy, but have no love for any Eastern religion. In fact they are absolutely neutral in religion. If religion and philosophy are mixed up, it is philosophy that suffers, not religion, for religion has nothing to lose, while philosophy loses its very life-breath, its independence and rationality. However valuable religion may be from a certain standpoint it must be divorced from philosophy.

Hence we must take care not to interpret Hindu philosophy after the manner of Shankara and Ramanuja. We should rather take the earlier philosophers like Kapila, Buddha and Brihaspati (?) for our models. Shankara's great Bhāṣhya is a theological treatise as well as a philosophical dissertation. Now the West is not interested in our old quarrels about Sruti and Smriti. It does not care whether certain texts of the Vedas and the Upanishads can be tortured to support Advaita, Dvaita or Sāṅkhya. It does not base philosophy on ancient dilapidated Sanskrit verses of doubtful authenticity and questionable import. It is for this reason that I am always afraid of asking any foreigner to read what is supposed to be the masterpiece of Hindu

philosophical literature—Shankara's *Shāri-raka Bhāṣhya*. That famous book is full of the highest wisdom and the most disgusting nonsense. No European can read all the interminable discussions on the texts of the Upanishads without learning to despise our philosophy and our philosophers. And such important and interesting inquiries as those relating to the eligibility of the Devas and the Shudras for the study of *Brahma-vidyā* would evoke unqualified derision in any philosophical circle. Hence we must not wash all this dirty and very old linen in public here. We must take the wheat and leave the chaff. We should re-edit and re-arrange the abundant material that we possess. At present it is not in a fit condition to be exhibited out here.

Secondly, the distinction between orthodox and heterodox systems, that was established by cunning priests, must not be exported beyond the confines of India. The West does not ask if the *Chārvākas* or the *Jainas* accept the authority of the *Vedas*: it only wants to know if they could reason. Our old formula of the sanctity of *Sruti* has no meaning for the Western world. Hence we should study all systems and interpret them rationally. The absurd scheme of classing six systems as orthodox and the three great systems of the *Charvakas*, the *Jainas* and the *Buddhas* as heretical is a remnant of the age of priestly fanaticism. It has no place in our time. Even Prof. Max Muller was misled in his treatment of our philosophy by this ridiculous and artificial enumeration. Dr. Stuart, of Stanford University, asked me why Max Muller discussed only six systems while I told him that there were nine and more. I had to explain that the six systems were needlessly kept distinct from the others as "orthodox"—an idea which amused him very much. Hence we must not bring on the theological rubbish with us when we come here.

Thirdly, we must not study Hindu philosophy in the partisan spirit that prevails at Benares and Naddea. The universities here do not require *Naiyāyikas*, *Vedantins* or *Yogis*. They can appreciate critical and well-informed students of philosophy. The war-cries of the different schools have no interest for them. Of course a scholar

will have his preferences but no one should make a kind of sect out of a system of philosophy. The Hindu practice of attaching oneself to one system and "professing" it, is altogether alien to Western modes of thought. Our earnestness about philosophy has degenerated into fanaticism. This spirit must be got rid of before a person can expound Hindu philosophy to the West.

Fourthly, philosophy must be separated from all mysticism and practical work. For instance, the universities do not expect or desire a professor of philosophy to help the students in realising *Brahman* all at once, or practising *prāṇāyāma*, *āsana*, *dhāraṇa* and other yoga-exercises, or preparing for a life of renunciation and asceticism. We have to present only the intellectual aspects of our philosophy, and must not introduce breathing-lessons in connection with lectures on *Pātanjali*. Philosophy will get a bad name, if it is regarded as the hand-made of yoga. I believe that the less we talk of yoga and its funny injunction the better it will be for us both in India and elsewhere.

Fifthly, some knowledge of Western philosophy must also be acquired in order to interpret our philosophy in terms of European thought. Students are easily led from the known to the unknown, from that which is familiar to that which is remote. Hence it is almost impossible to make a course of lectures on Hindu philosophy interesting and instructive without referring to European philosophers for points of contrast and comparison. European thinkers appreciate Hindu philosophy more keenly when this method is followed in exposition. Our terms are so strange to them that they are at first puzzled as to their meaning. Besides, some of our theories, which may at first sight appear fantastic, assume quite a respectable appearance when they can be affiliated to well-known Western doctrines. For example, an effort can be made to establish some relation between Panini's Theory of Words and Plato's Theory of Ideas. I may add that the association of Panini's name with the theory of words discussed in *Shankara-bhāṣhya*, *Sarva darshana-sangraha* and other treatises is entirely my own device for giving a name to this remarkable and

profound theory. Now if we can compare Plato and Panini, we really provide Panini with a good introductory letter for Western scholars. Plato is already their teacher, and any one who may be said to have something in common with him will be received with delight. In the same way, points of contact can be discovered between neoplatonism and the Sankhya, Fichte and Yoga, etc. etc. It is a fascinating and fruitful line of inquiry.

I believe that Western universities will soon learn to value Hindu philosophy, if this plan is carried out. A good text-book is also needed. I hope it will be forthcoming in the near future. Philosophy is our ladder to social recognition in the assembly of nations as members of the Aryan family.

The second string to our bow is Art. All cultured people in Europe and America love art or have to say that they love it. A taste for art is a fashionable accomplishment, like an automobile or a summer villa. Ladies who know nothing of art must go into raptures over old pictures and ugly busts, for they belong to the cultured classes and are expected to appreciate art. Well, something is better than nothing. As they say, assume a virtue if you have it not. Such homage to art will pave the way for real worship. But oriental art is not known in the West as it ought to be. America has taken steps to enrich its museums with specimens of Japanese art.

The Boston Museum possesses such a fine collection of Japanese art that it has been called "the Oriental Louvre." Mr. Okakura Kakuzo, the famous author of "Ideals of the East," has been engaged to interpret Japanese art and bring further contributions from his country. It would be a great advantage for us, if something like this could be done for India. Lecturers on Indian Art would be cordially welcomed in American society. But they must know their subject thoroughly. They must not be mere dabblers in art. They must also be able to treat the question of art-development in India historically.

Scholars possessing a competent knowledge of the history of Indian Art can do much good to our country by coming here as lecturers and expositors. They cannot expect to make money by this work, but lovers of art need not be told that money is the last thing in the world worth troubling about.

In conclusion, I would ask young India to look "outward." The whole world is open to you. You can make careers for yourselves everywhere, if you are worthy. Youth should yearn for experience and adventure. Come out of your Indian holes—or homes. See the world and its ways. Know the great nations and make yourselves known to them. Then all our hopes will be realised—not before, not before.

HAR DAYAL.

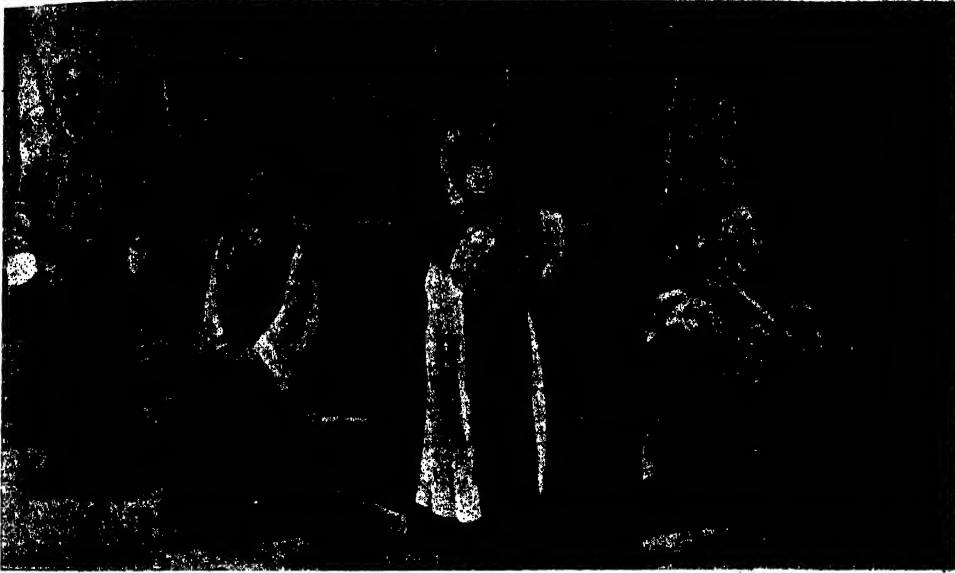
DARJEELING

DARJEELING is the summer capital of Bengal. It is also a health resort. It is frequented by pleasure-seekers, too. Summer and autumn are the seasons when it is full of visitors.

Until the year 1878, when the Northern Bengal State Railway was opened for traffic, the route from Calcutta to Darjeeling, available for those who had the time, money, and energy necessary to undertake so formidable a journey, was by rail from Howrah, the terminus of the East Indian

Railway on the west bank of the Hoogly, to Sahebgunge, a distance of 219 miles; then by steam ferry across the Ganges to Carragola, thence by bullock cart to the river opposite Dingra Ghat; after crossing which, again by bullock cart or palkee gharry to Purneah, Kissengunge, Titalya, and Silliguri, whence the ascent commenced, via the Punkabaree Road, which joins the present cart road at Kurseong.

The whole journey took from five to six days, and was about as exhausting and



A Tibetan merchant and his wife.

A Bhutea woman with a baby.

Two Lepchas,

uncomfortable a journey as can well be imagined. Those who can recall what the journey was in those days, while doing it in comfort now in less than 24 hours, may well look back to it as a horrid nightmare.

The traveller has to cross the Ganges at Damookdeah, 116 miles from Calcutta, by a large ferry steamer, which proceeds to Sara Ghat, on the north bank of the Ganges.

A curious feature connected with the crossing of the Ganges is that, in consequence of the ever-changing nature of the river, cutting away the bank as it does at one place and increasing it at another; the point of departure on one side and the point of arrival on the other has frequently to be altered many hundred yards (sometimes several miles). The place where at one time a station existed and trains were running, is at another time a waste of waters. So, again, the spot where shortly before the picturesque native boats placidly glided, may present the bustling scene of a railway station.

These frequent changes of the river require careful navigation at night, and small boats are moored, with coloured lights, to guide the steamer.

It may be noted that the mileage of the railway is marked with red figures, and that



A Bhutea Woman.

of the cart road in black, on the different mile posts.

It may not be out of place to note, for



A Bhutea Coolie.

The Ghoom Dwarf.

The Ghoom Witch.

the traveller's comfort, that it is advisable before leaving Silliguri to put on extra clothing for the upward trip, and to have an overcoat or extra wrap handy, so as to guard against the comparatively great changes of temperature. The traveller will also do well to provide himself with a water-proof coat in the rainy season, i.e., from June to October.

The upper, or northern, part of the Terai, at the base of the hills, is covered with forest and dense jungle, except where clearances have been made for tea or other cultivation.

Ascending now to the hill-country, we find a tribe called the Lepchas, who are the primitive inhabitants of Sikkim, which, of course, in its wider application also includes British Sikkim or Darjeeling. Their physiognomy is markedly Tibetan in its character; their language is radically identical with Tibetan, though there are important points of difference; they wear their hair Tibetan fashion, plaited into pig-tails; they have many customs in common with the Tibetan race; and their religion, such as it is, is a modified form of Buddhism. All these facts point conclusively to the trans-Himalayan origin of Lepchas, though they differ in many respects from their Tibetan prototypes. Still this race, so long as its historical traditions go back—a period of three

hundred years,—has been hemmed into the Sikkim tract of mountain country, barely sixty miles in breadth. The Lepchas have a language of their own with written characters. They possess a tradition of the Flood, during which a couple escaped to the top of the Mountain Tendong, near Darjeeling. The Lepcha, unlike most mountaineers, is timid, peaceful, and no brawler, qualities which contrast strongly with those possessed by his immediate neighbours to the east and west, of whom the Goorkhas are proverbially brave and warlike, and the Bhutanese notoriously cruel and quarrelsome. He is of short stature, four feet eight inches to five feet, broad across the chest, and with muscular arms, but small hands and slender wrists. The face is broad, flat, and of eminently Tartar character, flat-nosed and oblique-eyed, with no beard and little moustache. The complexion is sallow, or often a clear olive. The hair is plaited, the women wearing two long pig-tails and the men only one, this being the most readily distinguishable mark between the sexes, as the similarity of garments and the hairless faces of the men are apt to mislead the stranger. The lower limbs are powerfully developed, befitting genuine mountaineers. The feet, like the hands, are small. The Lepcha, though very womanish in the cast of his countenance, has invariably a mild, frank, and even



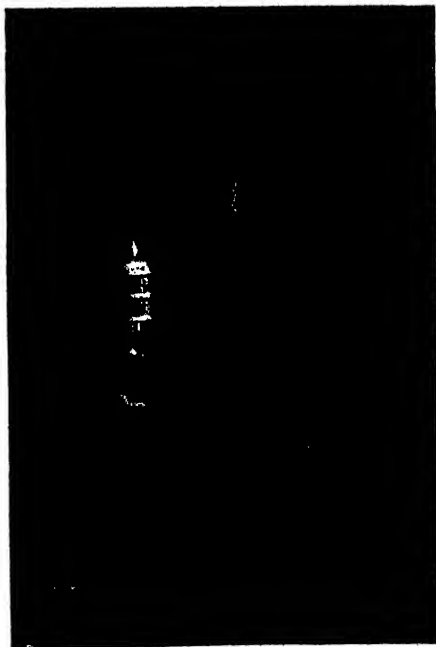
A group of Nepalese.

A Bhutia Woman and three Tibetans.

Two Nepalese Coolies.

engaging expression. The young girls are particularly pleasant to look upon, not from any beauty of features, but from their smiling faces and evident good nature. The children also are bright, lively, laughing urchins. The old women, however, are not so pleasing in appearance. The Lepchas as a race show a particular aversion to cold water, and neither their persons nor their garments can be described as clean. If they come to a river, however, they readily take the opportunity of bathing, being very expert swimmers. In disposition they are amiable and obliging, frank, humorous, and polite; in their address free and unrestrained, and without a trace of the servility of the Hindus. They may be seen scampering about and playing like children, the woman often dealing out tremendous thumps to the men in a good-humoured way. Their worst faults are indolence and a *penchant* for gambling. They are honest folk, and receive pay or a present with a brusque bow and thanks, and without the grumbling look the Bengal coolie, handsomely remunerated, is accustomed to put on in the hope of extracting more money. The Lepchas invariably carry a long, heavy, straight knife, called a *ban*, which serves them equally for plough, tooth-pick, table knife, hatchet, hammer, and sword, though to the last use it is never known to be applied.

¹ The Lapchas have a code of morals far



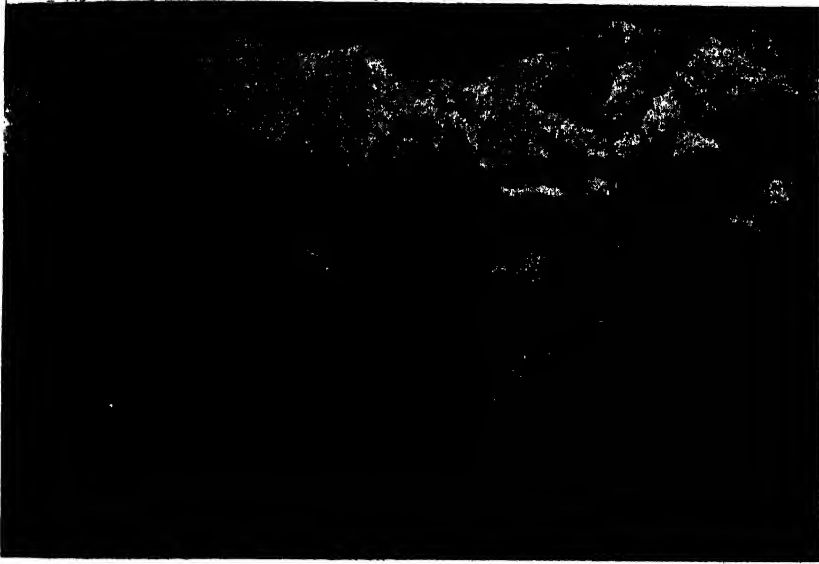
A Mongol Lama with rosary and prayer wheel.

above those possessed by their Tibetan and Bhutanese neighbours, polyandry being unknown among them, and polygamy rare. Considering the rigorous nature of the Sikkim climate, their dress is very scanty, a cotton garment, with red and blue stripes,

wound round the body and reaching to the knee, with a loose-sleeved woollen upper garment in the coldest season of the year, being all they wear. The dress of the women is very similar to that of the men, a small sleeveless woollen cloak being added. Both sexes wear ornamental girdles round the waist, and their costume altogether is quite unique and decidedly picturesque. The Lepchas seldom wear hats; when they do, they are clumsy affairs made out of platted strips of bamboo, extravagantly broadbrimmed for rainy weather and conical in shape for the dry season. They also construct a curious and ingenious sort of umbrella out of a mat of plaited bamboo, doubled across and sewn at one corner of the fold; into this corner the head is thrust, and the body is then admirably protected right down to the thighs, while both hands are left quite free. The women wear a profusion of ornaments, silver hoops in their ears, necklaces of cornelian, amber, and turquoise brought from Tibet, pearls and corals from the south, with curious silver and golden charm boxes of amulets attached to their necks or arms. These last are of Tibetan workmanship, often of great beauty and highly ornamented, and of considerable intrinsic value; they contain little idols, charms of written prayers, or the bones, hair, or nail pairings of a Lama. When a Lepcha woman puts on full dress, her upper cloak is of gay pattern, usually covered with crosses, and fastened in front by a girdle of silver chains; her neck is loaded with silver chains, amber necklaces, &c., and her head adorned with a coronet of scarlet cloth, studded with seed-pearls, jewels, glass-beads, &c. This costume is extremely ornamental and picturesque.

The Lepchas are gross feeders; they eat anything and everything, whatever they can find, animal or vegetable, snails, caterpillars, fungi, and leaves being included in their dietary. A coarse pink-coloured rice grown without irrigation and gelatinous when cooked, is their chief sustenance. Pork they are inordinately fond of, and they do not scorn the carcasses of cattle which have died of disease. Their cooking is coarse and dirty: spices, oils, salt, &c., are added as relishes. They drink out of little wooden cups, turned from knots of maple or other woods; these are curious

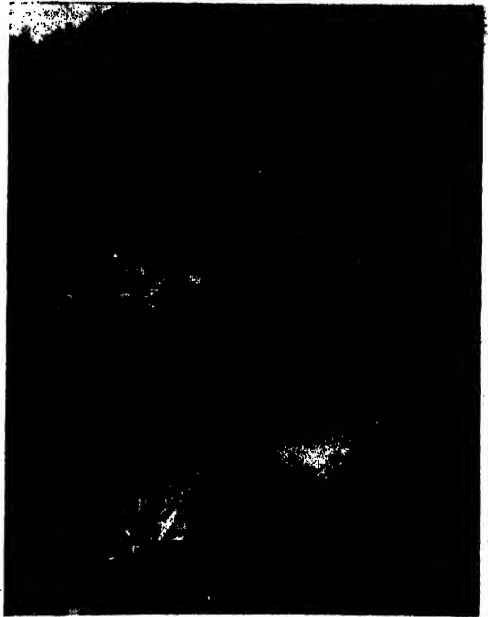
and very pretty, often polished, and mounted with silver. Their intoxicating drink is made from partially fermented *murwah* grain. They are very fond of tea, and drink it in the English fashion with milk and sugar when these commodities are procurable. They also use large quantities of the brick tea manufactured in China for the Tibet market, this being made into a semi-solid liquid with butter, soda, and salt added. The only musical instrument they possess is a rude flute made of the bamboo, with which, however, they play tunes that are by no means inharmonious. When travelling, or after the fatigues of the day, the Lepcha will sit for hours chatting, telling stories, singing in a monotonous tone, or making music with his flute. Their marriages are contracted in childhood, the wife being purchased by money or by labour rendered to the future father-in-law. The marriage tie is strictly kept, its violation being heavily punished by beating, slavery, &c. In cases of intermarriage with foreigners, the children belong to the father's country. All the labours of the house, the field, the march, devolve on the women and children, and the men may frequently be seen rocking the tiny bamboo cradle, while the women are hoeing, digging, delving, tending the life-stock, &c. Among these people vaccination is eagerly sought after, as they have a horror of small-pox, cruelly shunning persons who may chance to become infected with the disease. Disease of any kind, however, is rare among the Lepchas, though they are subject to rheumatism and to intermittent fevers, with ague, caused by sleeping in the hot valleys at the beginning and the end of the rains. They have a particular dread of death. Their dead are burned or buried, sometimes both, much depending on custom and rank. Omens are sought in the entrails of fowls, &c. In religion the Lepchas are marvelously mixed up, and may be described as Buddhist-Hindu-Demonolators. Each tribe has a priest-doctor, or exorcist, who by prayers and invocations drives out the devils, which are supposed to be the originators of all bodily ailments. These priests profess mendicancy, and sing, dance, beg, bless, curse, and masked and draped like harlequins, often play the part of merry



Kanchanjangha Peak.

mountebanks. Those that affect more of Lama Buddhist carry the "Mani," or revolving praying-machine, and wear rosaries and amulets; others again are all tatters and rags. Good and evil spirits are devoutly believed in, and the latter, who are supposed to dwell in every mountain, rock and grove, are conciliated by prayers. Altogether the Lepchas may be summed up as a race conspicuous for their honesty, their power as carriers and mountaineers, their skill as woodsmen, and their unfailing cheerfulness of disposition. Numerically weak, it is well that they are not of a pugnacious character, otherwise they would have been long since exterminated by their turbulent neighbours in Nepal and Bhutan. The women, it may be added, make excellent children's servants, and the men are not averse to turn their hands to any indoor work.

Another aboriginal tribe named the Bhuteas are found in considerable number throughout Darjeeling. They are the fowling of wood and drawers of water, making service as porters, dandy-bearers, &c. It is to be observed that the term "Bhuteas" does not mean the natives of Bhutan; the latter are called Bhutanese, or Dharma people, in allusion to their spiritual chief, the Dharma Rajah or sovereign



Ferns in the Botanical Gardens—Darjeeling.

pontiff of Bhutan, and spiritual head of the red-capped sect of Lama Buddhist. The Bhuteas are of several classes, some coming from Tibet and others from Bhutan, a third

clan being indigenous to Sikkim (though undoubtedly former emigrants from Tibet); and a fourth being a cross between the Tibetan-Bhutea and the Lepcha. The Tibetan-Bhutea is the best of the lot, but he is turbulent and cruel, and of his morals the less said the better. The Bhutan or Dharma Bhuteas are most commonly seen at Darjeeling. They are the coolies and drudges, doing most of the real hard work of the place. The Sikkim Bhuteas, also called Arrats, are a turbulent and drunken lot, a remark which also applies to the mongrel class, who are known as Sharpa Bhuteas. To take all the varieties together, it may be said generally that the Bhuteas are a most filthy race. Their sole attire is a long loose woollen robe, confined at the waist by a belt or a rag of unknown hue. The upper part of this garment forms a receptacle, into which they cram all sorts of incongruous articles, including often putrid fish or meat, which they use as a relish with their food. They carry long knives in their belts. Both men and women wear silver rings set with turquoises and square amulets of gold and silver upon their necks, and on their arms above the elbow; in their ears large round ear-rings, often of solid gold, and so heavy that they drag down the lobe of the ear in a very ugly manner. The women also load their necks with strings of coral and glassbeads, also pieces of amber, glass, and agate. These ornaments simply represent the savings and worldly wealth of the individuals who wear them. The Bhuteas of both sexes are tall and of large frame, and their capacity for carrying heavy loads is marvellous. They usually carry their burdens by means of a strap fastened across the forehead, a practice which is said to conduce to the prevalence of goitre among them. They are a most industrious race. The women spend most of their time, when not carrying loads, in spinning wool; from this they weave a particularly thick woollen cloth, of which they manufacture their own garments. The Bhuteas keep large herds of cattle in the Forest Reserves, and they bring into Darjeeling supplies of milk and butter. Polyandry is a recognized institution among them. As a race they are devoid of delicacy and modesty, and the marriage tie, where it exists at all, has but

scanty respect paid to it. They are greatly given to drunkenness, and distil all manner of alcoholic poisons from rice, wheat, and millet. Their religion is a sort of depraved Buddhism; they are followers of the red-capped sect of Lamas, and believe in the efficacy of the praying machine; but they offer all sorts of propitiatory gifts to evil spirits, and surround their houses with tall bamboo flag-staffs, from which they fly cotton streamers covered over with block-type prayers for the wind to carry up to heaven, and for preservation against the "evil one." Some of the Bhuteas are nomadic in their habits, migrating with the season with their herds of cattle. They are the medium of a large portion of the trade in salt, wood, musk, cattle, &c., with the Tibetans. They bury their dead on the mountains, raising cairns over them. Their language is a dialect of the Tibetan and has no written characters. There are several Bhutea villages within a radius of six or seven miles from Darjeeling station, where the race may be seen amidst their evidently congenial surroundings of mud and filth.

They are of a particularly humorous disposition and are always to be seen laughing and joking with each other.

Within recent years Nepalese have come into Darjeeling in great numbers, their services being eagerly sought for on the tea plantations, and they now form nearly 70 per cent. of the total population. They are a pushing thriving race, very prolific, and great colonizers. The Nepalese are excellent agriculturists, as well as carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, &c.; they accordingly find ready and well-paid employment, being also engaged as domestic servants, syces, leaf-cutters, &c. Those who enter Darjeeling usually settle down in the district, some of them being fugitives from Nepal on account of minor crimes, for which no extradition treaty exists, or because of their having been head-over-ears in debt. Moreover, on returning to their country they are mulcted in considerable sums, a payment which they are naturally reluctant to incur. The Nepalese will live in the same village with the Lepchas, but they occupy a separate quarter to themselves. They are divided into almost innumerable tribes or clans, erroneously



A Merchant from Sikkim.

A Nepalese Coolie Woman.

A Lama mendicant.

called castes. In physique they are wiry, light, and agile, short and slim, wonderfully active and hardy, and warlike and brave to a degree. The Goorkhas, who form the ruling clan, make soldiers second to none all the world over, and the British Goorkha regiments are one of the great elements of strength in our native army. They are, however, by no means a quarrelsome race, which is well, for every Nepalese carries a deadly-looking curved knife, called a *kukeri*, and can use it with great effect when occasion demands. Their religion is a strange mixture of Hinduism, Brahmanism, and Buddhism, with traces of Paganism pure and simple.

Further particulars, however, may be given in regard to the Tibetans proper, who in the cold season come into Darjeeling to trade, bringing with them ponies, yaks, sheep, goats, rock-salt, musk, and other commodities. They take back with them tobacco, broadcloth, piece-goods, and other articles. When in the district these people usually camp out in small light tents on the Lebong Spur, 1,000 feet below Darjeeling. They are polyandrous, it not being uncommon to find one woman occupying a tent with six or seven men. Their features are truly Mongolian, and the men are an uncouth wild-looking lot, middle-sized, squarely built, and evidently strong

and hardy. They do not wear beard, whiskers or moustache, removing every hair from their faces by means of tweezers. The men wear their hair either in pig-tails or flowing as fancy dictates. Their dress consists of a long thick blanket robe, fastened round their waists by a leather belt, in which they stick their iron or brass pipes, and to which they suspend their long knives, chop-sticks, tobacco pouch, tweezers, tinder box, wooden cup, and a miscellaneous assortment of other useful articles. The dress of the women is somewhat similar, but they wear in addition a short sleeveless coat over the long robe, drawn round the waist by a girdle of broad brass or silver links. Their hair is braided into two tails, and they have a peculiar habit, when travelling, of smearing their faces with a black sticky mess of coal-tar consistency.

This pigment of grease is not intended to conceal their charms, as some travellers have supposed, but to protect the skin against the biting mountain winds. Both sexes wear silver rings and ear-rings, set with turquoises, and square amulets upon their necks and arms, which are boxes of gold and silver, containing small idols, or the nail-parings, teeth, or other reliques of some sainted Lama, accompanied with musk, written prayers, and charms. The Tibetan method of salute is to loll out the

tongue, grin, nod, and scratch the ear; but this procedure entails so much ridicule in the low countries that they do not practise it to strangers.

It will thus be seen that Darjeeling is one of the most polyglot places on the face of the earth. The vernaculars spoken are Lepcha, Bhutea, Nepali, Tibetan, Hindi, Bengali, and Hindustani. There is further a hill *patois* called Pahari, written in Hindi or Devanagri ("Language of the Gods"), and used in all official police reports. Sanskrit is also understood and written by the Lamas.

The population of Darjeeling, as we have seen, is a conglomerate of many races. It follows that the prevailing religions are also a good deal mixed. We find Buddhism mingled with worship of the Hindu goddess Kali, and with demonolatry pure and simple. The Bhuteas, of all the hill-tribes, come nearest to being pure Buddhists. The Nepalese are most closely allied to the Hindus of the plains. Still, the spirit of Buddhism prevails over the whole district, and tinges to greater or less degree every creed. Lamas from Tibet, moreover, are everywhere present, and we have seen that the Lepchas, whose religion, such as it is, is mostly demon-worship undisguised, have a deep reverence for these Buddhist priests. Monasteries are scattered all over Independent Sikkim, and their number in Tibet itself is simply incalculable. They are called *goompas*, and are perched on hill-tops, the building being usually a wooden barn-like structure erected at one end of a stone platform. A very fair specimen is the temple at the Bhutea *bustee* close to Darjeeling. Many of these monasteries contain manuscripts, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, of immense value. The sole occupation of many Lamas is the printing and transcribing of books. Others make the flutes, whistles, cups, &c., used in their worship. A third class are doctors and conjurers, professing to cure disease by exorcising evil spirits and to bring on rain at seasons of drought by certain mysterious rites. Certain Lamas are also taught in the monasteries such handicrafts as the manufacture of clothes, boots, hats, &c. Others again are skilled in cooking, baking, and house-keeping generally. The ragged, dirty Lama mendicant is often enough seen

in Darjeeling Station. He wears a black mask, dances, sings, and perhaps plays on some oddly shaped musical instrument, while an equally dirty and ragged urchin collects the alms that are offered by the onlookers. The Lama carries with him the inevitable praying-wheel, and as he whirls it round he chants out in dreary reiteration the invocation "Om Mani Padme Hum" ("Hail to Him of the Lotus and Jewel").

The temples contain these praying-wheels, large and small, some simply twirled in the hand, others turned by ropes or straps, and a few at places actually rotated by water-power. Within each cylinder are deposited written prayers, and the turning of the wheel is a quick and ready means of getting through with these devotional exercises. On the wooden altar which faces the doorway, are placed bags of juniper, tufts of flowers, peacock's feathers, clay ornaments and offerings, brass cups full of water, conch-shells carved with the sacred lotus, human thigh-bones fashioned into trumpets, human skulls fashioned into rattles or drums, tambourines, bells, and other articles. To the right and left of the altar are shelves, with books and manuscripts, kept carefully swathed in cloths. Round the temple are numerous poles, with rags on which texts are inscribed, fluttering in the breeze. Similar poles adorn the villages. The custom is, when one of the inhabitants dies, if his relations can afford to pay for them, to set up two additional poles or flags in honour of his memory. It is also common to hang votive rags to trees, &c., to conciliate evil spirits; a goodly display of these is commonly seen on the top of Observatory Hill, Darjeeling.

The matutinal devotions of a Buddhist priest have been thus described by Dr. Hooker:—

"We were awakened at daylight by the discordant orisons of the Lama; these commenced by the boys beating the great tambourine, then blowing the conch-shells, and finally the trumpets and thigh-bones. Shortly afterwards the Lama entered, clad in scarlet, shorn and barefooted, wearing a small red mitre, a loose gown girt round the middle, and an under-garment of questionable colours, possibly once purple. He walked along, slowly muttering his prayers, to the end of the apartment, whence he took a brass bell and dorge, and sitting down cross-legged, commenced matins, counting his beads, ringing the bell, and uttering most dismal prayers. After various disposals of the cups, a larger



A group of Lamas.



Bhuteas.

bell was violently rung for some minutes, himself snapping his fingers and uttering most unearthly sounds. Finally incense was brought of charcoal with juniper sprigs; it was swung about, and concluded the morning service, to our great relief, for the noises were quite intolerable."

It may just be added that the Lamas have no prejudices against admitting strangers into their places of worship, being rather pleased than otherwise to show the sights, and quite ready on invitation to say their prayers in presence of the visitors, turning the praying cylinders—not always with a very grave face but often with an amused smile and a twinkle of the eye that imply acknowledgment of the sham—and indus-

triously droning forth the never varying invocation, "Om Moni Padme Hum."

Sookna Station, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from Siliguri, and 533 feet above sea level, is the starting point whence the trains have to begin their actual ascent of the mountains.

The jungle, after passing Sookna, grows denser and denser and the ear-piercing chirrup of the cicada is, at times, heard on all sides. The Forest Department Depot is passed, and some elephants may probably be seen standing about after their labours in the forest.

The thick and magnificent foliage of the sal, toon, and other numerous timber trees here attract notice. The graceful creepers and orchids pendant from the trees, the impenetrable jungle grass and varied undergrowth, produce a splendid picture of tropical vegetation, and the gentle sweeps of the line give

the traveller many a pretty glimpse of the forest scenery of the "Terai."

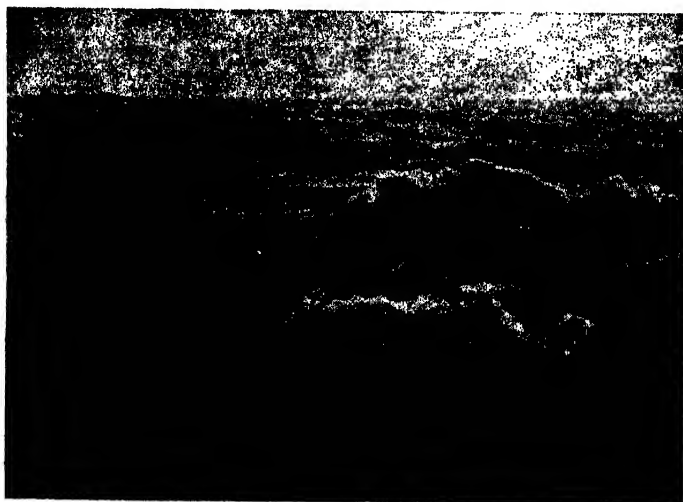
In the fastnesses of the "Terai" lurk wild elephants,* rhinoceri, tigers, leopards, wild buffaloes, wild cattle, and deer, as well as hogs, wolves, wild dogs, monkeys, and many other small animals.

Among the smaller varieties of game are hares, jungle fowl, peacocks, partridges, snipe, woodcock, wild ducks, geese, and pigeons of various sorts; amongst the latter, a bronze-winged green pigeon is the most beautiful.

* On one occasion wild elephants compelled the driver to take his train back to Sookna Station.



A Dandy.



"Slumber of the Clouds"—the panoramic view of clouds from Phalut.

Jungle fowl and pheasants are also met with in the hills, and bears, leopards, and musk and other deer are sometimes found on the higher mountains.

Tigers have been killed at an elevation of 7,000 feet near Kurseong, but only in rare instances.

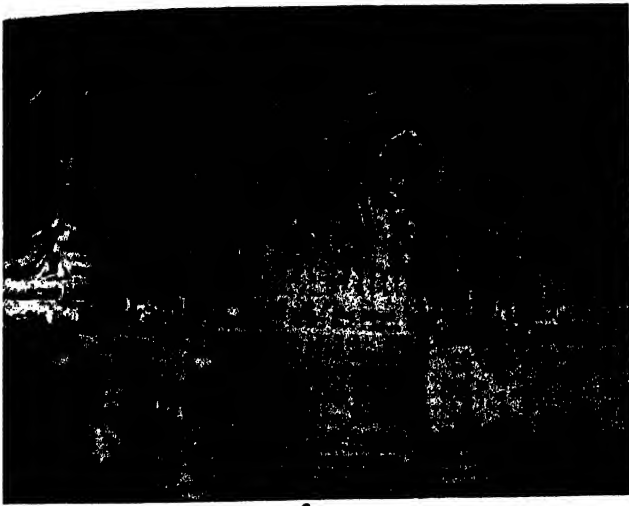
The many "loops" or spirals on the Darjeeling-Himalayan line are interesting as feats of engineering, and form parts of the works undertaken for the purpose of easing the gradients and so increasing the hauling power of the engines. There are

also the zigzags of reverses, carried out with the view of obtaining an easier ascent.

At the 25½ mile a halt is made at one of the numerous watering stations.

A few yards up the road is the largest water-course on this side of the range, known as the "Pagla Jhora," or "Mad Torrent." It has cost considerable sums to control, and has given great trouble to the road. In July, 1890, during "the rains," nearly 800 feet of road and line were carried away at this point and for 500 feet on the upper road. The rainfall on this occasion was over 14 inches in six hours. It is the chief outlet of the rainfall due to the striking of the clouds against the Mahaldiram range, and, after heavy rain, is a roaring torrent in which large boulders are tossed about.

The town of Darjeeling is some 307 miles to the northward of Calcutta, is situated in 27° 2' 48" north latitude and 88° 18' 36" east longitude, and occupies a ridge which varies from 6,500 to 7,500 feet above the level of the sea. This ridge divides into two spurs, thickly wooded except where the demand for timber has cleared the hill sides, and the mountains descend steeply to the Great Rungeet River, which, together with the Rammon and Teesta, form part of the northern boundary between the district of Darjeeling, or British Sikkim, and Independent Sikkim. The annual rainfall in Darjeeling is,



Interior of Geeng Monastery.



The Dandywallahs of Darjeeling.

on an average, about 125 inches. Four-fifths of this may be said to fall between the middle of June and end of September. During November, December, and January the temperature is as low as 25° at night, the weather is superb, and magnificence of the uninterrupted view of the snowy range and all surrounding scenery, indescribable.

The traveller should choose this season to see the place, as during the rainy season the clouds and mist frequently hide all views.

This advice is meant for European travellers. As Indians of the plains cannot enjoy

the severe cold of the winter in Darjeeling they must choose some other time.

The Mall, the People's Park, the Botanical Gardens, and the walk round the north face of Birch Hill are some of the places frequented by visitors.

The "Bhootea Bustee," or local village of the Bhooteas, is situated on the east side below the Mall; here, at times may be seen absurd and grotesque Lama dances, which take place at the Buddhist temple, where there is also a large praying wheel, &c.

Three classes of Bhooteas are to be found in the Darjeeling district—namely, the Bhooteas proper, belonging to Tibet; Bhooteas from Bhootan, and Sikkim Bhooteas. Also Sharpa Bhooteas—a cross between the Tibetan Bhootea and the Lepcha.

"Bhot," according to Dr. Hooker, is the general name for Tibet, not for Bhootan. The Bhooteas, who are natives of Bhootan, or of the Dharma country, are called Dharma people, in allusion to

their spiritual chief, the Dharma Rajah. They are a darker and more powerful race than the Tibetan Bhooteas, rude, turbulent, and Tibetan in language and religion, with the worst features of those people exaggerated.

The Dharma people are numerous in Darjeeling; they are often runaways from their own country.

The Lamas, or priests, form a large proportion of the population of Bhootan. Entrance into the priesthood is obtained by the permission of the Deb, or Secular Rajah, on payment of a fee. In addition



A loop and 'toy-train' on the D. H. Railway.



Mount Everest (Gourisankar) from Darjeeling.

to their religious duties, the Lamas are charged with the medical care of the people; but, as exorcism is the only system of treatment attempted, assurance on the part of the practitioner, and faith on that of the patient, is all that is needed.

The village Lamas, and the people generally, confine their religious exercises to telling their beads and rotating their prayer wheels, with the constant, dreary repetition of the sentence, "Om—mani—padme—Hum." Their preparation for a future state seems to consist in the personal or vicarious performance of this rite; hence the praying wheels and machines, by which countless repetitions of the sentence are produced.

Prayers are also produced on strips of cotton or calico, fixed vertically to poles; these may be noticed in many roadside places. The Lamas say that the soul of religion is mental abstraction and the withdrawal of the mind from all mundane consideration, in order that the thoughts may be absolutely concentrated on the attributes of Buddha; but the most devout of them may be seen listening to, and smiling at, the conversation of others, whilst they pass the beads through their hands and mutter their everlasting formula. The conversion of Bhooteas to Buddhism has not altogether eradicated their paganism. The common people believe in an innumerable host of spirits, and make offerings to them of flowers and bits of coloured rag, which may be noticed in some places.

The Lebong spur, which is below the Bhootea Bustee, affords

a charming ride, and is worth the visitor's attention. On this spur, barracks for European troops have been built.

The hotels and boarding houses are often visited by traders in curiosities of sorts. "Prayer wheels" may be bought, but these rarely contain the genuine sacred writings of the Buddhists; the makers are satisfied with inserting strips of old newspapers. Buddhist bells are also brought for sale, besides "khukri," and "bān" knives, collections of butterflies, some of which are worthy of attention—dried ferns, stuffed birds, skins of the musk deer, etc. Tails of the yak of Thibet, and the skin of the gorgeous monal pheasant, can also be



A group of masked Lamas.



A Cane-bridge, Darjeeling.

obtained. Jewellery, turquoise, agate, snuff-bottles, may also be included in the list of these traders' wares.

Photographs of the scenery around Darjeeling are available at several shops; some of these are worthy of the best collections.

Darjeeling can also boast of its jackals, and a story is told that they were imported some years ago, together with crows. Jackals are, however, to be found at Kurseong, and other places on the road, and it seems possible that they have followed civilisation up from the plains.

"Cat-bears," peculiar little reddish animals, are common in these mountains,

and skins may, at times, be purchased. The most handsome skin which can be procured here is that of the snow leopard, but it is rare.

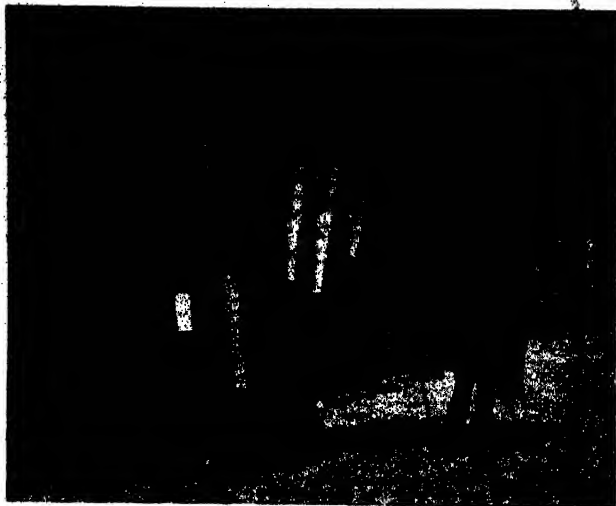
We now note, incidentally, that the cinchona plantations in the Darjeeling district were commenced by Government about 1862, and are now giving a good return. The chief plantation is at Rungbi, in a long, narrow valley. In 1875 there were 2,000 acres of Government cinchona plantations, in which the trees were from 4 to 30 feet high, according to age. The cultivation has now extended greatly, and cinchona febrifuge is a recognised article in the market.

The chief glory of Darjeeling is its splendid panorama of "snows." The finest view is to be obtained from "Tiger Hill," near Senchal.

The ride from Darjeeling to Senchal is not a great undertaking; and if the visitor can only be favoured with a clear day, and undertake to be at

"Tiger Hill" (8,514 feet), near the site of the old barracks on Senchal, before sunrise, he will have before him one of the finest sights of the snowy range which the Himalayas can afford. We will quote Dr. Hooker's description of the scene :—

"Early next morning I caught my first view, and I literally held my breath in awe and admiration. Six or seven successive ranges of forest-clad mountains, as that whereon I stood, intervened between me and the dazzling white pile of snow-clad mountains, among which the giant peak of Kinchinjinga rose 20,000 feet above the lofty point on which I stood. Owing to the clearness of the atmosphere the snow appeared, to my fancy, but a few miles off, and the loftiest mountain at only a day's journey. The heavenward line was projected against a pale blue sky, while little detached patches of mist clung here and there



The Milkman of Darjeeling.

to the highest peaks, and were tinged golden yellow or rosy red by the rising sun."

Mount Everest (29,000 feet) is seen to advantage from "Tiger Hill." "A jagged line of snow" connects the two highest mountains—Everest and Kinchinjinga (28,000 feet). This line of peaks is not so much a chain of mountains as the advanced portion of the vast mountain region of Tibet, frowning the immense country to the north of India.

On the way up to Senchal may be noticed the water-pipes which convey water to the town of Darjeeling. The supplies are taken from the water-courses at Senchal, 17 springs being tapped. Darjeeling is thus placed most favourably as regards water, and it is plentiful even in the driest weather.

Should the visitor not care for the journey to "Tiger Hill," he may, except for seeing Mount Everest, get nearly as fine a view of the snowy range from "Observatory Hill," above The Mall. The elevation here is 7,168 feet, and more than 24 peaks ranging from 10,000 to 28,000 feet high are visible, not counting the smaller mountains.

The visitor to Darjeeling district, if unacquainted with the manufacture of tea, should, if possible, pay a visit to one of the numerous tea gardens and factories; this will not be difficult by obtaining an introduction to one of the planters.

It remains yet for us to notice a few

places where excursions may be made from Darjeeling.

The most ambitious, and at the same time enjoyable, trip to be made from Darjeeling is out to the line of mountains to the west of the town, and which form the boundary of Nepal, and are known as the Singalila range. The highest mountains of this range are the following:—(1) Phalalum, otherwise called Phalut, height 11,811 feet; (2) Subargum, height 10,430 feet; (3) Tongloo, height 10,074 feet. The first of these mountains is of a conical shape, but on the summits of two last named some extent of undulating land is found.

The excursionists should make all arrangements to move "camp fashion" as regards bedding, cooking utensils, and food, as also servants. There are staging bungalows in charge of watchmen at various points along the route, and these contain some little furniture.

There is another trip which is not difficult of accomplishment from Darjeeling, viz., to the junction of the Rungeet and Teesta Rivers, and to the new suspension bridge, which was built to supersede the old cane bridge. This latter bridge was made out of the large hill canes, similar to those which, shod with iron, are in use as "Alpine stocks." The cane bridge was so continually being swept away by the floods that it was found necessary to erect a more permanent structure.

The new suspension bridge was put up through the agency of the Public Works Department. It has a clear span of 300 feet between the abutments, and the roadway is 20 feet above the highest floods. It was a curious procession when the wire cables were taken down from Jor Bungalow to the Teesta (via the Rungaroon Road): some 80 coolies, walking one behind another, carried the long snake-like steel wire (465 feet long) cables down to the site of the bridge, and travelled the 18 miles in three days.

The Eden Sanitarium is meant for Europeans, and the Lewis Jubilee Sanitarium for Indians.

The climate of Darjeeling is so admirably adapted for children that it is not surprising to find a large number of European boarding-schools located in the station. But Indians have not taken advantage of the climatic excellence of Darjeeling for this purpose. The Maharani School for Girls is their only enterprise in this direction.

Dr. Hooker described Darjeeling as a paradise for children, and his words hold good to this day.

The benefit to their elders is no less remarkable, and there are few diseases common to Anglo-Indians which will not be cured or alleviated by a stay in this most delightful of health resorts. Those in a thoroughly debilitated condition must, of course, observe discretion; for after a long residence in the plains, the large organs of the body are generally debilitated, and in the hill climate the heart, the liver, the lungs, the stomach, and the kidneys all have their work increased,—the heart by the extra exertion of the hills, the lungs by the rarefied air making deeper and more frequent respirations necessary, the stomach by the additional quantity of solids taken, the liver by the change from heat to cold, and the kidneys from the action of the skin being diminished. In advanced stages of cardiac disease, it may be pointed out the elevation is probably too great, and the heart is unable to bear the increased strain. However, no one seriously affected in any one of the five vital organs just named would be so foolish as to proceed to

Darjeeling or any other health resort without skilled medical advice. It may just be mentioned that the climate, from its equable character, is simply invaluable in the case of consumptive persons. A trip to the hills is, of course, next to a sea-voyage, the great specific for fevers. All minor maladies, caused by overwork, climatic influences, or indigestion, disappear like magic in Darjeeling, the dry season being especially adapted for nervous diseases. Asthma, as a rule, is not benefitted, the extremely rarefied air being against the patient who is suffering from this painful complaint. The rains are not suitable for those subject to bowel-complaints unless great care is exercised, cases of diarrhoea, having sometimes to return to the plains to get relief. Hill-diarrhoea, a very imperfectly understood malady, is sometimes prevalent during the wet season, even those not specially predisposed being affected. But it may be truly said of Darjeeling that it suffers less from this cause than any hill station in India. Children do not seem to be prejudicially affected by the rains; they are bright, happy, and rosy-cheeked all the year round. Epidemics among them are extremely rare; measles, whooping-cough, and chicken-pox have now and again made their appearance, but in an extremely mild form. The sanitation of Darjeeling may be described as excellent in every respect.

There is no disguising the fact that the climate of Darjeeling is a humid one.*

* Mainly compiled from *Thacker's Guide Book to Darjeeling* and *Illustrated Guide for Tourists to Darjeeling*, Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway Company.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Sonpur in the Sambalpur Tract: by B. C. Masumdar, B.L., M. R. A. S., Vakil, Sambalpur. Printed and published by A. C. Sarkar, at the Brahma Mission Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 136 + viii. With six illustrations printed on art paper. Cloth. Gilt-lettered.

Sonpur is a small Native State in the Sambalpur District, now forming part of the new province of Bihar and Orissa. It may at first sight appear un-

likely that its history should have interest for the student of Indian antiquities or for the general reader. But that is not so. As the author rightly says:—

It is not yet time when a history of India worth the name can be sought to be written. We have still to proceed through the tangled wood to find out the old and forgotten tracks by which many scattered tracts all over the vast continent of a country were once connected together. At this stage we have only to work with patience to collect materials from different sources.

Let the little streamlets of provincial historical records flow on for the present, with unabated energy, through the unseen and unnoticed hilly regions, to give rise to a mighty river of a full-bodied history in the remote future.

He has published in this book some results of his original research in a popular form.

The book consists of twelve chapters treating of the Geography of the Sambalpur Tract, the Physical Aspects of Sonpur, the Aboriginal Tribes of the Sambalpur Tract, Antiquity of the Sambalpur Tract, the Earliest Hindu Rajas, the Chohan Rajas of the Sambalpur Tract, the Early Chohan Rajas of Sonpur, Raja Prithvi Sing Deo, Raja Niladhar Sing Deo Bahadur, Raja Pratap Rudra Sing Deo Bahadur, Maharaja Sri Bira Mitrodaya Sing Deo, and the Status of the Sonpur Chief. There are besides four appendices treating of some copper-plate grants, a goddess called Stambhesvari Debi, and a new religious creed called *Alekhism*.

Not having any expert knowledge of Indian antiquities, we are unable to pronounce any opinion on the author's theories and conclusions. But we have no doubt that they deserve the serious attention of workers in the field of Indian history. Even the general reader will find many portions of the book interesting and instructive, as for instance the following extract:—

The life of Raja Pratap Rudra Sing Deo Bahadur is most interesting and instructive. He was the eldest son of Raja Niladhar Sing Deo Bahadur by his first wife Rani Durgakumari Devi, a daughter of Kumar Padmanath Sah Deo of the Chutia Nagpur Raj family. He was born on the full moon day of Asharh of the Saka era 1775. This date corresponds to 22nd July, 1853. When Rani Durgakumari Devi died leaving her son, an infant about nine years old, Rani Gundicha Devi, the mother of Raja Niladhar Sing Deo Bahadur, took upon herself the guardianship of the infant Jubaraj, and employed two educated Oriya Pandits to give him lessons in Oriya and Sanskrit.

When quite young, the home life was far from interesting to him, and he devoted most of his time to acquisition of knowledge by living in the company of his teachers. When a boy of sixteen, the Jubaraj was married to the eldest daughter of Maharaja Udit Pratap Deo of Kalahandi. According to the custom of the Raj families, two or three young maid-servants came from Kalahandi in the company of his newly married wife, and these young maid-servants expected it as a matter of right that they would be treated as wives by the young Jubaraj. But all the members of the Raj family were greatly surprised, when the Jubaraj declined to enter into the apartment of his wife, unless and until the young maid-servants would be altogether removed from the house. As the environment was not seemingly favourable for the growth of such moral force in the character of a young Prince, a little storm arose in the Raj family, when this noble resolution was firmly proclaimed. The old order had to change to give place to the new. The novel procedure in the life of the Jubaraj was then widely discussed and criticised. It is true that a wife in a Raj family has to submit willingly to the situation of being one out of many on whom a Raja or a Rajkumar is pleased to confer some favour. But, however much the ladies of high

rank may be used to such a life, they are sure to feel elated when their husbands live a life of purity. So greatly devoted the wife of Raja Pratap Rudra Deo was to her husband that she simply worshipped her loving husband throughout her life.

However much conjugal love may prevail in society, a wife in an aristocratic family is sure to be superseded by another co-wife, if she fails to give birth to a son for a successor; for the main object for which a

Hindu should marry is to get a son. पुत्रार्थं विवर्षे श्रौतम् is the text in all the works of Smṛiti. When the first child of the young Jubaraj proved to be a daughter, Raja Niladhar Sing Deo Bahadur arranged for a second marriage for his eldest son; but the young Jubaraj in his firm determination rejected the proposal and said that nothing could induce him to take a second wife. How this proposal endeared him to his wife, we can clearly see. But his father became greatly displeased, as in his idea the son was not obedient to the father. The Raja Bahadur, however, waited for the second chance; but this time too the mother of our present Maharaja was delivered of a female child. There was consternation in the Raj family, and Raja Niladhar Sing Deo became strongly determined to give another partner of life to the Jubaraj who might be lucky in the matter of bringing forth sons. Pratap Rudra Deo remained firm in his resolution, and solemnly declared that he would not, under any circumstances, know any other woman for his wife, even though no son be born to him. By this determination he incurred the displeasure of his father, and his father never again became favourably disposed to him, though he subsequently became the father of five sons.

When a cry of despair arose in the Raj family, the beloved wife of Pratap Rudra Deo commenced to observe fast on Mondays in the name of Suvernameru Mahadeva with the desire that she might be blessed with a son. On the 8th day of the month of July of the year 1874 Jubaraj Pratap Rudra and his wife were actually blessed with the son who is now the Maharaja of Sonpur.

The book is neatly printed and got up.

E.

Ancient India, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M. A., with an Introduction by V. A. Smith. (S. P. C. K. Depository, Madras, 1911), XIV + 452 and 2 maps. Rs. 4.

Under the above rather misleading title, the author has published a collection of 19 essays, previously printed on various occasions. As Mr. Smith admits, "A volume of this kind, which is rather materials for history than history itself, necessarily suffers from unavoidable overlapping and repetition, and from a lack of unity." Only the first and fourth chapters deal with Ancient India, and they are well-written summaries of facts known to scholars. All the other chapters concern Southern India, and in most of them the author writes with an easy mastery of his subject. Indeed, as an original contribution to South Indian History Mr. Krishnaswami's volume is of high value, and has rightly gained the praise of a competent judge like Mr. V. Smith. We particularly appreciate the chapters on Mysore history (v. viii-xi), in which the Tamil palace-records have, for the first time to our knowledge, been utilised for English readers. This account of Mysore is as luminous as

it is original and informing. There is no useless piling up of details, no overloading of parts in disregard of symmetry. But the materials are arranged with admirable method and effect, and the writer passes from epoch to epoch with ease and grace, leaving distinct impressions of each on the reader's mind. There is nothing perfunctory, and nothing heavy in Mr. Krishnaswami's work.

Again, the chapters on the literary and religious development of Southern India (vii, x, xii, xiv, and xiii) and the account of the Chola administration (pp. 158-191) throw a flood of light on our country and people in the ages gone by. To most readers outside the Madras Presidency the history of Southern India is a dry catalogue of names and a haze formed by the clash of evanescent dynasties. Mr. Krishnaswami's book will dispel their ignorance and show them how interesting, full and instructive South Indian history can be made by a master of its original materials. This volume must occupy a prominent place on the bookshelves of all who wish to complete their knowledge of India's past. The printing is neat and correct, and there are several genealogical trees to assist the reader.

P. 273. why *Ginjee*? The word is pronounced as *injil*. P. 292 and elsewhere, for *Ranadhoola Khan* read *Randaullah Khan*. P. 294, for *Khan Khan* and *Khan-i-Khanan*. A long account of these Muslim expeditions to Mysore and the Karnatak given in the Persian history of Bijapur entitled *Asatun-i-salatun*.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

HINDI.

Acharyyajanak ghanti and other stories, by Shree Satyadras. Printed at the Keshava Press, Benares. Price us. 6. Crown 8 vo. Pages 110.

This is the second publication of the Satya-grantha series, the first one of which we reviewed some time ago. It consists of four very interesting tales the first of which is pre-eminently nice. The plot of the *Acharyyajanak ghanti*, is dexterously handled and is based on a scientific subject. The second *Urti-kalima* graphically describes the status of Indian labourers on the western coasts of the United States of America. At the same time, such is its charm that one does not feel inclined to stop before finishing it. The third is the translation of a story from the pen of a famous French writer. The fourth, though short, is instructive. The book is admirably suited as a present to all, young and old. Sadly lack publications of this type in Hindi.

Vaidika Sammilan aur uska Karyyavivarna. Edited by Pandit Jagannath Prasad Shukl and printed at the Raghavendra Press, Allahabad. Crown 8 vo. pp. 262. Price 12 an.

The Editor of this book is a well-known Ayurvedic physician, who is enthusiastic about the spread of Ayurveda on scientific lines. His ably-edited month-'Sudhanidhi' is the only noticeable medical journal in Hindi. The book contains the proceedings of the Vaidika conference held at Allahabad. Its value consists in the collection of the speeches of some of the best known Ayurvedic practitioners in India, including that of the President, Kaviraj Ganapati Sen, M. A., L. M. S., Kavibhusan. In some

of the speeches certain novel discoveries of the speakers are alluded to. The conference itself is a move in the right direction. Every one will ardently welcome the regeneration of the ancient Ayurvedic system, the only one best suited to the needs of India. The book may have been priced less.

M. S.

HINDI-URDU.

Taskire-Sucharuvanshi by Babu Ramdas Gour, M.A. The Hindi part printed in Sudarshan Press, Allahabad, and the Urdu Part in the Anwar Ahmadi Press, Allahabad. To be had of Babu Prabhu Lal Gour, Sabai Mandi, Ujjain.

This book consists of six parts, only the last of which is written in Hindi. It has considerable ethnological interest and concern itself with the Gaur Kayasthas, who claim to be descended from Sucharaji, son of Shree Chitragnaptaji. The first part gives a general account of the subcaste, tracing its social, moral and intellectual status from the ancient times to the present age. The second part is a directory of the places inhabited by the Gaur Kayasthas, while the third is a directory of the Gaur Kayasthas themselves. The fifth part consists of certain appendices, notable among which is an extract from an unpublished history in Persian from the pen of Munshi Sadasukh Sahab, who lived in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The sixth part gives in a consolidated form the customs and rituals of the Gaur Kayasthas and goes so far as to collect together the song sung at the different ceremonies among these. The number of this sub-caste of the Kayasthas, though spread in many parts of India, is very small; and it is this fact which has enabled a work like the one under review to be published. The sub-caste is very jealous of its customs and is proud of the purity of its descent, and there is an impress of these facts in the book. There are materials in the book which if compared and sifted along with similar materials regarding other castes and sub-castes may throw much light on certain historical facts. Other castes may also come forward with authentic accounts of their own customs and their own histories. The predominance of Urdu in the book is indispensable, as otherwise it would be unintelligible to a vast majority of those for whom the book is primarily intended. However, the fact that Hindi has been unable to establish itself in the good grace of a vast number of up-country Kayasthas is not something on which they deserve to be congratulated.

MARATHI.

Musalmani Riyasat: by Mr. Govind Saktharam Savdesai, B.A., and published by Messrs. Damodar Savalaram and Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.

The great commotion which has overtaken the Islamic world at present, the Pan-Islamic movement which is making frantic efforts to spread its branches all over the world, the recent awakening of Moslems in Persia, Turkey and Egypt, the supreme efforts put forth by leading men in those countries to assert their claim to an independent existence as a nation (independent of monarchical as well as of foreign control), not to speak of the rather aggressive attitude taken up by our Mahomedan brethren in India in advancing what they call their superior right to political concessions

based on their actual or supposed superior political importance in India, these have forcibly drawn the attention of the reading public to the history of the rise, growth, decay and fall of the Mahomedan power in India. The Musalmans both in India and outside the country have happily a long and brilliant record of past achievements preserved in Tawarikhs, letters, copper-plate grants, sanads, etc. The Mahomedan epoch takes the sixth rank in ancient Indian history,—the first being Vedic, second the Brahman or Upanishad, third the Buddhistic, fourth the Hindu and fifth the dark ages. But it ranks first in the history of Modern India, being the predecessor of the Mahratta and British periods. Though compared with the vastness of ages and strange vicissitudes of life through which India had to pass before and since the arrival of the Musalmans in India, this epoch of Mahomedan rule covering over 750 years is nevertheless a sufficiently long period for tiny human beings to exhibit their physical, mental and moral powers individually or communally. It was in this period that Arabic and Indian or rather Hindu civilisations first came into contact with each other and were since struggling to gain ascendancy in India. They were struggling, but were by no means exclusive. They were mutually helping by adopting the policy of 'give and take' in all departments of civilised life such as literature, arts, science, and architecture, religion too not excluded. The great Mahomedan power which forms the subject of the volume under review has been practically extinct in India for the past hundred and fifty years and more. Yet even now one can see Islam stamped as it were on many of the social customs of the Hindus (e.g., the purdah system), Hindu literature (especially poetical), Hindu science (such as of alchemy, medicine, &c.) and architecture (*vide* works on Indian art by Sir James Fergusson, Sir George Birdwood, Havell, and other European writers). The materials of the history of this period are not wanting. They are ample though scattered. European scholars like Alberuni, Myer, Curtin, Sir H. Elliot, Mangleson, Keen, Stanley, Lanepool and others have laboured for a number of years in the field of historical researches and have drawn out immense materials which otherwise would have lain buried. Capable Indian writers too, fortunately, are trying to walk in their foot-steps and have not unoften shown splendid powers of research. The Right Honourable Mr. Justice Amir Ali, K.C., whose history of the Saracens is a monumental work, has taken the lead and is closely followed by our learned friend Babu Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., with whose painstaking and patient researches in Moghul history, especially in the history of Aurangzeb's time the readers of the *Modern Review* are quite familiar. The book under review is unique in its importance, considering the paucity of the Mahratta scholars devoting themselves to making researches in Mahomedan history. The Marathi literature, though it stands second among Indian vernaculars in respect of richness and variety of works (the Bengali literature carries off the palm in this respect), hitherto contained no work worth mentioning on the history of the Mahomedan rule in India. Mr. Sardesai's book thus must be considered as the pioneer in the field. The honour is not easily won. The book bears evidence on almost every page of the vast labour which the compiler had to undergo and the busy hours—rather years—spent over its produc-

tion. Mr. Sardesai has left no source, Mahomedan Hindu, English, untapped, though he has drawn largely on books of European writers and in some places has imbibed their conclusions which are not justifiable. The author has left no stone unturned in making his book as complete as possible. He had at his disposal the splendid State and Palace libraries of Baroda. He personally visited several places of historic importance, was at great pains to revise and correct his information in the light of new researches, and lastly he illumined his volume with pictures reproduced from original paintings preserved in the Khuda Bukhai Library at Patna.

This much is to the credit of the author and we must certainly give Caesar his due. It is a pity at the same time that Mr. Sardesai should have shown at the end of the book sudden impatience after years of patient labour. His volume consisting of over 600 pages of the crown 8vo size bristles from cover to cover with stirring events which flow in the quick succession of cinematographic pictures and allow one little time to adjust one's vision. It takes one rapidly through an epoch rich with dazzling splendour and leaves one in a bewildered condition. It reads like a novel producing a variety of characters and charming the reader with the panorama of events only to disappoint him at the end. A bulky volume of history consisting of over 600 pages giving everything likely to interest its reader but without a chapter at the end giving a brief review of events recorded or containing a summary of conclusions drawn would in English literature be looked upon as a grave absurdity. But Mr. Sardesai has actually produced such a work—a work on the Mogul Empire—without a line of explanation of the causes that led to its rise, growth, decline and fall. This omission is almost unpardonable in an ambitious author like Mr. Sardesai. Another drawback which is noticeable in this book, and which unfortunately is characteristic of every oriental book, however bulky and magnificent, is the absence of an index. Mr. Sardesai gives in an appendix a list of historical and geographical names alluded to in the book and excuse himself for the omission of the index by pointing at the 'full contents' which cover only 5 pages, thus evincing an absolute disregard for the convenience of the reading public.

The general get up and illustrations too, I am sorry to note, leave much to be desired.

V. G. APTE.

GUJARATI.

Raj Rajendra ne, (To the Emperor) a poem, by Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi, M.A., printed at the Lakshmi Art Printing Works. Byculla, Bombay. pp. 32. (1911).

This little oblong book, is printed on fine art paper and garnished with artistic pictures. As its name implies the poem is one of welcome to their Imperial Majesties on their Royal visit to India. The illustrations and the ideas are both in keeping, in a word they are both fine. This dainty little work is fit in every way to be laid at the feet of their Majesties. To be appreciated, it has to be seen and read, and we think, every library, private and public, would be the richer by possessing a copy of this illustrated rhapsody.

Translation of Tod's Rajasthan, Vols. I, II, by Bhagubhai Fatchchad Kashbhai, Editor of the Jaina, sold by N. M. Tripathi, & Co., Bombay. Printed at the Surat Jaina Printing Press, Surat. Pp. 676 and 321. Strong cloth bound. (1911). Price Rs. 10 for both Vols.

These two substantial volumes represent the labours of Mr. Bhagubhai extending over several years, and the result is reproduction in Gujarati of one of the most valued works on Rajputana by one who loved the romance and the chivalry of the province as well as he loved his own country. There is another translation of the same work, also placed on the market. We have our own doubts as to there being want for two such translations. The language of this translation is simple, and in many places has preserved the inimitable spirit of the original.

Vikramorvasi Natak or Parakram ni Prasadi, translated by Keshavlal H. Dhruva, B.A., Head Master, High School, Ahmedabad, Printed at the Satya Narayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 148 and 56. Price 8 annas. (1912).

This is another work from the scholarly pen of Mr. Keshavlal Dhruva, whose previous works, we had the pleasure of reviewing before. Its original in Sanskrit is well known, and an edition of the text with the various readings inseparable from such an old book with commentaries in English is promised by him in the near future. It will be a treat. This translation is intended for the higher standards of the Jayajirav High School at Baroda, and the restraint that Mr. Keshavlal has exercised over himself in the use of pure Sanskrit words in the reproduction is admirable. We stumble over many words with Persian origin and many pure vernacular phrases. This is a great advantage to the boys and the vocabulary at the end makes their task still easier. But for they would have failed to understand some of the verbs which he has had to coin directly from Sanskrit, under stress of reproducing the verses in the same meter as the original. We have found the translation in the whole very readable, and such as gives a very good idea of what the original is like.

1. *Navsanhita of Babu Keshav Chandra Sen, translated by Ganpat Rao Gopal Rao Barve, with a portrait of Keshav Chandra Sen. Pp. 179. Cloth bound. Price from 0-5-0 to 0-15-0 according to quality of Cover. (1912).*

2. *Kashmir no Pravas and Kalapi no Vanbado edited by Bhikshu Akhandanand. Cloth bound with a photograph of Thakur Sursinhji. Pp. 214. Price as above. (1912)*

(3) *Two copies of Bhagvadgita priced respectively 0-1-6 and 0-4-0 according to cover. All published by the Society for the Spread of Cheap Literature, having offices at Ahmedabad and Bombay.*

We had already had occasion to speak about the praiseworthy efforts of this society. It is advancing steadily, and books (1) and (2) are very creditable productions indeed. The first is a translation of Keshav Chandra Sen's famous book called Nabo Sanhita prefaced with a life sketch of the Bengali sage. Mr. Barve has done his work very well. The second is a work from the pen of the late Thakore Saheb Sursingji of Lathe in Kathiawad. He was an educated prince who died in the prime of his youth. He wrote under the *nom de plume* of Kalapi, and his poems especially have taken rank amongst the first class poets of Gujarat. The prose works of this prince poet which comprise a description of travels in Kashmir and reviews of Swedenborg's books are here published in book form, and they furnish very good and instructive reading. Kalapi's poems with annotations are promised by this Society also. And if they bring them out in this cheap form they will surely do a great service to our vernacular literature.

Medical opinions in favor of vegetarianism and against flesh-eating, published by the Fiva Daya Jnan Prasarak Fund. 309, Shroff Basar, Bombay.

These opinions are collected and translated into Gujarati by Chhaganlal P. Nanavati. They deserve perusal.

K. M. J.

CONTEMPORARY CARTOONS



Russia and England—"Keep on your own side of the line!"—Ulk (Berlin).



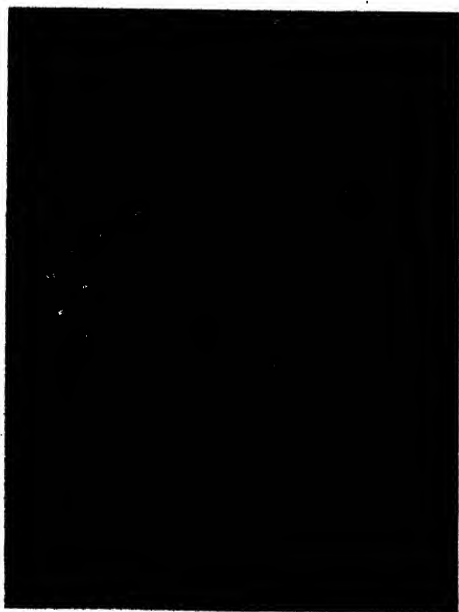
Germany gets a bone; the rest get the soup.—Amsterdammer.



The Pioneers of civilisation in 1912.
—*Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart).



WHY GERMANY CAN'T HELP TURKEY.
"I should love to help you, my dear, but John Bull
and Marianne have just left me up a tree."
—*Kikeriki* (Vienna).



THE NEW REPUBLIC (OF CHINA)
JOINS THE CHORUS.

CHINA—"Down, down, with the Manchu crown, up
with the silky tile, away, away, with the King of
Cathay, Here's the Republican style!"
ALL—"Hooray, Hooray, here's to Cathay! under the
glittering lite!"—*Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



ENGLAND AND GERMANY.
Peace Angel—"I'm doing my best to make them kiss
and be friends, but they just won't!"
—*Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



BRITISH LION (to Russian Bear): "I join you, though under protest. After all, we undertook to act together."

PERSIAN CAT (*diminuendo*): "If I may quote from the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, this understanding 'can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her strength in internal reforms.'"

[*Prepares to expire.*]

From "Punch."



SPIRE OF THE PEACE PALACE.

What could be more symbolical of the results of the Hague Peace Conference?—Berlin *Kladderadatsch*.



AS BETWEEN FRIENDS.

BRITISH LION (to Russian Bear)—"If we hadn't such a thorough understanding, I might be tempted to



LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.

JOHN BULL—"I have a fine plan for sharing this fruit, Michel: you may climb up, but you must climb down."

NOTES

The First Hindu to teach Political Philosophy in an American University.

For the first time in the history of American Universities, a Hindu, Mr. Sudhindra Bose, has been called to fill a chair in the Department of Political Science. The recent catalog of the State University of Iowa makes the following announcement:

"Oriental Politics and Civilization—A comprehensive survey of oriental civilization with special reference to the social and political factors in the later evolution of the peoples of India, China, and Japan, including a consideration of the political relations between China, Japan, and the United States—Sudhindra Bose."

Mr. Bose, who has been so honored, is a former student of the Calcutta University. He comes from Dacca, Bengal. One of his brothers, Mr. S. N. Bose, is the Principal of the Comilla Victoria College. Mr. Sudhindra Bose has received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from the State University of Illinois. There his intellectual qualities and efficient work attracted attention, and he was elected to a scholarship in the University of Chicago, where he did notable work in the departments of Social Science and English.

His studies, however, were not confined to books alone. He travelled the length and breadth of this country as a lecturer, addressing scores of American audiences on India. In these addresses he not only aroused deep interest in Indian affairs, but corrected many erroneous impressions regarding the life, religion, and customs of his people. Some of his experiences as a traveller have appeared in the pages of this magazine.

In 1911, Mr. Bose came to the State University of Iowa, and entered upon research work in the Department of Political Science. This year he was elected to a fellowship. As a fellow of the University, he has given a number of lectures on Hindu Jurisprudence. These lectures have left with the audience a very favourable impres-

sion as to the personality, ability, and intellectual attainments of the Hindu scholar.

So marked is his administrative ability, that when the Cosmopolitan Club, one of the largest and flourishing organizations of the University, was balloting for its president at its last election, Mr. Bose was elected to the office. He is also one of the



MR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A.

national Vice-Presidents of the American Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs. Of the two thousand members of this Association, many are eminent instructors and scholars.

In all American Universities there are

certain exclusive societies known as Greek letter fraternities. The *Delta Sigma Chi*, a journalistic fraternity, has recently elected Mr. Bose to its membership, recognizing his ability and experience in the world of journalism. It is doubtless the first time that such an honor has been accorded to an Indian.

This does not come as a surprise to his friends who have for years known of his journalistic work. Although Mr. Bose's experiences have been so broad and so varied that an American finds some difficulty in gathering them together in a connected form, yet they are all focussed around one object, and in some manner linked together. The large range of his training and experience will tend to make him most useful in serving his mother country; this is the great purpose of his life, his whole work is directed with this in view.

Mr. Bose has a wide circle of American friends who admire his ability, splendid ideals, and feel the force of his indomitable will. They recognize in him a man who has a mission in view, with a sufficient courage and determination to accomplish his purpose. Those who know Mr. Bose are confident that he will more than meet their expectation as he enters upon the duties of his position in one of our great American Universities.

BEATRICE MEKOTA.

Public Life and Public Work in India.

There are two seasons in India when patriotic men and women cannot help thinking how public life may grow in the country and be fruitful, and public work may be done with greater devotion, knowledge and steady persistency from year's end to year's end. During Christmas week, so many engagements are crowded into every hour of every day that it becomes impossible for anybody to keep himself in touch with them all. For this reason we find that even the daily papers are unable to report in full the proceedings of all the meetings of the various political, religious, social, industrial, communal and caste congresses, conferences, and leagues that take place during this week. When even reporting becomes impracticable, editorial comment on all the topics discussed, resolutions passed and speeches made is out of

the question. It is absolutely impossible for any man, however great, and wide and many-sided his patriotism and mental outlook, and however robust his constitution, to attend all these meetings. It is no less impracticable for anybody to read all the reports of these meetings in these papers.

It is undoubtedly the object of these meetings that the public should take interest in all the matters discussed therein and press home on the attention of the Government whatever is capable of being remedied by the powers that be. But under the circumstances described above, this object cannot be gained.

Owing to almost the same men having to devote attention to a good many topics within a brief space of time, no subject is properly discussed, the speeches being for the most part got up in a hurry. This is particularly the case with the proceedings of the Social and Industrial Conferences, though many of the papers prepared for the latter are undoubtedly masterpieces of their kind.

What is the remedy? One remedy is that more men, particularly men outside the professions, men who can attend to public work even on days other than Government holidays, should devote themselves to public work and become public men. This would make feasible the application of the other remedy, namely, that the different congresses and conferences should meet in different parts of the year.

If the topics to be discussed could be settled and speakers chosen two months ahead, the discussions and speeches would certainly become more thorough, better-informed and businesslike. Of course, in cases of emergency, urgent topics, not in the list settled beforehand, could be taken up for discussion.

The other season when events are crowded within a few days in bewildering and distracting abundance, may be called the Budget season. In that season the Imperial and Provincial Budgets are discussed, many bills are presented and passed, many resolutions are moved and many questions are asked and answered, in the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Councils. Consequently even the most omnivorous newspaper-readers find it difficult to follow all that passes in the more than half-a-dozen

councils in the land. To complicate matters some University Convocations also take place at this time. The course of other events also does not remain at a standstill. So that in this season, too, many questions of the greatest importance receive the scantiest attention from the public. Even the members of the Councils find it beyond their powers to devote any serious attention to more than one or two questions.

What then is the remedy? we again ask. Of course we cannot ask that the Budgets of the Imperial and Provincial Governments should be taken up for discussion at different periods. That is clearly impossible. They must come up for discussion before the commencement of the financial year. What we propose that at this season only the Budgets and matters arising out of the Budgets should be attended to, bills and resolutions being left for other meetings of the Councils. Of course, interpellations must be allowed at every meeting. Now the remedy that we suggest would require longer and more frequent sessions of the Councils. This would necessitate the residence of the rulers and their secretaries in the plains during the greater part of the year. They would be loth to give up the luxury of the yearly exodus to the hills and stay there for the greater part of the year. But unless they gave up this luxury, the government of the country cannot improve. On the non-official side, too, the remedy we have suggested would make a far heavier demand on the time and energy of the non-official members. They would have to sacrifice almost all their professional income. Just as in England successful lawyers and other professional men on entering Parliament have to make heavy sacrifices, so must our "honourables" on entering the Councils. We shall be told that members of Parliament have the substance of political power whereas our "honourables" have only the shadow and it is hard on them to sacrifice so much for a shadow. True, but if the shadow is ever to become a reality, it must be through such sacrifice.

Moreover, unless a larger number of our leading men become public men in the sense in which Mr. G. K. Gokhale is a public man, making public work their chief business in life, politics and other public affairs would never receive that

serious attention which they deserve. Amateurish speeches, full of platitudes and declamation will not do. The "honourables" must be masters of principles and facts and figures as, for example, Mr. Gokhale is, and be able to handle them with the ease which characterises his utterances.

Srimati Satyabala Debi.

It is said that the musical accomplishments of an Indian lady named Srimati Satyabala Debi have aroused interest in some places in the United States of America. *The Indian Musical Journal* of Mysore has published some details of her life. She is the grand-daughter of a Zamindar named Babu Kāmākhyanāth Chattopādhyāy and was born at Belur in 1892. Without any



SRIMATI SATYABALA DEBI.

male children, her father Babu Sarat Chandra Chattopādhyāy gave her a good education. When she was eight, she visited all Hindu places of pilgrimage in the company of her father. She was educated in Bethune School till the 14th year of her life. She has received a good education in music and theology. She studied the Sanskrit musical treatises "Sangita-ratnākara" and "Sangita-pārijāta" under some Shāstris of Maharashtra, and studied and learned to chant the Sāma Veda correctly as the pupil of Pandit Durga Shankar Shastri of Benares. She is an expert player on the Vinā, an instrument which is said ordinarily to require twelve years' practice to master. She is said to be acquainted with Sanskrit, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Hindi, Persian, Tamil and English. She is the wife of a medical man of the name of Dr. Desai.

Leadership.

This leads us to the consideration of the question of leadership. It is a truism that leadership should go to the men who are the ablest, the best-informed and the most able to devote time to public affairs. But in India, in the absence of other qualified men, it goes very often to wealthy and successful lawyers. Now, against them personally we have nothing to urge in this connection. Our complaint is that owing to scanty leisure they do not and cannot study public questions in all their bearings, and, therefore, sometimes make pronouncements in public and private which greatly compromise the cause of the country.

Circumstanced as India is, it would also be a blessing if we had leaders with as little "stake" in the country as possible. This may seem to many a very curious demand on our part. But our reason is that we want that our leaders should speak and write and conduct themselves without being even unconsciously influenced by any thought of their personal interests in any direction being affected favorably or unfavorably by any public measures or by the pleasure or displeasure of the powers that be.

The Awakening of the Mongolian.

In the history of the world, many a time and oft it is the unexpected that has happened. From the writings and utterances of some of the early English statesmen it appears that they thought that the British connection with India would lead to the establishment here of a representative form of Government and even to her eventual independence. Some of our own earlier leaders, too, seem to have had such anticipations. That without any subjection and tutelage to any Western power any other Asiatic people would have a democratic Government long before India could dream of having it, did not seem to have crossed the horizon of their minds. But that is what has happened. Japan has long had a settled popular Government. China is on the way to get it. The case of Persia is different. Her people want to have a Constitutional Government, but for causes which we will not discuss here, their hopes seem destined, for the present at any rate, to remain unfulfilled.

So that in all Asia it is two Mongolian peoples who have got national and democratic governments first. The future of Asia must, therefore, be influenced a great deal by the Mongolian races. It is clear that Asia is awake, though the awakening may not have its full fruition everywhere.

What are to be India's place and function in this general awakening of Asia? Waves of the Musalman revival from Turkey, Persia and even Afghanistan beat upon her, particularly upon her Musalman population, from the West. Waves of the Yellow renaissance beat upon her from the North and the East. The Republic of China touches India on several points. Tibet borders on India and China claim suzerainty over Tibet. Nepal is the northernmost part of physical (though not of political) India, and China claims some sort of sovereignty over Nepal. It has hitherto been nominal. Let us see what change the Chinese Revolution brings about in the mutual relations of China and Nepal. Chinese territories border on the north-eastern frontier of India and on the Burmese frontier.

At none of the points referred to above is there easy access to China. So there is not going to be much direct land intercourse with China. But maritime intercourse may come sooner than land intercourse.

We do not think the Chinese would soon think of obtaining political ascendancy in India. But we think the economic conquest of India by the Chinese is more probable. Already the Japanese are occupying a progressively wider field in the Indian market. As soon as things settle down in China, her vast vegetable and mineral resources and her myriads of sober, industrious and skilful inhabitants would enable her to invade the Indian market. What preparations are the British people making to stem the yellow tide? What preparations are we making? The problem has not escaped the notice of all Englishmen. In the course of a long interview with Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the famous socialist, published in the "Pall Mall Gazette," occurs the following passage :—

"The next most remarkable thing, he considers, is that thirty-three years ago he succeeded in persuading the Tory Party, as Hansard shows, to adopt a policy of reconstruction in India, which, he said, 'by this

time would have made India a great native Empire under English leadership. That this policy, once begun, should have been abandoned was to me, of course, a very great blow, as I believe to this day it would have entirely transformed the problem of Asia.' His idea, he continued, was this: 'I saw, perhaps, as clearly as any man could, that the Mongolian is the coming power in Asia, and probably in the world, and I hoped to see a great and prosperous Aryan India as a sort of breakwater against this tremendous flood. Unfortunately, as I think, our policy has tended to throw the Indians over into the Mongolian camp.'

Indians do not wish to be subjugated by China. Conquest by foreign nations one after another is not a variety entertainment calculated to afford us amusement. Indians cannot be thrown over into the Mongolian camp in that sense. But certainly we shall learn lessons from all peoples on the surface of the globe, including our yellow brethren, and adapt them to our own circumstances. By conquest, commercial intercourse and religious propaganda many races and sects have consciously and unconsciously taught India much. The Mongolian races will also teach us much, but not, we think, by wresting India from the hands of the British. But whatever the means and character of the contact, there is sure to be mental contact between the Indian and Mongolian races. There was such contact in ancient times, when China and Japan sat at the feet of India. Now, perhaps, the time has come for India to become the pupil.

But we have still to answer the question, what are to be the place and function of India in awakened Asia? In his *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans*, Raja Rammohun Roy hoped that sooner or later India might succeed in enlightening the surrounding nations of Asia. How vain that hope now appears! Our students go to Japan; Japanese students do not come to India. In the course of a decade our students may go to China, too; but it is not likely that Chinese students would come to India as learners. Yet after all the Raja's anticipation may prove correct. India was the philosopher, the thinker of Asia, in times gone by. That may be her role again. We do not mean to say that there has not been any philosophy or thought in China or Japan. The genius of China has been more ethical and practical than metaphysical and contemplative.

Japan has been artistic, practical and military. But the attempt to compress the characteristics of nations within the compass of a single sentence would be vain and misleading.

Whatever India's political and economic destiny may be, she is to be for all Asia, perhaps for the whole world, the philosopher, the generaliser, the thinker, the seeker and finder of the one in many, the unifier and reconciler of faiths, cults, cultures and races. Should this be her destiny, her age-long tribulations would not be in vain.

The Deaf Hear.

We are glad to acknowledge the receipt of Rs. 11-4 for the relief of the famine-stricken in Gujarat, which has been collected by Mr. Maulibhusan Mukherji from the pupils and teachers of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School. The amount has been sent to Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society.

The deaf have heard the wail of the sufferers in distant Gujarat and responded; will not those who are blessed with the sense of hearing, hear and respond?

The Sister Nivedita Memorial Meeting.

The Sister Nivedita Memorial meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 23rd March last was a great success. Let us hope that the memorial itself will be a fitting and adequate one. The committee should at once go about collecting subscriptions. The president Dr. Rash Behary Ghosh observed in the course of an enthusiastic yet discriminating speech:—

"If the dry bones are beginning to stir it is because Sister Nivedita breathed the breath of life into them. If our young men are now inspired with a burning passion for a new, a higher, a truer and a nobler life the credit is in no small measure due to the lady who has been so prematurely called away from us. An India united in civic purposes, proud of its past achievements, proud of its contribution to the civilisation of mankind, and destined to render still higher service to humanity was the ideal for which she worked. And who can say she worked in vain? Who can say she has not made the steps easier for those who will follow her?"

"On one thing I can speak with confidence and that is this. If we are conscious of a budding national life at the present day it is in no small measure due to the teaching of Sister Nivedita."

Babu Surendranath Banerjea spoke of the enthusiasm and steadfastness of resolve which many derived in the Swadeshi

movement and the national cause generally from contact with the great personality of the Sister.

Mr. Fraser Blair said :—

"This meeting gives the lie to one of the grossest calumnies ever uttered against the people—the calumny that the Indians do not and cannot reverence a woman. We can hardly hope to kill a superstition which persists in the West in defiance of the teachings of Indian history and literature; but a meeting such as this should certainly help us to live it down."

"We are gathered to do honour to the memory of one of the noblest women God ever made—a woman who gave up a most precious life in India and for India—a woman who by her record of courage, self-sacrifice and love, no less than by her radiant personality and her intellectual power, broke down for us the barriers of time and space, and took us back to the spacious days of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The heroic woman, thank God, is to be found everywhere and in all ages. But it has always seemed to me that the heroine, as we meet her in Indian story, has a majesty and a fragrance peculiarly her own. Nor can I believe it to have been a mere accident which brought Sister Nivedita to a land in which her exceptional spiritual nature found so fruitful and congenial an environment. By her birth in the West, and her life and death in India, she has enriched the world in a twofold way. She brought to the exquisite ideals of Indian womanhood the intellectual robustness and the modern outlook which are the heritage of Europe. She interpreted to the West the nobility and the sanctity which attend the Indian woman in her home. And her interpretation was not mere theory. It was knowledge at first hand won by that very discipline of self-denial and contemplation which has given Indian women their unique position among the women of all nations."

And more in the same strain.

From Mr. G. K. Gokhale's tribute to the Sister we cull one passage :—

"Sister Nivedita's personality was a wonderfully striking personality—so striking indeed, that to meet her was like coming in contact with some great force of nature. Her marvellous intellect, her lyric powers of expression, her great industry, the intensity with which she held her beliefs and convictions and last but not least, that truly great gift—capacity to see the soul of things straightway—all these would have made her a most remarkable woman of any time and in any country. And when to these were joined—as were joined in her case—a love for India, that overflowed all bounds, a passionate devotion to her interest and an utter self-surrender in her service and finally a severe austerity of life accepted not only uncomplainingly but gladly for her sake, is it any wonder that Sister Nivedita touched our imagination and captured our hearts or that she exercised a profound and far-reaching influence on the thoughts and ideas of those around her and that we acclaimed her as one of the greatest men and women that have lived and laboured for any land? Sister Nivedita came to us not to "do good" to us, as some people somewhat patronisingly put it; she came to us not even as a worker for humanity moved

to pity by our difficulties, our shortcomings and our sufferings: she came to us because she felt the call of India. She came to us because she felt the fascination of India. She came to give to India the worship of her heart on one side and to take her place among India's sons and daughters in the great work that lies before us all. And the beautiful completeness of her acceptance of India was indeed what no words can express—not merely her acceptance of the great things for which India has stood in the past or of those for which God willing she shall stand again in the future—but of India as she is to-day with all her faults and shortcomings undeterred by the hardships or difficulties of our lives, unrepelled by our ignorance, superstition and even our squalor."

Babu Bhupendranath Basu spoke with great feeling and gave several illustrations of her wisdom and thoughtfulness and of the reverence felt for her by young and old. Babu Abanindranath Tagore read a paper in Bengali, pointing out how she had opened the eyes of the Indians to the beautiful in their own country, their own art and their own institutions. Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose

"described Sister Nivedita as he had met her very early one morning walking on the Strand at Bagh-bazar. The doctor asked her if it was her custom to take these early walks. Her reply was—no; but some Indian ladies had complained to her of having been insulted, by certain badmashes, while bathing in the early morning and she was going with them to the river to see that it didn't happen again. How characteristic of her beautiful indignation at wrong and oppression and her prompt and fiery response to the cry of the helpless!" (*The Empire*)

Babu Bhupendranath Basu read the following private letter from Lady Minto to Sister Christine :—

"It is with very real regret that I read in the newspapers the sad loss that has been sustained in the death of Sister Nivedita. I cannot resist sending you a few lines of very deep sympathy, and not only for yourself but for all the Indian community for whom she was working. Sister Nivedita had a wonderful personality, and I look back to the few meetings I had with her with pleasure, and with real admiration for her enthusiasm and single-minded desire to assist others. The world is the poorer for her loss, and for you her constant companion and helper the blank she leaves must be irreplaceable."

Mr. Gokhale on Calcutta and Bengal.

In Lord Hardinge's Despatch on the recent changes, dated the 25th of August last, occur certain remarks on the influence of Calcutta and Bengal which could not be read by Bengalis with satisfaction. Coming from the greatest official in the land, they represented the official view. Let us see what our greatest non-official statesman

has to say on the same subject. Speaking from his place in the Viceroy's Council, on the 25th March last, Mr. G. K. Gokhale observed :—

"But whatever the future may hold in its womb, the thought that this Council, which has grown in this city from the smallest beginnings to its present dimensions, will meet here no more, is a thought that makes the heart heavy. It is not merely the infinite kindness and hospitality which we, coming from other provinces, have always received from the people of Calcutta, it is not merely the friends whom we have made here, that we shall miss, it is the entire influence of Calcutta and all that it stands for that will now be lost to us. My lord, some of us have been coming to this city year after year for several years past—I have come here now continuously for eleven years—and we have learnt to feel for this province the same enthusiasm which the people of Bengal feel. Its waving fields, its noble streams, its rich and wonderful vegetation of every kind, throw on us now the same spell that the people of this province experience, and the warm-heartedness of its society, its culture, its spiritual out-look on life and the intensity of its national aspiration, have made a deep and abiding impression on our lives. We bid good-bye to this city with profound regret and with every good wish for its continued prosperity that the heart can frame. And we sincerely trust that great as has been its past its future will be even greater."

The Health of India.

The latest report published by the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India is for the year 1910. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* says :—

"It shows plainly enough that there was no improvement whatever in the health of India. There was no doubt a small rise in the birth-rate of 2.87 per thousand, the figures for 1909 and 1910 being 36.65 and 39.52 respectively, but there was nothing to be gratified at in this, as there was a rise in the death-rate as well of 1.29 per thousand, the figures for the two years being 33.20 and 34.49. It would be perhaps interesting to note that the highest death-rate was recorded in the month of November while the most healthy month was June. Another interesting fact is that the death-rate among males was higher in all provinces than among females. And this discrepancy was noticed even in the case of infants. The largest percentage of mortality in all India was claimed by fever, which accounted for 4,341,392 deaths giving a ratio of 19.17 per thousand. The death-rate per thousand of cholera was 1.90, equal to 430,451 deaths as compared to 239,231 deaths from the same cause in the preceding year, for plague it was 1.83 as compared to .64 in 1909, for dysentery and diarrhoea 1.18 as against .96 in 1909 and for all other causes it was 7.85 as contrasted with 7.90 in the year preceding. Except a decrease under the heads of fever and small-pox in comparison with the figures for 1909, the mortality under all other heads increased in the year under report. Including the Indian States, the deaths from plague aggregated 32,605, as compared with only 178,808 in 1909. The

worst affected provinces were the Panjab, the United Provinces and Bengal. In Eastern Bengal and Assam and the North-West Frontier Province the number of deaths from plague was only 46 and 30 respectively; in the former as usual the out-break was of the pneumonic type. The comparative freedom of Madras from plague is a matter for investigation no doubt; but the conclusion arrived at by a Commission appointed for the purpose does not commend itself to us as very intelligible."

Bengali Discontent and the Calcutta Town Hall Meeting.

The Calcutta Town-Hall meeting of the 26th March last was held to voice the opinion of Bengal on the recent territorial changes, the Council regulations, the status of the Calcutta High Court and the proposed educational bifurcation in Bengal.

In the King's Proclamation at Delhi, occur the words, "with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as our Governor-General in Council, with the approval of our Secretary of State for India in Council, may, in due course, determine." The use of these words shows that it was not thought undesirable or inexpedient that such changes or redistribution should be made. But in practice none have been made. If none were to be made, why were these hope-rousing words put into the mouth of the King by his ministers?

In Lord Hardinge's Despatch the cry of "Behar for the Beharis" is supported. Why not "Bengal for the Bengalis" then? Why should any Bengali-speaking area be tacked on to any non-Bengali province? In the Despatch one of the reasons why Orissa should not remain with Bengal was stated to be that "the Oriyas, like the Beharis, have little in common with the Bengalis." Well and good. But similarly, the Bengalis of Manbhum, Dhalbhum, Purnea and the Sonthal Parganas, have, obviously, little in common with the Beharis. Why then have these Bengalis been placed in the same administration with Beharis? Why is it that what is good logic for Oriyas, is not good logic for these and other Bengalis in the Eastern and Western border districts of Bengal? Truly has it been observed that one partition of Bengal has been replaced by another, the only difference being that the earlier affected a larger number of Bengalis than the later and more recent one.

We agree with the Meeting in thinking that the proposed teaching and residential

university at Dacca is not wanted. But we go further and think that nowhere in India will such a university be better than the present Government colleges and will therefore be unnecessary; unless the University professors be better qualified men than the existing class of European professors in India and unless the University professors be as non-political at heart as our students are required to be, and unless the professors, with true sympathy, make common cause with our students in all their legitimate and righteous aims and aspirations. We must also add that wherever residential Universities may be established, either day scholars, not in residence within the University buildings, should be allowed to attend their lectures and qualify for their degrees, or non-residential institutions should be allowed to exist in the University towns. In no other way can the interests of the poor students of India be adequately safeguarded.

Musalman opinion on the proposed Dacca University.

Some people think that whatever Bengali Hindus may think Bengali Musalmans support the Dacca scheme. For their benefit we quote below the speeches of two representative Musalmans at the Town Hall meeting, only adding that Mr. A. Rasul was of opinion that "the Musalmans of East Bengal would not in any way be benefited by the residential university":—

Mr. Akram Khan supported the resolution in Bengalee. After the partition the East and West Bengal Moslems quarrelled over the education question and this misunderstanding was given expression to in the Burdwan Conference. If the Dacca University was established the same misunderstanding and quarrel would arise. The national feelings of the Moslems would be sadly injured by the new University (cheers), which would do no good to them at all. The Musalmans wanted bread and they had got stones. They wanted more primary and secondary schools and they had been given a residential university. (Hear, hear.) The Hindus would never object if more money was spent for the education of the Moslems (Loud Cheers).

The way the Dacca University scheme was brought forth plainly showed that it was a mere 'boon' given to the Moslems to counteract the 'evil' done to them by the modification of the partition. But in truth the boon would be a great evil to the Moslems. The action of the Government plainly showed that it was a sop to the Moslems who were dissatisfied by the modification of the partition. He could not support

the resolution when it said that the proposed University should confine its activities to Dacca City alone. It should not be allowed to spread its influence even to the Jagannath College. If it spread its influence further than the Government College, how would the poor Moslems be educated? They were all poor. They would not be able to pay the residential college-fees. It would be too much and too high for them. He could not agree that the new University should spread farther than the Dacca Government College. Those were the true feelings of the poor Moslems. As a compromise he agreed to support the resolution. None required the University in Dacca. (Loud and continued applause.)

Mr. Abdul Kasem in supporting the resolution said that it was a myth to say that the Moslems of East Bengal wanted the University. It was totally false. The East Bengal Moslems were dead against the University. This was proved from the fact that the Bombay Moslem League, before the East and West Bengal Moslems said their say, supported the Dacca Scheme. The Madras Moslem League followed. *He did not know why the League at Timbuctoo did not do the same.* He supported every word that was said by his friend Mr. Akram Khan, the talented editor of the 'Mahammadi.' He had never before spoken on behalf of his community but on the present occasion he had the authority to speak on behalf of the Moslems of both Bengals to say that the University was not wanted by the Moslems. Nawab Sirajul Islam and three Moslem pleaders of Mymensingh had spoken against the scheme.

The Central Council of the Moslem League and the Bengal Branch had not, in spite of very heavy official pressure, supported the scheme. All-India Moslem League had supported the scheme by a fluke. They were all dead against a special officer for education in East Bengal. They wanted money for primary and secondary schools to educate the poor Moslems. The Moslems were poor and the new University would not help them. The Moslem newspapers had all spoken against the scheme. The All-India Moslem League had passed the resolution supporting the scheme only by a fluke, as they were going to do that night in that meeting. He heartily supported the resolution as it then stood as nobody wanted it.

What the Dacca University should be like.

If a University be established at Dacca, we think its special feature should not be the teaching of literature and philosophy and history, etc., and of theoretical science. It should be like many of the modern universities of the West; its teaching should have relation to the manufactures, agriculture, &c., of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Take the example of the University of Leeds. Incorporated in 1904, it "grew out of Yorkshire College, established in 1875 for the purpose of supplying instruction in the arts and sciences which are applicable to the manufactures, engineering, mining and agriculture of the country." From this

we draw the conclusion that the proposed Dacca University should teach, among other things, agriculture, with special reference to jute and tea.

The Calcutta University Convocation.

At the last Calcutta University Convocation the Vice-Chancellor made a notable speech. We are glad to find that he took the view (which we had taken in our March number) that the Calcutta University is a teaching university to some extent and in a certain sense, though he very properly also pointed out in what directions new departments should be made and wherein the defects of our university lay. He was right in observing:—

"Our exertions have grown 'pari passu' with the growth of our task, and our strength does not yet give any indication of exhaustion."

He was also justified in saying that "the Indian Universities have in fact contributed exceedingly little towards the advance and increase of knowledge." But as he referred to the "Medical College with its distinguished staff of Professors, many of whom have done highly important work of an original character," it seems difficult to understand why he avoided any express mention of the original work, known to and recognised by the scientific world, done by some well known Bengali professors of the Calcutta Presidency College, with their demonstrators and pupils, or of the original historical work done, e.g., by a Bengali Professor of Patna College. It may be that he followed the course he did, as, the European professors of the colleges having done no research work, he might seem to be making an invidious distinction in favour of his own countrymen.

We generally agree with the Vice-Chancellor that the teaching imparted to the M.A. or M.Sc. students is on all fours with that given to the B.A. or B.Sc. students,—that it is meant expressly to help them to pass these examinations. With due deference to Principal James, who is inclined to take exception to this part of Sir A. Mukherji's address, we should like to point out that even in the Presidency College the teaching is not characterised by a high degree of efficiency or by the tendency to add to the world's stock of knowledge. It should be noted that the

Vice-Chancellor made certain reservations—he said, "this M.A. teaching, *except in a few notable instances*, has not been essentially different either in spirit or in results from B.A. teaching." Evidently he had in view the researches carried on by the Indian professors, demonstrators and pupils we have referred to above. It is sad to reflect that if the contributions to the stock of knowledge made by some of our distinguished Indian professors be left out of account, the record would be poor indeed. And yet, strange to say, Mr. James, in his work entitled "*Education and Statesmanship in India*" (Longmans), coolly and contemptuously ignores the achievements of our countrymen in the Educational Services. To quote our reviewer in the February number: "Among the names of distinguished members of the Service mentioned at pp. 113-14 some are comparatively obscure, while there is not a single Indian name—not even that of Dr. J. C. Bose. Dr. P. C. Ray, of course, belongs to the inferior 'Provincial' service, and cannot aspire to the honour of being named in the same breath with the many worthies referred to in Prof. James's list. He quotes liberally from Mr. Valentine Chirol's book on the Indian unrest, but the latter's trenchant remarks on the differentiation of the educational service into 'separate pens' seems to have escaped the author."

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, himself a veteran educationist, thus admirably summed up the pernicious effects of the new regime in his budget speech of 1903:—

"My Lord, it is difficult to describe in adequate terms the mischief that is done to the best interests of the country and of British rule by the appointment of third or fourth rate Englishmen to chairs in Government Colleges. These are unable to command that respect from their students which they think to be due to their position, and they make up for it by clothing themselves with race pride."

Babu Bhupendranath Bose, speaking from his place in the Bengal Legislative Council, observed:—

"A system of recruitment has been adopted by which Indians were practically debarred from the higher branch of the educational service. Cellow youths, not always distinguished graduates of the Home Universities, have been recruited at Rs. 500 a month and have speedily risen to the grade of Rs. 1000 a month, whereas older men who had made their marks as teachers and had achieved distinction in the subjects of their choice as original workers wearily struggle against the bars of colour and race."

Pay of University Professors.

The Vice-Chancellor announced that several University Professorships would be created, carrying a salary of Rs. 12,000 per annum each. In addition to what he said to meet the objections of those who were of opinion that capable men would not be available for this salary, we wish to point out that, according to Mr. W. H. Sharp's book on "The Educational System of Japan," in Tokio University in Japan the average annual pay of a European Professor is £684 or Rs. 10,260. Many of these European Professors "have made names for themselves in Japan," and helped to make the Japanese original workers in scientific fields to a far greater extent than our European professors have done with regard to our students. Let us reflect, then, why the Japanese get good foreign professors for less than Rs. 1,000 a month without pensions, whereas we do not get their equals for higher salaries *plus* pensions.

Sir A. Mukherji on Primary Education.

In the course of his weighty Convocation address Sir A. Mukherji said:—

Some enthusiasts may be inclined to urge on this occasion also the so-called paramount claims of adequate provision for universal primary education before any increase of expenditure on higher education and research. To them would I only reply that if higher teaching has to wait for admittedly needful development until a fully satisfactory scheme of general primary education is established through the whole length and breadth of the land, the day for these higher developments will never come.

In our opinion this portion of the address was totally uncalled for, as here the Vice-Chancellor was fighting a shadow of his own creation. No advocate of universal primary education has ever demanded its promotion by sacrificing, or even arresting for a time, the growth and spread of high education. It is possible and practicable to pay attention to and spend money for the advancement of all grades and kinds of education. This has been done in other lands, and it can be done in India.

The Chancellor's Address.

It is gratifying to learn from Lord Hardinge's address that he considers our students capable of higher work, that he cannot regard the present facilities for

higher studies as at all sufficient when not a few students who wish to take the degree of Master of Arts have to be turned away for want of accommodation, and that he thinks it very important that we should turn out good M.A.'s in sufficient numbers, otherwise it will be difficult to find capable lecturers for our colleges or to provide adequately for research.

The Viceroy's Assurances.

Speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Viceroy assured the public that the operation of the proposed Dacca University would be confined within the municipal limits of Dacca, and that Bengalis need not apprehend any splitting up of their language. These assurances are very gratifying. But will then be a separate Matriculation examination for the Dacca University at which students of East Bengal High schools must appear?

Resolutions in the Viceregal Council.

As was anticipated all the Resolutions moved by non-official members of the Viceregal Council were rejected. That shows that Lord Morley has given us neither the moon nor the Canadian fur-coat,

We should reflect whether in addition to moving resolutions again and again we cannot do something ourselves. Take for instance, indentured labour. That this accursed system is equivalent to slavery, that owing to it many coolies have committed suicide or otherwise lost their lives and many women have lost their chastity, are well known facts. We ought to try our best to so spread education that the poorest of Indian men and women may not be duped by coolie-recruiters, we ought so to develop the resources of our country that for starvation wages our poor brethren and sisters may not feel tempted to sell themselves to a life of practical slavery in distant lands, and in the meantime we should start vigilance committees in all recruiting and registering centres for the prevention of abuses.

Similarly steps should be taken with regard to the subjects of the other resolutions.

Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

His Majesty the King-Emperor held out the hope of education to all his subjects.

But his servants in the Imperial Council have to a man opposed Mr. Gokhale's Bill for making the beginnings of universal education. It behoves the Government, therefore, to provide some other adequate means (statutory or administrative) whereby within a measurable distance of time illiteracy may be confined almost entirely to children below seven years of age. After 150 years of British rule only 6 per cent. of the inhabitants of India are literate. At this rate of progress, if we had the very moderate degree of 50 per cent. literacy as our ideal, we should require 750 years more of British rule. We know 90 per cent. literacy is met with in many Western countries.

Let us, however, be practical men. A glance at the educational articles published this year and in past years in the *Modern Review* will show that in India non-official agencies have given the lead in education and Government has followed the lead. If even a few villages and municipalities could be given universal free education by non-official agencies, Government might see its way to follow the lead thus given;—particularly if it felt that the thorough control of popular education in all its ramifications might pass out of its hands. It is not only anxious to keep the control of education in its hands, but it is obviously against its interests that there should be any ground for the public to believe that anywhere indigenous agency does more for the people than the British Government. Note Sir H. Butler's anxiety to prove that British India does not lag behind Baroda in education. Let us take advantage of this feeling of rivalry in the official mind. Is it beyond the resources of Indian patriotism to take in hand even one village or municipality?

The main official objection is, India is not like other countries. That is true. But just as, in spite of this dissimilarity, the bodies of Indians are illogical enough to require food, so their minds, too, perversely enough, require knowledge. Give us knowledge by the means which you think best, if the means suggested by Mr. Gokhale are inappropriate, and give it to us quick. As for money, it can be found, whenever the official mind is made up. E. G., the Dacca University

scheme, the building of capitals at Delhi, Bankipur, Ranchi, &c., &c. Besides we are prepared to bear additional taxation for the purpose.

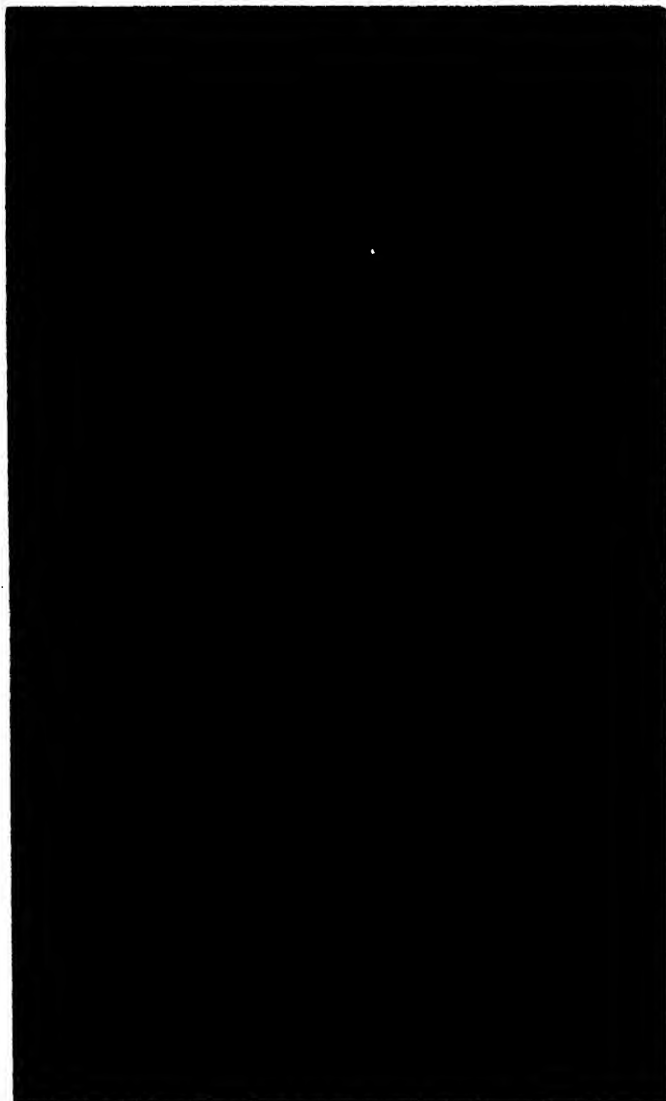
The Persian Situation.

Wherever on earth wrong is done to any man, it is done to all. Much more is a wrong done to one nation a wrong done to all. Persia's miserable plight, therefore, is not a matter which affects Musalmans merely or chiefly; it touches all, whatever their race or creed or nationality. Musalman feelings have been deeply stirred, as Persia stands as the foremost representative of Musalman art and culture and meditative piety. These same things furnish connecting links between India and Persia. Indian art and culture owe much to Persia, and the mutual affinity of Sufism and Vedantism must strike all students of comparative religion.

Last Thursday's Town Hall meeting in Calcutta was, therefore, naturally attended by men of different creeds and races. It was held to make a joint appeal to Great Britain asking her interference for the preservation of the integrity of Persia. Dr. Rash Behary Ghosh presided, and, as usual, made a fine speech. Referring to a recent anonymous article in the "Fortnightly Review," he said:—

"In the opinion, however, of an anonymous writer in the 'Fortnightly Review' in expecting England to intervene in an affair which does not primarily concern her we are guilty of veiled treason to the British Empire. When I read this effusion I could not help asking myself 'stands England where she did?' When did England cease to be the hope of freedom, the curb of the tyrant? When did her glorious flag cease to be a signal of rallying to the combatant and of shelter to the fallen? When did her noble sons cease to do all that lay in their power to extend to others less favoured the benefit of those free institutions which they have enjoyed for generations and which have made them the envy of the whole world? It was certainly not so in other days.

"Gentlemen, it is not we who are guilty of treason in asking England to use her influence in securing a constitutional government for Persia. It is the anonymous writer who is guilty of treason, not veiled but open, of treason to his own country, of treason to those glorious traditions which have made the name of England so dear to all who are oppressed and downtrodden, to all who cherish high aspirations and are fighting in the cause of order, and of good government. It is impossible, said Mr. Gladstone on a memorable occasion, that the affairs of foreign nations can ever be indifferent to a country like England. It is impossible, he added, that England should forswear the interest she must naturally feel in the struggles of a people for justice and for freedom."



WORSHIPPING SHASHTHI—THE GODDESS OF CHILDREN.

From a water-color by Mr. Nandalal Bose.

By the courtesy of the artist.

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THE COLONISATION OF INDIA

WHEN the East India Company obtained the Dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, they knew that their tenure of the country was not based on conquest and hence they could not set to work to colonize it with their own compatriots and co-religionists; though the policy which they adopted in governing the country—a policy the immediate effect of which was seen in the terrible famine in Bengal in 1770, was well calculated to achieve that end. The American colonists at that time also had not thrown off the British yoke and so there was no surplus population in England to be spared to colonize India.

But it seems that during the regime of Mr. Warren Hastings, the colonization of India was taken into consideration. Two of his counsellors were strongly opposed to it. That foresighted statesman, Sir Phillip Francis, in his Minute published in the Bengal Revenue Consultations, dated 22th May, 1775, wrote:—

"1. If nothing but grants of waste lands were in question, it would still be an object of serious consideration, *first, to the British Government, whether or not it would be advisable to encourage colonisation here.*

"4. The soil of right belongs to the natives. Former conquerors contented themselves with exacting a tribute from the lands, and left the natives in quiet possession of them.

"To alienate them in favor of strangers may be found a dangerous as well as an unjust measure. We cannot understand the arts of cultivation in this soil and climate, so well as the natives. The landholder will consider us with jealousy and hatred, as the invaders of his rights and property. The ryots,

attached by custom, religion and prejudice, to the authority of their ancient masters, will not readily submit to labour for new ones, to whom they are not bound by any natural relation of manners or religion, or by reciprocal obligations of protection and dependence. A few Europeans will be thinly scattered over the face of the country; the native inhabitants will desert it."

Again, in an introduction to a publication, intituled "Original Minutes of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William, on the settlement and collection of the Revenues of Bengal, with a plan recommended to the Court of Directors in January 1776," Sir P. Francis wrote:—

"As a question at least it deserves to be considered whether it may not be essential, not only to the internal prosperity of the country, but to its dependence on Great Britain, that the Europeans in Bengal, should be limited to as small a number as the services of the Government will admit of."

"The acquisition was made, and has hitherto been preserved by a British force which has borne no proportion to that of the natives. Under a mild and equitable Government, under such a one as it is our own greatest interest no less than our duty to give them, they are incapable of rebellion or defection. Their patience and submission to their rulers in the last twenty years are sufficient to show how much they can endure. *On the other hand, as we increase the number of those who can only exist at the expense of the country, we load our Government with useless weights, and add to its embarrassments without adding to its strength.*

"Whether these Europeans are directly employed or not in the service of Government, there is no fund but the public revenue out of which they can derive a subsistence. One way or other it is paid for by the country, and one way or other must become chargeable to Government.

"Exclusive of public employments or contracts with the India Company, there is no fair occupation for the industry of Europeans in Bengal. Every enterprise

they engage in, whether of foreign commerce or internal improvement, leads them into distress if it does not end in their ruin. Even of adventurers pursuing every mode of acquisition that offers, very few, if any, have succeeded. But these are people to whom no encouragement should be given. *Their residence in the country, especially in the remoter parts, harasses the people and alienates them from their natural habits of submission to any power that protects them.*"

Mr. Monson, another member of Mr. Warren Hasting's Council, wrote :—

"The question now before the Board, on which I am required to give an opinion, may be considered in a political view :

1st. *Whether it is for the interest of Great Britain to colonise in East India.*

2nd. *Whether such a colony would be of advantage to the India Company.*

"The migrations to countries believed to be the regions of wealth would be so considerable, that the mother country would soon feel the dire consequences of them.

"Every person who comes into this country is impressed with the idea of making, in a short time, a very considerable independent fortune."

"The means to be pursued for this end operate to the impoverishment and destruction of the country. If Europeans were allowed to hold farms, as their influence is great, they would in some degree oppress the natives, * * * *

"Their manner of life will not permit them to give equal profits to the Government with the natives, as their expense on every article of subsistence is more considerable; consequently, the Europeans will be in a worse condition than the natives, or Government must be satisfied with a less revenue from the lands, in order to enable them to live.

"The few wants of the natives, who are satisfied with the mere necessities of life, will allow them to pay larger taxes to Government from the same quantity of land, in the same state of culture, than an European can afford to do; it is evident, therefore, that it can not be for the interests of the Company to allow Europeans to become landholders.

"The uncultivated lands, under a mild and fixed Government might soon be brought into culture by giving premiums and making advances of money to the natives.

"Providence has ordained, by her formation of the constitution of Europeans, that they should not become the cultivators of this country; they can only be taskmasters, and will enrich themselves, having no permanent interest here, to the prejudice of the natives, and to the loss of Government."

Marquis Cornwallis in the course of a letter to Mr. Dundas, dated London, 7th Nov. 1794, wrote :—

"And I am strongly impressed with a conviction that it will be of essential importance to the interests of Britain, that Europeans should be discouraged and prevented as much as possible from colonising and settling in our possessions of India."

At a Court of Directors held on Wednes-

day, the 4th February, 1801, the following resolutions were read and the Court approved thereof :—

"Resolution Second. That it is equally the interest of the nation, and the duty of the Company, to guard against all principles and measures which, by an indefinite enlargement of the present channel of communication, in their nature tend to the introduction, immediate or gradual, of such an open intercourse, and its probable consequent colonization.

* * * * *

"Eleventh. That if to this aggregate capital, which may be termed the present maximum of the native stock of British India for a trade to Europe, it became a practice to add capital belonging to private residents in Great Britain, and transplanted to India for the purpose of forcing the productions of that country beyond the ability of its own means, this would be the introduction of one of the first principles of the Colonial or West Indian system; and if it were sanctioned, directly or impliedly by any public regulation, it would tend greatly to extend the relations and intercourses between those countries, and this, as well as to supersede covertly, if not openly, the prohibition to Europeans to occupy lands there, which prohibition is already in a variety of instances, dispensed with; and thus, without any certainty of ultimate commercial benefit to the British Empire at large, a change would be commenced in the present system of Indian policy, which is allowed to be the best for the maintenance of those distant possessions."

But with the free influx of Europeans permitted by the Charter Act of 1813, and the annexation of the mountainous tracts both of the Himalayan and the Deccan ranges, some people of England set on foot an agitation for the colonization of India. But to cover their ulterior designs, the agitators had to wear the mask of philanthropy. In a pamphlet entitled "A View of the Present State and Future Prospects of the Free Trade and Colonization of India," the reputed author of which was one Mr. Crawford, it is stated that—

"Although there may be no room for colonisation, there is ample room for settlement, in a country of fertile soil, far more thinly peopled, after all, than any part of Europe, and a country without capital, knowledge, morals, or enterprise. * * * Our countrymen, living amongst them, will instruct them in arts, in science, and in morals; the wealth and resources of the country will be improved; the Hindus will rise in the scale of civilization, * * *

He concluded this pamphlet thus :—

"We repeat, that the only suitable and efficient means of improving our conquered subjects—the only means by which one people ever conferred lasting and solid improvement upon another—is a free and unshackled intercourse between the two parties."

Colonization was advocated on the score

of philanthropy, because this, it was said, would lead to the improvement of the natives. What the consequences would have been, if India had been colonised at that time, is all a matter of conjecture; they might or might not have been good for the Indians. In other parts of the world, as a matter of fact, the results have not been good for the natives. The reasons will be clear from what Huxley has written.

"The process of colonization presents analogies to the formation of a garden * * * [The colonists] set up a new Flora and Fauna and a new variety of mankind, within the old state of nature. * * * Considered as a whole, the colony is a composite unit introduced into the old state of nature; and, thenceforward, a competitor in the struggle for existence, to conquer or be vanquished. (Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics and other Essays*, Vol. IX, p. 16).

"* * * [The colonist] would, as far as possible, put a stop to the influence of external competition by thoroughly extirpating and excluding the native rivals, * * * the obstacles to the full development of the capacities of the colonists * * * would be removed by the creation of artificial conditions of existence of a more favourable character." [*Ibid.*, p. 18].

The Natives of India being more civilized and numerous than the natives of the colonies, the results here would not probably have been exactly the same.

Mr. Frederick Shore was also an advocate of the colonization of India. In his "Notes on Indian Affairs," he treats of the subject at some length and tries to meet the arguments of those who were opposed to it. According to him, the arguments advanced against colonization were:—

"1st. That the rich settlers would supplant the natives in the possession of the soil;

"2nd. That were the country overrun with the lower class of Europeans they would ill-treat the natives, and, from their irregular and disorderly habits, commit many crimes * * *;

"3rdly, That as soon as India was tolerably well-peopled with English settlers, it would become independent of the mother-country."

After disposing of the first two objections, he has devoted some considerable space to the consideration of the third. Referring to this, he writes:—

"It is indeed probable that, in the course of time, India will emancipate itself from England. * * * The probability is, that India will be independent of England long before that event could be produced by colonization; and that, so far from being a means of accelerating that catastrophe, it would rather retard it. * * * But there are other consequences which would ensue from colonization, whose operation would be more immediately felt by the existing directors of

the Indian administration, and it is the apprehension of these which forms the true reason of the strenuous opposition hitherto made against colonization.

"These are, first, that the present oppressive system of Government towards the natives would be exposed by the new settlers. The people of India are obliged to bear it, as they possess no means of averting it, or making their complaints known: but Englishmen would not submit so quietly: they would at least make themselves heard in England, where public opinion would demand an alteration in the system.

"Secondly, that, before long it would be found absolutely necessary to appoint residents in India to many situations from which they are now excluded: and this would diminish the patronage of the home authorities."

He favored colonization on the ground that—

"Such a body of settlers, having everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by the subversion of the British power, would, in the event of any disturbance or insurrection, exert all their influence, and induce their native dependents and connections to do the same, in support of Government; whereas, so different is the feeling of the natives towards the British authority, that when a disturbance arises, those who do not take part in it stand aloof, and will rarely give any assistance to the Government."

Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord William Bentinck used arguments similar to the above in favor of the settlement and colonization of their compatriots in India.

It was no wonder then that the Charter Act of 1833 afforded greater facilities to Europeans desirous of settling and colonizing in India. In fact, that Act encouraged the colonization of India by Europeans.

Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, the well-known Resident of Nepal, was a great advocate of the colonization of the Himalayas by Europeans. His paper written in December 1856 is a very important contribution to the literature on this subject. He wrote:—

"I say, then, unhesitatingly, that the Himalaya generally is very well calculated for the settlement of Europeans, and I feel more and more convinced, that the encouragement of colonization therein is one of the highest and most important duties of the Government.

"I trust therefore, that the general subject of the high capabilities of the climate and soil of the Himalayas, and their eminent fitness for European colonization having once been taken up, will never be dropped till colonization is a '*fait accompli*,' and that the accomplishment of this greatest, surest, soundest, and simplest of all political measures for the stabilization of the British power in India, may adorn the annals of Lord Canning's administration.

"A word as to the native population, in relation to the measure under contemplation. In the first place,

the vast extent of unoccupied land would free the Government from the necessity of providing against wrongful displacement; and, in the second place, the erect spirit and freedom from disqualifying prejudices, proper to the Himalayan population, would at once make their protection from European oppression easy, and would render them readily subservient under the direction of European energy and skill to the more effectual drawing forth of the natural resources of the region."

In concluding his paper he wrote that he would encourage "the starving peasantry of Ireland and of the Scotch Highlands to colonize the Himalayas"—

"By free grants for the first five years, and by a very light rent upon long and fixed leases thereafter, looking to compensation in the general prestige of their known forthcomingness on the spot, and assured that, with the actual backing upon occasions of political stress and difficulty of some fifty to one hundred thousand loyal hearts and stalwart bodies of Saxon mould, our Empire in India might safely defy the world in arms against it."

In a footnote, Mr. Hodgson added:—

"To ward off Russian power and influence, we are just now entering on a war (in Persia) as immediately and immensely costly, as full of perplexities and difficulties, even in any of its better issues. Were one-tenth, nay, one-fifteenth, of the money which that war, if it last, will cost, bestowed on the encouragement of European settlements in the Himalaya, we might thus provide a far more durable, safe and cheap barrier against Russian aggression, and should soon reduce her land-borne commerce with Eastern Asia to *Nil*."

The far-seeing statesmanship of Francis, Monson, Cornwallis and others who helped to lay the foundation of the British Empire in India was at a discount and the opinions of men like Crawford, Frederick Shore, Metcalfe, Bentinck and Hodgson found favor with the people of England.

Although the authorities never openly gave countenance to colonization, yet after the outbreak of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857, the colonization of India was loudly called for by the people of England. An English journalist wrote:—

"Time has brought most people now-a-days to the opinion that the great Mutiny was in a great measure the result of a vicious system, maintained for years, by which India was held as an appanage of the Civil Service. The immigration into India of independent Europeans, who would, if admitted, have taken root in the country, and who might even by mere numbers have prevented the rising, was discouraged and almost prohibited. The result was that the governing class—the Covenanted Civil Service—formed the only avenue to anything like power or distinction; it gradually absorbed the control of the army as well as the civil administration of the country, and it broke down at once and utterly in the time of trial."

• The Saturday Review for Jan. 29, 1876, p. 146.

The colonization of India was being loudly demanded by the people of England. Thus wrote Sir Edward Sullivan, Baronet:—

"Every nation, without exception, that has hitherto reduced another to permanent subjection, has, more or less, cemented conquest by colonization; * * and it is an undoubted fact that, in proportion to the number and strength of these colonies, their rule was more powerful and more enduring."

"It would almost appear as if colonization is the only condition on which Providence will permit the substitution or lengthened subjugation of one race by another; and as far as history hitherto instructs us, permanent conquest is but another word for vigorous and successful colonization. Up to this period, England has in no degree colonized India, or encouraged an amalgamation of races; nor is there any probability, not to say possibility, of her doing so."—Sullivan's *Letters on India*, 1858, pp. 24-25.

So a Select Committee of the Parliament was appointed in 1858, to consider the question of colonization and settlement of India by Britishers. At this distance of time, the two Reports issued by the Committee are very interesting reading.

It seems that all the enactments made to encourage the settlement of the English were not enough to induce them to colonize India. Hence special measures were to be adopted to convert India into a colony of England. On the 16th March, 1858, it was ordered by the House of Commons—

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the progress and prospects, and the best means to be adopted for the promotion of European colonization and settlement in India, especially in the Hill Districts and healthier climates of that country; as well as for the extension of our Commerce with Central Asia."

Towards the closing days of November, 1907, the following telegram was to be seen in the papers of most of the countries of the world.—

Prince Buelow has introduced a bill in the Reichstag, for a grant of a further £20,000,000 to continue the Germanization of the Polish provinces by means of German settlers, and conferring powers of compulsory expropriation.

(*Reuter's Service*.) London, Tuesday. (Novr. 26, 1907).

England could have done the same thing for the English settlers in India as Germany did for the Germanization of Poland. In fact, Mr. Hodgson had suggested the adoption of such a measure.

But the members of the Committee on Colonization above referred to, could not recommend such a procedure. None of the witnesses who appeared before the

above Committee, even suggested such a course. But as usual with the Anglo-Indian authorities, they were encouraging Englishmen to settle in India by pecuniary aids from the money taken from the Indian tax-payer. India was expected and made to a certain degree to pay for her being converted into an English colony.

Take for instance, the case of tea plantations. How the tea planters were assisted in this industry will be evident from the following questions put to, and the answers given to them by Mr. J. Freeman who appeared as a witness before the Select Committee on colonization.

"1922. Are you not aware that both in Assam and Kumaon the Government established tea-plantations for the express purpose of trying experiments, for the sake of the settlers, and with the avowed object of handing over their plantations to the settlers, as soon as the experiment had been shown to be successful, and as soon as settlers could be found willing to take them?—That is what I refer to; that in the first mooted of the cultivation of tea the Government took the initiative and encouraged it, and went to some expense in taking the necessary steps towards it. Then some Europeans took it up on a larger scale, and that attempt was not successful; but somewhere about 14 years ago, in consequence of this new arrangement, where the Government gave them more favourable terms about the land that they were to concede to them, from that arose the present company, *which has carried it out in a very extensive way, which without the English settlers and their capital I doubt would ever [have] been effected.*"

"1923. Did not the Government in fact bear the whole of the expense of the experiment, and hand over, both in Assam and Kumaon, their plantations to the settlers on very liberal terms?—That I am unacquainted with; I will not say that it was so or that it was not so."

"1924. Did not the Government send Mr. Fortune, and others before him into China to get seed, and to get tea-markers, Chinese, and otherwise, to inform them as to the Chinese system of culture, for the express purpose and sole object of instructing the settlers in India?—I do not know for certain whether that experiment was made by the Government; I believe it was so; but I know that Chinamen were brought in the first instance. It was hoped, through them that the natives in India would get an insight into the cultivation of tea, but it failed, so far."

Thus it will be seen how the European tea-planters have been benefited at the expense of the natives of India. But the Government have never done anything to encourage any purely Indian concern as they have done the tea industry carried on by Anglo-Indians. The sting at the natives of the country by the witness, which we have italicized in the above extract, is

quite senseless, for no native has ever been encouraged in the same manner as the European settlers.

It is for the benefit of the European tea-planter, that that act, up to this day, stands on the pages of the Indian Statute Book—an act which the late Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Kristo Das Paul, C.I.E., was compelled to condemn as legalising slavery in India.

The Indian Government very generously offered to assist iron manufacturers of England if some of them were to come to settle in India. Thus the same witness was asked:—

"1927. Are you aware that the Government have recently sent out a gentleman conversant with the iron manufacture, and with him several assistants, to the province of Kumaon, to introduce the iron manufacture there?—I have read of it, but we offered to do everything at our own expense."

"1928. And the Government have stated that, as soon as the experiment is shown to be successful, they are willing to hand over the works to any Englishman that will undertake them?—Yes, that may be, * * *."

Comments on the above are superfluous. Again from time to time Indigo-planters have received pecuniary aids from Government at the expense of the Indian tax-payer.

If the Indian Government spent money in building, roads and railways in India, these seem to have been made with, among others, the object as set forth by one Mr. J. Dalrymple who appeared as a witness before the above Committee. He was asked:—

"3551. And with more perfect laws, and the facility of roads, canals, and rivers, you yourself know of no other place where better fruits for enterprise exist than in Bengal?—Certainly not."

"3552. In your long experience you have realized those results?—Yes."

Facilities of communication seem to have been made to help colonization. Thus one Mr. W. Theobald was asked:—

"867. Increasing communication and increasing commerce, therefore, will greatly increase the hold of England upon India?—Yes, I think so."

Facilities of communication with England have resulted in saddling India with a large increase of English Civil and Military officers and other classes of English officials, for many more are required to do the work of those who are absent on leave. The above-named witness was asked:—

"1276. Do not you think the facilities that have

hitherto existed, of overland communication, for civil officers visiting their native country, has diminished that necessary class of civil servants that, previously to the introduction of the overland route, existed; that is to say, the overland facilities reduce the available number of officers for the duties of the state?—Very much so, no doubt.

"1279. At present there is generally a greater number absent than before the introduction of steam?—Yes, I think so.

"1280. And that would naturally call for an increase of that service?—Yes.

"1282. Does not the facility of coming home encourage a greater number to come home than did come home round the Cape, having a six months' voyage staring them in the face?—Yes, no doubt."

Railways were constructed, and roads and waterways were neglected, because they would not be convenient means of travelling for the British capitalists. Major-General G. B. Tremeneere, in his evidence before the above Committee, on the 15th April, 1858, said:—

"Colonization cannot proceed in India as it does in Australia or Canada; it must spring from the upper, rather than the lower ranks of society, by the settlement of capitalists; that is, from the capitalist rather than from the labourer.

"The state of the existing means of travelling in India is sufficient alone to prevent the country and its resources from becoming known to capitalists. The ordinary mode of travelling is either by marching in stages from 12 to 14 miles a day, or travelling by dawk in a palanquin. Capitalists will not submit to this tardy mode of progress. I conceive that if railways existed, places holding out prospects of profitable investment would be readily visited, and capitalists would then judge for themselves of the advantages to be gained by settlement.

"I conceive that before capital can be attracted to India, it is necessary to give the greatest facility for intercommunication. Both the agricultural and the mineral resources of the different localities could then be readily inquired into on the spot. Those resources would not only be accessible to capitalists but would be placed within easy communication one with the other, which is not the case now."

This witness pleaded for the construction of railways as the best means for colonization of India. He was asked:—

"98. One portion of the inquiry which has been devoted upon this Committee by the House of Commons is the possibility of availing ourselves of the climate of the hill stations of India for colonization and settlement; have you ever turned your attention to that subject?—I think one of the most important things that could be done would be to make the hill stations accessible by railway from the plains."

He was asked by Sir Erskine Perry:—

"100. Do you mean for commercial purposes?—For commercial purposes, as well as for the purpose of settlement in the hills."

The hills of India were suggested for colonization and the plains for settlement of Europeans in India. Thus one Mr. J. G. Waller as a witness before the above Committee was asked by Mr. Vansittart:—

"5200. You have been in the Hill Station of Darjeeling?—Yes.

"5201. What are its capabilities for English colonists and settlers?—Its capabilities are very great, and it invites colonization to such an extent, that even the laboring classes may settle there. I think the resources of the hills are boundless for the purposes of colonization. In the plains we can only have what I understand by the word 'Settlement'."

"5204. In your answer to question No. 4857, you say, 'I think that the climate offers no serious impediment whatever to the settlement of Europeans;' are the Committee to understand from this that colonization is practicable in the plains of Bengal?—No; I used the word 'settlement,' that I intended to cover the whole of India; Europeans may settle there, although they may not colonize; that is, you cannot introduce labourers into the plains of India; but if you have 500 Europeans settled in Bengal now, as far as climate is concerned, there is no reason why you should not have 5,000."

According to another witness, the whole of India, like Algeria, could be colonized and settled by Europeans. Mr. J. Freeman was asked:—

"1750. Do you think colonization can be effected in any part of India in the same manner and to the same extent, as Algeria has been colonised?—I think that colonization can be extended in India, but there are two kinds of colonists for India, whereas, in Algeria, there is only one kind of colonist that is absolutely necessary; one to work the land. But in India there is room for two colonists, one with capital and directing capabilities, enterprise, and perseverance, using the native for carrying out his purposes, and one a colonist to work the land himself under particular conditions and circumstances; if you encourage and render your institutions rationally fit for the higher grade of these, you will confer the greatest benefit to the country, but the latter must be always more or less limited, but they would be of great use to the country, for other reasons.

"1751. You instanced the colonization in Algeria as a proof that it may be extended in India; therefore I asked, 'Do you think that it can be carried on to the same extent in India as in Algeria?'—In every part I should say not, but in many parts I should say it might. In Algeria a large grant was made to a company on condition that, within a certain number of years, they should establish so many villages, and should have so much land in cultivation; and people were induced to resort there, and they have succeeded and they have introduced large permanent pasture

lands by irrigation and so forth, and the cultivation of wheat and tobacco, &c., to a very great extent; and this is partly by European labour and partly by the labour of the natives of the country; and that climate, it strikes me, is quite as warm as the climate in many parts of India; the heat is just as great, and there are the same difficulties as to the oppressiveness of the heat to be overcome there as by the Europeans in India. Then, if you come to the northern parts of India and to the hilly ranges there, I think, the climate and soil are quite fit for purposes of that kind; and if settlements were established there, to induce people to settle, it would be an advantage in having a European force at hand as in the military colonies in Algeria."

In order to make colonization possible and successful, it was necessary that a very large number of Englishmen should be brought out to India. It was with this object in view that some of the witnesses urged the necessity of appointing Englishmen in preference to Indians to all the posts of trust and responsibility. Thus to gain their end these witnesses did not scruple to paint the natives of India in the blackest color possible and say things regarding them which were false. Major General G. B. Tremenneere, in his evidence before the Committee on 20th April, 1858, said:—

"European settlement in India might probably be promoted by a further increase of the members of the Uncovenanted Civil Service. Their ranks are recruited from young men who, in many instances, have been brought up in India; they have small pensions, and after serving the Government for a period of years, are very likely to become good settlers. Their local experience will induce them to take advantage of opportunities for profitable investment, which in the course of their career would be surely forced upon their observation. The strength of the regular civil service is too small for a country of such vast extent. They work hard, and are a most exemplary body of men; but there is a limit to individual exertion, and they look to England as their ultimate home. A certain proportion of highly educated civilians is absolutely necessary but much of the ordinary civil business, both revenue and magisterial, might be better administered if a larger number of moderately paid officials were employed."

"340. You think that they would be brought into more immediate contact with the natives?—Yes, they would become acquainted with the resources of the country, and by retiring on smaller pensions, would be more likely to settle in India than the civilians of the present day."

"341. Besides the advantages which you have already proved, what advantages do you think might arise from the training establishments in the Himalayas which you have suggested?—Besides the benefit to be derived, in a material point of view, from establishments in the Himalayas for training Europeans in the practical sciences, other advantages would follow which might be of the greatest value to the future of India. At present the standard of

morality amongst all class of the native community is so low, that the pure stream of English law is polluted by the corruption of the native officials, who compose the machinery of the civil courts, and are the only instruments which our civil officers can employ. Ability, a fair reputation, quickness in writing the Persian and Hindoostanee languages, and an aptitude for business secure employment to a native. High moral qualities, if only based on the principles inculcated by their own religious creeds, would have influence if they could be found; but unfortunately, these native subordinates and the whole class from which they are derived are notoriously deficient in good principles, and they counteract the efforts of Government to administer strict justice to the people. The people themselves have no greater respect for truth or upright dealing; they will institute, against one another, prosecutions of the most serious character, on the most false pretences, and support them by a cloud of witnesses; even when they have a just cause for litigation, they know that if they do not possess the means to bribe freely, they cannot succeed; and the feeling among them is, that the party who can pay the most to the subordinate officers of the court, is sure to gain the day. The best way to cure this evil is to make moral worth, and character, the chief qualifications for employment by the State. It is not by books, nor by teaching, that any appreciable progress will be made towards improvement of the national character of the natives. More may be done by the living example of numbers of Englishmen, trained up among them from their infancy in the principles of the Christian religion, who by reason of their moral superiority, will obtain the precedence in all public employments, and in the favour of the State."

Then this witness was asked:—

"385. As a question of policy and justice, do you advocate the employment of Europeans in offices which are now filled by natives of the country in preference to the natives?—I do as a first measure, until you can obtain those qualities which, I presume, the Europeans would possess. I think the quality of the instrument should be looked to, and not the mere national character of the employed. If you could obtain natives possessing the same principle as Europeans, I would have them employed by all means, and I would give them the preference; but until you can do that, let them see that those are the qualities which are required."

"386. I presume you are of opinion that we should not govern India for our own purpose solely, but for the benefit of the inhabitants?—I conceive that the employment of high principled instruments under the Government, would be doing more justice to the people of the country than the employment of others who are corrupt, although they may be of the same nation."

It was suggested by many witnesses that Englishmen should be appointed to such posts as those of Munsifs, Sudder Amceens, Darogas, &c. Thus the above witness was questioned:—

"454. Do not you think, with regard to the salaries that the Sudder Amceens and Moonshis draw, that we

could get young men of good education and family to go out from this country to fill those situations?—No doubt, at the same time their instruction would have to begin in India, and they would require a long apprenticeship."

Then this witness was again asked:—

"472. Would it be just to exclude the native?—Certainly it would not be just to exclude the native, but I would simply employ the European until you could have a native of the proper standard.

"475. Is it not something like the old adage of not showing a boy to go into the water until he can swim, not employing the natives till they are fit for employment?—If you show men what qualifications are requisite for employment, it is their fault if they do not come up to that standard; if you give them an opening, and say we will employ you if you exhibit certain qualifications, I conceive there is no hardship in keeping them out of employment till those qualifications are produced."

Another witness before the above Committee examined on 27th April, 1858, was asked:—

"1285. Until the moral code of the Mussulman and the Hindoo is higher, are you of opinion that in the interests of India and its people they should not, unless in exceptional cases, be employed in responsible positions?—Certainly, I think the creed of caste and the creed of the Mussulman is a bad creed for persons entrusted with the administration of justice; *

"1286. As regards the police * that respectable Europeans should fill the place of darogah, and that even in subordinate positions to those the steady intelligent European would fill the places well?—Yes," *

Mr. G. MacNair was examined before the above Committee on 6th May, 1858. He was asked:

"309. In what situations under Government do you think more Europeans could be employed than are employed now?—In all the public offices, such as the Treasury, the Home and Foreign Departments, the Military, Public Works, Salt and Opium, Stamp Office, Mint, Post Office, &c; there is at present a very large establishment of native writers in these departments; some of them receiving from £100 to £300 per annum, and even more, who do very little work; they are nearly all mere machines, who copy well, but cannot draught or write a letter of any consequence; for the present pay of these native establishments I should say a much more efficient European establishment could be kept, which would be a good training school for higher appointments to get on from their own merits and exertions.

"3071. Do not you think that depriving them of those offices would have a deteriorating effect upon their education generally, and that there would be less encouragement held out to them to educate themselves than now?—It might be to a certain extent, but not very much.

"3074. Do not you think it is only fair, as far as you can, to employ the natives of the country in the

Government of their own country?—If you could employ them beneficially, and you could put dependence upon them, it would be so, but if you can not get trustworthy people it is not even for the benefit of their own native class to employ them.

"2092. You said that you thought the servants of the Government should be found among the European settlers?—Yes, as much as possible. I think it would be a great inducement for Europeans to go to India to qualify themselves for those appointments.

"2322. Would it be just and fair towards the people of the country to take all the employment out of their hands, and give it to the English?—If you can not find natives fit for those employments you must employ Europeans.

"2323. How are the natives to be made fit without being employed?—You may make them fit for some of the appointments, but it is difficult to make them correct or honest without more European superintendence.

"2324. Are they likely to be made correct or honest if they are not tried?—They do not seem to improve in that respect.

"2326. You think that it is possible to teach boys to swim without allowing them to go into the water?—No, I do not.

"2327. *Chairman*] Do not you think it would be an advantage for them to see a man swim who could swim better than themselves?—Yes, I think that they would get benefit from the example."

Mr. N. B. E. Baillie was also a witness before the above Committee on 1st June, 1858. He was asked:—

"4587. Do you object to natives being appointed to high official situations?—Yes, I do; my reasons in both cases are political. I would say that with regard to the appointment of natives to higher situations, that I was asked the question when examined before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1853. I then said that I thought that they were improving very much, and that, intellectually, I thought they might be considered qualified for higher situations. * I then gave my opinion entirely as a judicial question. * Now it is given upon political grounds. I think, politically, the natives should not be appointed to those high situations."

The witnesses wanted the wider employment of the English agency in India and yet they gave evidence of the inefficiency and incompetency of the then existing agency—that is of the members of the Covenanted Civil Service. Thus Mr. Freeman, in his evidence before the above Committee, on 4th May, 1858, said:—

"If they (the Civil Servants) were only properly trained in their profession, good masters of the languages, had more intercourse with and much more real knowledge of the character and ways of dealing of the natives, I would not wish to see better men in India."

If the covenanted civilians were inefficient and did not perform their duties properly, it was preposterous to expect that uncovenanted European officers would be a better set of people. By the inefficiency and incompetency of European employees, the natives of India would be the sufferers. Well, that did not enter into the calculation of those who advocated the more extensive employment of the Europeans in India on the score of colonization.

The improvement of land tenure to facilitate its possession by the Englishman was also suggested. Thus Mr. J. Freeman, in his evidence before the Committee on the 29th April, 1858, was asked :—

"1654. With regard to the land, can you make any suggestion which would improve the tenure of land, and facilitate the possession of it by Europeans?—Certainly; in the country, where most of the land is occupied in one way or another, except in the Sunderbunds, there is a difficulty to surmount. Those gentlemen who have invested their capital in indigo and so forth, have managed it in this way : for the sake of peace and quietness they have come in as purchaser of leases for 8, 9 or 10 years, they have purchased putnee talooks or perpetual leases. Therefore when this unfortunate sale law comes into effect upon an entire Zemindary these are all swept away.

"1655. You wish some measure like Mr. Grant's sale law, which should give the lessee a security that his large tenures, unprotected by the sale law tenure, should not be destroyed by the sale of the Zemindary?—That is one thing; our other method is to rent the land from the small tenant; * *

He and several other witnesses like him were for extinguishing the rights of the ryots in Lower Bengal with a view of putting the English planter in possession of the fee-simple of the land.

One of the alleged reasons hindering the colonization of India by natives of England was their apprehension of being subjected to the jurisdiction of native Indian judges and magistrates and what they were pleased to call "Black Acts." Thus wrote the *London Times* in 1858 :—

"If any thing can more clearly illustrate the sense of security in which Indian officials in spite of all warning have indulged, it is that at the very time when this alarming mutiny was about to burst forth in the Bengal Presidency, it was actually proposed so to remodel the criminal jurisdiction of the country, as to subject the few Englishmen scattered over Hindoostan to the anomalies of native law, to the tyrannies of native witnesses, * * to the ignorance of native jurymen, * * and to the tender mercies of native magistrates, armed with a power of summary jurisdiction, unknown even in England, and by means of which an Englishman might be confined in

their vile prisons, amidst all the fierce heat of India, for as much as two years."

Mr. J. P. Wise as a witness before the above Committee on the 11th May, 1858, said :—

"Suppose these Black Acts had been carried into law as was desired just previous to the breaking out of this rebellion, the scattered Europeans as a preparative measure might have been lodged in gaol."

Then he was questioned by a member of the Committee,—

"2651. I think you stated that it was the object to drive the European settlers out?—Yes, one would suppose so.

"2652. To whom do you impute that object; was it the effect of the laws or was it the intention of those who passed the laws?—The laws would have that effect."

"2653. You do not mean to say that any Government would desire to drive settlers out?—One would suppose not, but practically that is the effect."

An attempt was made during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon to empower native Indian judges and magistrates to try Christian European criminals. But such a hue and cry was raised by "the Pucca born Britons" and the Eurasians that Lord Ripon's Government had to tamely yield to the agitators.

The Government of India by the East India Company was not favorable to colonization. To give an impetus to colonization, as one of its objects, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the transfer of the Indian Government from the Company to the Crown was effected. This transfer benefited the English colonists. Mr. J. Freeman in his evidence before the Committee, was asked :—

"1567. What effect do you think the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown will have on colonization or British settlement?—Colonization as applied to India in the present circumstances would have a very great effect. I have no doubts because the change in the form of Government from the Company to the Queen leads one to expect ulterior reforms more closely connected with India itself."

Mr. G. MacNair, in his evidence before the above Committee, was asked :—

"2581. What is your opinion with reference to the interests of settlers of the present proposed change of Government from the Company to the Crown?—It would be very beneficial, and would give every one more confidence in the Government."

Mr. J. T. Mackenzie as a witness before the Committee, on 12th May, 1858, was asked :—

"371. Do you think that the transfer of the

Government of India to the Crown would or would not increase the stability of our rule in that country?—Even since I have been in India, and at home, I have constantly advocated that; it would give a great stability to our rule, India being governed in the name of the Queen.* *

"3722. Do you think that such a transfer would be favorable to the increased settlement of Europeans in India?—Unquestionably it would, if added to good Government."

Mr. J. G. Waller, in his evidence before the Committee on 3rd June, 1858, being questioned—

"4841. What would you enumerate among the principle objections to the settlement of Europeans in India?"

Said—

"I think I have enumerated several; but there is one other which is of such importance that I cannot with justice to the subject omit it. I think that the transfer of the authority of the Government from the Corporation which now represents the Crown, by virtue of a trusteeship, is absolutely necessary. *If it be the real intention of the English Government to encourage the settlement of Englishmen in India, and to give full scope to private enterprise for the accomplishment of those objects connected with India, which Government alone can never effect,* * Englishmen, I am persuaded, and the history of the past proves it, will not accept the intervening authority of any Corporation, as a Government, in lieu of the direct authority and power of the Crown, and the fundamental principles and laws of their own constitution.* ** I think that the substitution of the authority and name of the Crown is essentially requisite to prepare the way for those sweeping changes in the Government of India which must follow almost immediately, not only to induce and encourage colonization, but to keep our hold over that immense extent of country."

It is a remarkable fact which must be greatly regretted that the two Parliamentary Reports from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India) have not received any attention at the hands of Indian publicists.

But with all the Laws and Regulations which afford facilities to the English people to colonize India, colonization has not progressed very rapidly. India for the Englishmen, it is said, possesses few charms. Mr. Townsend writes:—

Colonization of India:

"This absence of white men is said to be due to climate, but even in the Hills no one settles. Englishmen live on the sultry plains of New South Wales; Americans, who are only Englishmen a little desiccated, are filling up the steamy plains of Florida; Spaniards have settled as a governing caste through-

out the tropical sections of the two Americas; Dutchmen dwell on in Java; but the English, whatever the temptation, will not stay in India. No matter what the sacrifice, whether in money or dignity or pleasant occupation, an uncontrollable disgust, an overpowering sense of being aliens inexorably divided from the people of the land, comes upon them, and they glide silently away."* *

Meredith Townsend's Asia and Europe, p. 87.

The real reasons for the slow colonization of India seem to us to consist in the facts that India is a large country and well peopled and it was not a very easy task to displace the millions who inhabit it, and also in India being not rich in gold, silver and diamond mines like Peru, Mexico, California, Australia and South Africa. India is mainly an agricultural country and hence less attractive to the European gold-hungerers. Major-General G. B. Tremenhare in his examination before the Committee on the 20th April, 1858, being asked:—

"412. * * Why does not he (the Englishman) go to India as well as to Australia?"

Answered—

"There are more enticing objects in other countries. The finding of gold, the production of copper, and mines generally, offer much greater inducement than the slow profits derived from agricultural produce."

But now that several mines of gold and other minerals have been discovered in India, India is becoming more and more attractive to the Europeans. It is not to be wondered at if rapid colonization of India takes place now.

The promotion of Eurasians to the class of Anglo-Indians and the large amount of money which is being spent on their education and the creation of domiciled Europeans as "statutory natives" will also facilitate the colonization of India. The conspicuous absence of "statutory natives" and "Anglo-Indians" (or Eurasians), in the ranks of the provincial judicial services which tax intelligence to the utmost, for as a matter of fact, members of these services, administer law and justice much better than judges belonging to the "Heavenborn Civil Service," is to be explained on no other hypothesis than their unfitness for appointment to them. And hence every attempt is made to educate them to enable them to take their place in those services.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

CHAPTER XV.

BATTLE OF DHARMAT, 15 APRIL, 1658.

REACHING Ujjain with his army at the end of February, Jaswant was quite in the dark about Aurangzib's intentions and movements. So strictly did that

Prince watch the roads and ferries of the Narmada river that no news from the Deccan reached Jaswant.

The Rajput general, however, learnt that Murad was coming from Guzerat. So, he issued from Ujjain, took post near Kachraud to bar the enemy's path, and sent his spies towards Murad's camp for further news. Murad was then 36 miles away, but on finding Jaswant's force greatly superior to his own, he prudently avoided a battle and making a wide detour round Kachraud arrived south of it, in order to be near the Narmada and Aurangzib's line of advance.

Jaswant heard of this movement, and in his present state of ignorance could not account for it. Just then he got a letter from Mandu Fort telling him that Aurangzib had crossed the Narmada. A party of Dara's troops, who had fled from the fort of Dhar at the approach of Aurangzib, now joined Jaswant and confirmed the news. The Maharajah was at his wits' end; so well had Aurangzib's movements been kept secret that Jaswant had not heard of his march from Burhanpur, begun as early as 20th March, nor of his having crossed the Narmada. The first news that he got of Aurangzib was that the Prince was already in Malwa and rapidly marching on Ujjain.* At the same time, from Murad's present position, a junction between the two brothers was most likely.

In utter perplexity Jaswant returned to Ujjain. Here a Brahman envoy, surnamed Kavi Rai, delivered to him Aurangzib's

message advising him to give up his opposition and return peacefully to Jodhpur as the Prince was only going to Agra to visit his father without any thought of waging war. Jaswant declined, saying, "I must carry out the Emperor's orders. I cannot retrace my steps without disgrace."

He then advanced 14 miles south-west of Ujjain and encamped opposite Dharmat, to block the path of the enemy coming up from the south.

Here another startling news reached him: Murad had joined Aurangzib (14th April) and the two were within a day's march of him. This was a contingency that Jaswant had not thought of before. His waiting strategy had failed to keep the two princes apart. How was he to meet their united forces now? He quailed at the prospect. Next morning, when Aurangzib's army had already begun to march to the encounter, Jaswant "in mortal fear" attempted to parley. He sent a messenger to Aurangzib to beg the Prince's pardon and say, "I do not want to

fight, and I have no power to show audacity to your Highness. My wish is to visit and serve you. If you pardon me and give up your project of a fight, I shall go and wait on you." But Aurangzib knew of his own advantage and was not willing to strengthen the enemy by granting him time. His reply was, "As I have already started, delay is out of place now. If you really mean what you say, leave your army and come alone to Najabat Khan, who will guide you to my son Muhammad Sultan and that prince will introduce you to me and secure your pardon."^a

Such a humiliating submission before striking a blow, the chief of the Rathors could not bring himself to make. He

* A. N. 58, 64-65, Aqil Khan, 27-28, Isar-das, 19, Masumi/466-476.

^a A. N. 56-57, Kambu, 112, Aqil Khan, 22.

prepared for fight. But a general who starts in terror, changes his mind, and attempts to gain time by parleying before a battle, is not likely to win in the clash of arms; he has already lost that confidence which is half the victory.

Jaswant had come to Malwa in the hope that the mere prestige of the Imperial standards would send the rebellious princes back to their provinces, and that all that he would have to undertake was a mere demonstration of force. Now, when too late, he realised that his adversaries were in deadly earnest and ready to fight to the bitter end. He marshalled his forces against them, but most reluctantly, as if he were going to commit a high crime; his spirit quailed before that of Aurangzib. A battle fought between two such generals can have but one issue.

Jaswant had been charged by Shah Jahan to send the two rebellious princes back to their own provinces with as little injury to them as possible, and to fight them only as a last resource.* At all times, a subject opposing two princes of the blood, a servant fighting for a distant master against two chiefs who acknowledge no higher authority than their own will, is severely handicapped. In Jaswant's case the natural inferiority of his position was aggravated by the commands he had received from Shah Jahan. While Aurangzib followed his own judgment only, knew his own mind, and, fired by the highest ambition, pursued his object with all his resources and singleness of aim, ready to do and dare his utmost,—Jaswant was hesitating, distracted by the conflict between the instructions from Agra and the exigencies of the actual military situation in Malwa, and entirely dependent for his own line of action on what his opponents would do. A general so situated cannot have the advantage of taking the aggressive and forcing the enemy to abandon his plans; nor can he pursue his aim with iron will to the bitter end.

* Kambu, 112, Masnun, 464, *Stories*, i. 258, Bernier, 37, 38.

His army, too, was an ill-knit group of discordant elements. The various Rajput clans were often divided from each other by hereditary feuds and quarrels about dignity and precedence.

Unlike Jai Singh, Jaswant was not the commander to humour and manage them, and make all obey the will of one common head. Then, again, there was the standing aloofness between Hindus and Muhammadans. It had been found next to impossible to brigade these creeds together for a campaign under one general. Hence, in the first siege of Qandahar all the Rajputs of the Mughal Van marched under Rajah Bithaldas and all the Muslims under Bahadur Khan,*—two co-ordinate authorities subject only to the commander-in-chief. In the Bijapur war also all the Rajputs of the reinforcements sent from Hindustan were led by Chhatra Sal Hada, and all the Muslim troops by Mahabat Khan. It was only a commander standing in a position of unquestioned superiority above the heads of the other generals, that could make the two creeds work in amity. Aurangzib was one such by birth as much as by merit. But Jaswant was a mere *mansabdar*, only two grades higher than Qasim Khan, and socially equal to him, as both were governors of provinces. There could not, therefore, be unity of command in the Imperial army. Indeed, Qasim Khan's orders were to co-operate with the Maharajah and not to act as his subordinate.

This division of command accentuated the difference of creeds in the Imperial army and rendered its success difficult. Several of the Muslim officers were, moreover, secretly friendly to Aurangzib or had been corrupted by him. The history of the battle that followed proves this suspicion true: while the Imperialists lost 24 Rajput chiefs in the conflict, only one Muhammadan general was killed on their side. "Qasim Khan and all the Imperial troops who in this battle had not become the target of the arrows of Fate, fled," as the official history issued by Aurangzib records. This circumstance lends colour to the theory that they had kept themselves out of harm's way.

* Waring, 224.

The day following the battle four Muhammadan officers of the Imperial army came over to Aurangzib and were rewarded by him.* Such men could not have fought loyally twenty-four hours earlier.

Finally, Jaswant as a general was no match for Aurangzib, who had "aged in war." Contemporary historians† blame him for his incapacity, inexperience and faulty plans. He chose his ground badly and so cramped his men that the horsemen could not manoeuvre freely nor gather momentum for a charge; he failed to send timely succour to the divisions that needed it most, and, the battle once begun, he lost control over his forces as if he were a mere divisional leader and not the supreme commander of all. Lastly, he made the fatal mistake of despising artillery. It is said‡ that the night before the battle, his chief officer Askaran, surnamed Kirtiwant, had urged him, "The two princes have drawn up their guns in front of us. The brave Rajputs do not love their families or own lives very much, so that when they move to the encounter they will never step back. The artillery of the other side will annihilate them. If you only give the order, I with 4000 of our men shall fall on their artillery at mid-

He rejects the proposal of a night-attack on the enemy's guns.

night, slay the gunners and capture the guns. Thereafter the enemy will not have strength enough to defeat us in a pitched battle." But Jaswant replied, "It is inconsistent with manliness and Rajput usage to employ stratagem or make a night-attack. Next morning, with God's grace, I shall use a plan by which their artillery will lie at its place on one side, and the Rajputs coming upon their troops will gain the victory. Not a man (of us) will be hurt by the guns."

Evidently Jaswant's plan was to skirt the enemy's artillery and come to close quarters with their troops, disregarding the gun-fire during the first few minutes of the battle. His plan of wild gallop. But such

tactics could have succeeded only if the charge had been made on a wide level plain and also if the opposing artillery had been served by Indians proverbially slow in turning and firing their pieces. But when the battle began the Rajputs were penned within a narrow space with ditches and entrenchments on their flanks, and subjected to a deadly fire before they could expand their formation for a charge. Secondly, after they had passed by the enemy's artillery and engaged Aurangzib's troops, the French and English gunners of the Prince quickly turned their guns sideways and began to mow down the Rajputs in their new position. It was truly a contest between swords and gunpowder, and artillery triumphed over cavalry.

The ground* where Jaswant took his

* Kambu says, "These inexpert generals, through faulty counsel, took post in a narrow swamp and uneven ground. Next morning when they marshalled their troops, a large body was packed in that narrow pass, one behind another, and some stood here and there on the sides, without order or method. ...Owing to the narrowness of the field and the pressure [of the enemy] from the two sides, the Imperialists found no space to manoeuvre." (116). Agil Khan supports this statement and adds, "Jaswant drew up his troops on uneven ground, on the bank of the Narmada(!); having poured water he made 200 yards of ground near it muddy." (28, 30). Murad's own description is, "Jaswant camped on a plot of land which had ditches of water on all four sides [joined to] swamps, and set up entrenchments round it." (Faiyas, 469). Bernier's description of the battle-field is very inaccurate; the Persian histories do not speak of any "disputed passage" across the river, as the fight seems to have taken place more than a mile from the bank. I have visited the scene and found there not a single "rock in the bed of the river"; and the banks are not of "uncommon height," as is asserted by Bernier, (38-39).

The battle evidently took place west of Fathabad, close to the Ratan Singh Monument, and not east of the village of Dharmat. (A. N. names the village *Dharmat-pur*, but the *Ind. Atlas*, sheet 36 N. E., and the villagers call it *Dharmat*). We read in A. N. "One *kos* from Dharmatpur Jaswant barred the Princes' road...Jaswant entamped opposite Dharmatpur, one *kos* from Aurangzib's army. ...Aurangzib's tent was pitched on the bank of the *nullah* of Churnarayanah." The right bank of the river, facing Dharmat, slopes gently, and could not have presented any difficulty to the attacking cavalry and guns. There is no swamp opposite Dharmat, but some damp soil and *nullahs* near Ratan Singh's Memorial. I conclude from the Persian accounts that the battle was fought in a plain and not in the bed of a river.

* A. N. 72, 73. *Straja*, i. 255, Bernier 37-38.

† Kambu, 17a & b, Agil Khan 28, 30, *Faiyas*, 469.

‡ *Ishar-das*, 206.

stand was narrow and uneven, with ditches and swamps on its flanks.

The field had been chosen for the fight. One historian asserts that Jaswant had deliberately

poured water on and trodden into mud 200 yards of ground in front of him, evidently to arrest the enemy's charge. His position was also surrounded by trenches thrown up during the previous day, as the usual precaution against night attacks. In short, the Imperial army seemed to be standing on an island, ready for a siege. No worse disposition can be imagined for a pitched battle to be fought by cavaliers on mettled horses.

Of the forces engaged, we know that Aurangzib had 30,000 men with him. To this must be added Murad's contingent, probably less than 10,000. The Imperial army is variously estimated. Aurangzib puts it at "30,000 horse and many infantry," Isardas at 50,000; Murad goes even further and counts the enemy as 50 or 60 thousand. Aqil Khan estimates it at 30,000. So, we may conclude that the two armies were almost equally matched and numbered over 35,000 men each.*

On Aurangzib's side the divisions were thus formed: The Van, said to have consisted of 8,000 steel-clad veterans, under Prince Muhammad Sultan

and Najabat Khan, with Zulfiqar Khan and some guns guarding its front,—the main artillery under Murshid Quli Khan,—the Right Wing under Murad,—the Left Wing under Multafat Khan, with the boy-prince Muhammad Azam as honorary commander,—the Advanced Reserve (*iltimsh*) under Murtaza Khan with Aurangzib's own guards,—the Centre under Aurangzib himself, with Shaikh Mir and Saf Shikan Khan guarding his Right and Left sides. Some pieces of artillery were posted with the latter. As usual there was a screen of skirmishers in front, composed of the scouts and the servants of the hunting department.

Jaswant's Van, 10,000 strong, was formed in two columns, one under Qasim Khan,

and the other, composed of several thousand Rajputs, under Mukund Singh Hada

* *Adab*, 1642, *Isar-das*, 192, (but on 172, he puts Murad's army at 70,000 men!). *Faiyas*, 469, Aqil Khan, 28.

and six other Hindu chieftains. On his two wings were Rajah Rai Singh Sisodia and his clansmen (the Right), and Itikhar Khan with the Muslim troops of the Imperial service (the Left). The Centre he led in person, with 2000 of his devoted clansmen, besides other Rajput and Imperial troops at his back. The Advanced Reserve was also composed of Rajputs, led by a Gaur and a Rathor, while the skirmishers were a party of warriors from Central Asia, expert in the use of the bow. The Camp and baggage, left close to the battlefield, were guarded by Maluji, Parsuji, (two Maratha auxiliaries) and Rajah Devi Singh Bundela.*

It was a little over two hours from sunrise when the rival hosts sighted each other. The battle began with the usual discharge of artillery, rockets, and muskets at long range. The distance gradually decreased, as Aurangzib's army advanced slowly, keeping its regular formation. Suddenly the kettledrums struck up, the trumpets pealed forth, and the conflict began at close quarters. The Rajputs densely packed within their narrow position, were severely galled by the *barqandazes* and archers of the Princes' army from front and flank, without being able to manœuvre freely and give an effective reply. Their losses began to mount up every minute. Death has no terror for the Rajput, but then it must be death in conflict. If he is to die, it is better to perish after killing some of the enemy, than to be butchered while

standing motionless in a dense column. So thinking, the Rajput leaders of the Van,—Mukund Singh Hada, Ratan Singh Rathor, Dayal Singh Jhala, Arjun Singh Gaur, Sujan Singh Sisodia and others, with their

* A. N. 61—66, Aqil Khan, 28-29, Isar-das, 206. Masum (482) cannot be trusted. For the description of the battle our main authorities are A. N. 66—73, Aqil Khan 29—31, and Isar-das 206-216, (extremely valuable for Jaswant's doings), and secondarily Kambu 116, and Masum (inaccurate as usual) 486-512. *Faiyas*, 469-470 and *Adab*, 1642 & b. 2066, 1232, 1233, are very meagre. Bernier is entirely unreliable. Tod (ii. 875) merely records the wild fiction of the Rajput bards. Khafi Khan (ii. 14—18) is not an original authority, but avowedly borrowed from A. N. and Aqil Khan.

choicest clansmen, galloped forward. Shouting their war-cry of *Ram! Ram!* "they fell on the enemy like tigers, casting away all plan." The flood of Rajput charge first burst on Aurangzib's artillery. The guns and muskets fired at point-blank range, wofully thinned their ranks, but so impetuous was their onset that it bore down all opposition. Murshid Quli Khan, the Chief of Artillery, was slain after a heroic resistance and his division was shaken; but the guns were not damaged. The artillerymen probably fled before the storm, and returned as soon as it passed away. Victorious over the artillery guard the assailants fell on the front part of Aurangzib's Vanguard. Here an obstinate hand-to-hand combat raged for some time. The Rajputs at first outnumbered their opponents. Zulfiqar Khan, the commander of the front division of the Van, when pressed hard by the enemy, followed the custom of Indian heroes in the sorest straits. Getting down from his elephant, he made a firm stand on foot in the centre of the carnage, fighting with the valour of despair, without caring for his own life or stopping to count how many backed him. But this heroic sacrifice could not stem the tide of Rajput onset: two wounds stretched him low, and the Rajputs, flushed with success, swept on and pierced into the heart of the Van. This was the most critical moment of the day. If the Rajput charge were not checked, all would be over with Aurangzib; the assailants, gathering impetus with each victory, would shatter his defence, and then all the divisions of his army would catch the contagion of panic and rush headlong out of the field.

Severe fight. But the Van was composed of his most picked troops, "eight thousand mail-clad warriors," many of them hereditary fighters of the Afghan race, and their generals were reliable men. Muhammad Sultan, Najabat Khan, and other commanders of the Van, on their elephants kept their ground like hills, while the flood of Rajput charge raged round and round them in eddies. Here the most stubborn and decisive fighting of the day took place. Sword and dagger alone could be plied as the hostile cavaliers

grappled together at close quarters. "The ground was dyed crimson with blood like a tulip-bed." The Rajputs, being divided into many mutually antagonistic clans, could not charge in one compact mass; they were broken up into six or seven bodies, each under its own chieftain and each choosing its own point of attack. Thus the force of their impact was divided and weakened as soon as it struck the dense mass of Aurangzib's Van. Each clan engaged the enemy for itself and whirled round its own antagonist, instead of battering down all opposition and cleaving through the Van in resistless career by forming one solid wedge, moving with one will.

Disadvantages of the Rajputs.

Only a few men from Jaswant's Centre and Advanced Reserve had moved up to support their victorious brethren. But the Maharajah had chosen his position so badly that many of the Imperialists standing on the uneven ground could not join in the fight and many others could not charge by reason of their being cramped within a narrow space. Half the Imperial Van, viz., the Mughal troops under Qasim Khan, rendered no aid to their Rajput comrades now struggling hard with Aurangzib's Van; they were suspected of collusion with the enemy or of antipathy to the Rajputs. The charge of Jaswant's Vanguard was not followed up. Aurangzib's troops, who had parted before the rushing tide, closed again behind them, and thus cut off their retreat. Jaswant, too, was not the cool and wise commander to keep watch on all the field and send timely support to any hard-pressed division. And the development of the action now made the sending of aid to the Van impossible, and even rendered his own position untenable.

For, by this time the watchful eye of Aurangzib had taken the situation in, his Advanced Reserve had been pushed up to reinforce the Van, and he himself moved forward with the Centre to form a wall of support and refuge close behind them. Above all, Shaikh Mir and Saf Shikan Khan with the right and left wings of the Centre struck the Rajputs in the waist from the two flanks, while they were engaged with Aurangzib's Van in front.

Obstinate defence by Aurangzib's Van.

Aurangzib reinforces his Van.

Hammed round on all sides, their ranks getting constantly thinned, without support or reinforcement arriving from their own army, the Rajputs were disheartened and checked. Mukund Singh Hada, their gallant leader, received an arrow through his eye and fell down dead. All the six Rajput chieftains engaged in the charge were slain. Hopelessly outnumbered now, assailed in front, right, and left, and cut off from their rear, the Rajputs were slaughtered after performing frantic deeds of valour, as was their wont. "The dead formed heaps. The daggers grew blunt with slaughter." "Vast numbers of ordinary Rajput soldiers were killed." Thus the first attack was annihilated.

Meantime the action had become general. Recovering from the shock of Mukund Singh's charge as soon as the Rajput cavalcade swept on to another point, Aurangzib's gunners, with their pieces mounted on high ground, concentrated their fire on the enemy's Centre under Jaswant himself. The Imperialists, crowded together on a narrow ground flanked with impassable ditches and swamps, could not manœuvre freely, and "sacrificed their lives like moths in the flame of war." At the sight of the annihilation of their brave Vanguard and a triumphant forward movement on the part of Aurangzib, defection appeared in the Maharajah's ranks. Rai Singh Sisodia from the right flank of the Centre, and Sujan Singh Bundela and Amar Singh Chandrawat from the Van, left the field with their clansmen and returned home.

But in the heart of the Imperial Centre, under the banner of Marwar, stood 2,000 Rathors, ready to live or to die with their chieftain, besides many other Rajput and Mughal auxiliaries; and these offered a stubborn opposition. But it was of no avail. For, meantime Murad Baksh with his division had fallen on Jaswant's camp, close to the field, secured the submission of one of its defenders, Devi Singh Bundela, and driven off the rest. Then advancing into the field itself, Murad fell on the Left Wing of the Imperial army. Itikhar Khan, the com-

mander of this division, worn out with the day's struggle and now attacked by fresh troops in overwhelming number, fought valiantly to the death; many of his colleagues, traitors at heart, fled to join Aurangzib the next day; and the Imperial Left Wing soon ceased to exist.

Rai Singh's flight had already uncovered Jaswant's right flank; the fall of Itikhar Khan exposed his left.

Jaswant, deserted by his colleagues, Meantime his Van had almost entirely melted away: part of it had perished around Mukund Singh in his heroic charge; of the rest, the Chandrawat Rajputs and Bundelas had fled, and the Musalmans under Qasim Khan, who had kept aloof from the fighting, prepared to run away as they saw Aurangzib's host advancing on them. Only one course was left to a Rajput general under such circumstances: he must charge into the thickest press of the enemy and die amidst a heap of the slain. And this Jaswant wanted to do. He had fought valiantly for four hours and by firmly keeping his own ground he had so long saved the Imperial

Centre, the pivot on which his whole army rested. In spite of two wounds, his voice and example had cheered the Rajputs. But now Aurangzib from the front, Murad from the left, and Saf Shikan Khan from the right, were converging on him like a tumultuous flood, to envelop his small remnant of clansmen. Such a combat could have only one issue: victory was impossible, but a hero's death—no less dear to the Rajput heart—was within his reach. He wanted to drive his horse into the advancing enemy's ranks and get slain.*

* Isar-das (218).—"Jaswant wanted to ride into the struggle and get slain, but Mahes-das, Askaran and other *pradhans* seized his bridle and brought him away." Masum (50).—"The Maharajah was wounded and fell down from his horse. His devoted Rajputs wanted to take him to a safe place. He forbade it saying, &c.... They did not listen to him, but removed the wounded man full of severe pains." Aqil Khan (31).—"The Rajah, in spite of his receiving two wounds, stood firmly and encouraged the Rajputs as far as possible." Bernier (39).—"Qasim Khan ingloriously fled from the field, leaving Jaswant Singh exposed to the most imminent peril. That undaunted Rajah was beset on all sides by an overwhelming force, and saved only by the affecting devotion of his Rajputs, the greater part of whom died

But his generals Askaran and Mahesdas Gaur, and Govardhan and other ministers seized his bridle and dragged his horse out of the field. Mughal princes might cut each

other's throats, but why should the head of the Rathors and the hope of Marwar give up his life in their domestic quarrel? With a few Rathors, mostly wounded,—the sole remnant of his gallant band, the vanquished general took the road to Jodhpur.

The battle had been already lost, and flight of the Rathors removed the last semblance of resistance. There was now a general flight of the few divisions of the Imperial army that had still kept the field. The Rajputs retreated to their homes, the Muslims towards Agra.

The soldiers had been under arms for more than eight hours of a hot April day. Victor and vanquished alike were worn out by the strife. So, Aurangzib "mercifully forbade pursuit, saying that this sparing of human life was his tithe-offering (*sakat*) to the Creator." But the Creator in Aurangzib's creed is evidently the Creator of Muslims only. The Prince's instructions to his officers were to spare the life of every Musalman found in the field and to respect the property and chastity of the Musalmans found in the enemy's camp. The Hindus were outside the pale of his mercy, though several thousands of this creed had fought loyally under his banners, and out of his four high officers wounded one was a Hindu.*

There was another and more probable reason for not ordering a pursuit. The deserted camp of the Imperialists close to the field, contained "booty beyond imagination." Hither the victors flocked. The two brothers must have jealously watched that neither should seize more than his fixed share of the spoils,—two-thirds for Aurangzib, and

at his feet." Manucci (i. 239).—"The rajah never ceased to fight most desperately, until at length he saw himself left with only the smallest remnant of his force."

* A. N. 73, Manucci 512. But Kambo (116) and Asaf Khan (32) say that there was a pursuit for 3 or 4 hrs during which many were slain. But we must accept the authority of Aurangzib's official history.

one-third for Murad. The entire camp of Jaswant and Qasim Khan with all their artillery, tents, and elephants, as well as a vast amount of treasure, became the victors' spoil, while the soldiers looted the property equipment and baggage of the vanquished army. Long strings of camels and mules laden with various articles were seized as prize or pillaged by the common soldiers and camp-followers.*

But far greater than all these material gains was the moral gain in prestige. Aurangzib's prestige secured by Aurangzib. Dharmat became the omen of his future success in the opinion of his followers and of the people at large throughout the empire. At one blow he had brought Dara down from a position of immense superiority to one of equality with his own, or even lower. The hero of the Deccan wars and the victor of Dharmat faced the world not only without loss but with his military reputation rendered absolutely unrivalled in India. Waverers hesitated no longer; they now knew beyond a moment's doubt which of the four brothers was the chosen favourite of Victory. Even on the field of battle Aurangzib was hailed with "shouts of congratulation from the earth and the age," as his servant wrote with pardonable exaggeration.

No sooner had Jaswant and Qasim Khan turned their backs than Aurangzib's band struck up the notes of victory: the drums beat, the *turka* sent forth a merry peal, and the clarion sounded, proclaiming far and near that the battle had been won. Aurangzib knelt down on the field and with folded arms rendered thanks to the Giver of Victory. Then he marched to the deserted encampment of the enemy, pitched his own small campaigning tent there, and afterwards performed the evening prayer in full concourse of Muslim officers and men. Murad now arrived, congratulated him on his victory, and introduced the deserter Devi Singh Bundela. Murad's co-operation in the victory was rewarded with 25,000 gold pieces, offered delicately as "surgeons' fee for his wounded followers," besides four elephants and other presents.†

* For the booty, A. N. 71-72, Khafi Khan, ii. 13, Kambo, 116.

† A. N. 74-75, Khafi Khan, ii. 19.

On the site of the conflict the victorious prince ordered a village to be founded, with a garden, mosque, and serai.* The village, bearing the usual name of *Fatihabad* or 'Abode of Victory,' has now grown almost into a small town, as it is a railway junction. The mosque stands on a high platform, the front part of which has sunk in the middle, through the havoc of centuries and badness of masonry work. One of its three domes has fallen down and the red sandstone facing of the edifice has slipped down in many places, revealing the ill-laid concrete within. But its boundary walls enclose a vast area, and from their top a good view of the country can be commanded, especially on the west and north. The serai has entirely disappeared in two hundred and fifty years of neglect, unless the fragments of a few cloisters on the north wall of the quadrangle belong to it. The garden is probably represented by a patch of jungle north of the mosque.

Heavy was the loss on the Imperial side, and the main portion of Losses of the it was borne by the Rajputs.

Rajputs. Nearly six thousand dead enemy were counted by Aurangzib's officers. At least five hundred Rajputs had fallen in Mukund Singh's charge, and 2,000 Rathors were afterwards slain.† Every clan of Rajasthan contributed its quota to the band of heroes who sacrificed their lives in their master's service (*swami-dharma*). As the bardic chronicle records it, 'The onset cost seventeen hundred Rathors, besides Gehlots, Hadas, Gaur, and some of every clan of Rajwarra.' "This was one of the events glorious to the

Rajput, shewing his devotion to whom fidelity had been pledged,—the aged and enfeebled emperor Shah Jahan, whose salt they ate,—against all the temptation offered by youthful ambition.... The Rajput sealed his faith in his blood; and none more liberally than the brave Hadas of Kotah and Bundi. The annals of no nation on earth can furnish such an example, as an entire family [the house of Kotah] six royal brothers, stretched on the field."‡ Among the chiefs of note who fell were Mukund Singh Hada, Sujan Singh Sisodia, Ratan Singh Rathor, Arjun Singh Gaur, Dayaldas Jhala, and Mohan Singh Hada, besides eighteen other high Rajputs and Iftikhar Khan, an Imperial officer. To

Ratan Singh Monument.

Ratan Singh of Rutlam a noble monument was raised by his descendants on the spot where his corpse was burnt. Time overthrew it, but in 1909 its place was taken by a lofty structure of white marble, decorated with relief work of a bold but conventional style, illustrating the phases of the battle, and surmounted with a stone horse. It is the most striking sight of the place.

The day after the victory the two brothers reached the environs of Ujjain, and issued a gazette of honours and promotions to their meritorious officers. Many traitors who had left the Imperial army during the battle now joined Aurangzib and were welcomed with titles and posts. A three days' halt was made here for repairing his losses, making administrative arrangements, and discharging urgent affairs of State;—and then, on 20th April, the march northward was resumed, and a month afterwards (21st May) Gwalior was reached.†

Here Nasiri Khan, a high commander who had won honour in the Bijapur war, joined Aurangzib, leaving the service of Shah Jahan, and was created a Commander of Five Thousand with his father's title of Khan-i-Dauran, which Aurangzib had solemnly promised to him in writing. It was now learnt that Dara had come to Dhulpur with a vast army and

* Isar-das, 32a. *Dilhaska*, 23. My description of the present condition of the place is based on a visit paid in October, 1909.

† *A.N.* 23. *Adab*, 164b. Khafi Khan, ii. 17. Bernier puts the loss among Jaswant's Rajputs alone at 7,400 (p. 39). Kambu's language is significant, "after some Musalmans and a great many Rajputs had been slain" (11b). *Dilhaska* 23 says "About 5000 slain on the two sides together". Isar-das's estimate is "24 eminent Rajput chiefs, 2,000 Rajputs of Marwar, and 6,000 troopers and officers of the Imperial service were slain" (21b). Aurangzib lost a priceless servant, Murshid Qut Khan, but no other officer of note. Isar-das makes the absolutely incredible assertion that 7000 troopers were slain on his side.

* Tod, ii. 875.

† *A.N.* 75—78.

seized all the well-known and frequented lords over the Chambal river. His entrenchments frowned on the crossing places; his artillery crowned the opposite bank; and everywhere strong parties of his troops were on the alert for the enemy's arrival. To cross the river with its steep rocky banks and wide ravine-intersected approaches, in the face of such opposition, would have led to a heavy loss of life. So, Aurangzib cast about for some secret and safe path and offered high rewards to the neighbouring landholders. One zamindar told him that forty miles east of Dholpur there was an obscure and out-of-the-way ford with only knee-deep water, by which no army had ever crossed before. Dara had omitted to guard it as it was a petty ford unfrequented by travellers, and Aurangzib was still far from the river-bank.

No time was to be lost. In the very evening after the arrival near Gwalior (21st May), while the main army halted, a strong division under three generals and some artillery made a forced march all night, reached the ford next morning, and crossed safely to the other bank. That day Aurangzib himself set out from Gwalior, covered the interval in two long marches and crossed the river at the same place with the rest of his army (23rd May). In these two marches, "the path was rough, the soldiers underwent much hardship before arriving at the ford; and on the way nearly 5,000 men died of thirst,"—these last being probably camp followers. But Aurangzib's unrelenting firmness overcame every obstacle, and carried the army through, regardless of loss.* The

* A. N. 79-80, 85, Isar-das, 23, Kambu, 126, Aqil Khan 33-34, *Storia*, i. 269-270, *Dilkasha*, 26. The *Alamgirnamah* and Aqil Khan name the place of crossing *Bhadauriyah* and *Bhadaur* respectively, and place it 40 (or 50) miles east of Dholpur. Isar-das calls it *Kanira*, and Bhimsen *Gorkha*. Now, *Gorkha* is only 6 miles east of the Dholpur ferry, and therefore could not have been Aurangzib's crossing-place. (*Ind. At.* 50, S. E.). There is a Bhadaoli, 26°45' N. 78°36' E., 40 miles east of the old Dholpur fort on the Chambal, in a straight line; *Kanra* is 3 miles S. E. of it (*Ind. At.* 68). The map gives a village road coming from the south west (Gwalior side), crossing the Chambal a little west of Bhadaoli and then continued northwards to the Jumna. According to the *Chitra-Prakash* (followed by Manucci and Bhimsen

military advantage of the movement compensated for the heavy death-list, equal to that of a pitched battle. By one stroke he had turned the enemy's position and rendered Dara's elaborate trenches and batteries useless. The road to Agra now lay open before him. It was now Dara's turn to abandon the line of the Chambal and fall back on the capital, if he did not wish to be intercepted. In the hurry of his retreat he had to abandon many of his heavier guns on the river bank, and thus weakened himself in artillery in the next battle.* By this detour to the right and arrives near Agra. Aurangzib had left the high road to Agra and arrived a good deal south-east of it. From the Chambal he marched north towards the Jumna and in three days came in touch with the enemy near Samugarh.

As the Jumna sweeps eastwards by Agra Fort and the Taj, some eight miles down the stream we have the ferry of Raipur, and opposite it, on the southern bank, the village of Imadpur, with some fine mansions built by Shah Jahan for his residence when out hunting. (These are probably represented by the *Badshahi Mahal* of the modern maps.) One mile east of them stands the village of Samugarh, containing the ruins of Jahangir's hunting-lodge. East and south of Samugarh, as far as the bend of the Jumna, stretches a wide plain, a fit arena for the decisive combat for the lordship of Agra.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

also), Aurangzib's guide to the ford was Champat Rao Bundela (Pogson, 32). Isar-das (23b) calls him "Hathiraj Jat, Zamindar of Gohad, in the *sarkar* of Gwalior." Aqil Khan (34) has only "the Zamindar of Bhadaur".

* *Dilkasha*, 26.

† Isardas spells the name as *Sambhugarh*. "At Imadpur, one mile from Samugarh in coming towards the city, on the bank of the river mansions were built by order of Shah Jahan at a cost of Rs. 80,000, completed in November 1653." (Waris, 81b.) *Samugar* is given in *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 50 S. E., as 8 miles due east of Agra Fort. The Jumna is half a mile north of it and again four miles on the east. The day after the battle, Aurangzib halted in the hunting-lodge at Imadpur. (Aqil Khan, 40.) Isardas, 23b, Aqil Kh. 42. "At Raipura 10 kos from Agra, near the Jumna, Dara chose a field for the battle." A. N. 86.

IN GERMAN PRISONS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

By K. K. ATHAVALA.

An Attempted Escape.

SATURDAY. Every day of the week has its special allotted function in prison. Saturday is the day of the bath. Under the orders of the warders the men, in successive groups, descend to the pavement where there is a tangle of paved and vaulted corridors whose obscurity facilitates the commission of every sort of breach of the prison regulations. The baths are located at the end of one of these corridors. It is a well lighted hall—that of the baths, divided into a score of bath-rooms each furnished with a shower-bath.

The warder, charged to douche by batches, the six hundred inmates of the prison who sniff in a peevish way the doubtful atmosphere of the place, shouts the order to "undress at galop."

One has hardly a minute to undress oneself in, and as I am not ready, the warder lances at me all kinds of taunts, particularly, offering me to fetch my maid (*femme de chambre*) from Paris. Everyone in the batch is jubilant and writhes with the exuberance of his mirth. We are in the bath-rooms each in his separate one, and at the order to "open", all the taps start together, the douche plays down a warm shower of rain on the bare, naked skins, the taps sing, and the water gurgles. An instant after are given in succession, at precipitate intervals, the following words of command: "Zu" stop, "Abtrocknen" towel your bodies, "ausziehen" dress again, "sputen" hurry up.

Naturally I am again behind, and at the command to "step out," I have only put on my shirt!

Six o'clock in the evening. The bell rings to announce the cessation of work, which on Saturdays ceases an hour earlier

than at other days of the week. The prisoner is expected to utilize this hour in tidying up his cell, for instance, in waxing the floor, washing the window glass, and dusting the walls. Seven o'clock. The bell rings in the evening soup, and half an hour after, the extinction of the fires is sounded which is also an hour in advance of other days. At half past seven I am in bed—an interminable night, a night of twelve long hours begins!

Sunday. At eight o'clock grand mass for the Catholic prisoners at a chapel located in the administrative building itself. At the entrance of my bench I find a prisoner who is kneeling. He holds the prayer book crushed against his breast and contemplates with a kind of ecstasy the Good Pasteur of the coloured window-glass. His lips mumble a mute prayer. The man appears to be soaring in the hyper-terrestrial regions wherein the very miseries of this world are converted to infinite beatitude! It is the prisoner Roedling, an Austrian, condemned to twelve years' hard labour for attempted poisoning, committed in Berlin, and who was, in addition, wanted by his own country for swindling in different places, which would give him a further spell of imprisonment in Austria after serving his time in Prussia. He is a very young man, of good family, sympathetic presence and full of health and spirits, who had received his education at Prague. After leaving college, he was employed in a bank, but he did not stop there for long before he fell a victim to his fondness for play and the society of women.

The warden tells how Roedling, by way of mortification of the flesh, never took dessert, or treated himself to delicacies from

the proceeds of his toil; that he neither wore a woollen night-shirt nor drawers during the days of greatest cold; that he is always polite, always gay and contented, and that he scrupulously observes the regulations. A saint according to the good priest. But, better than that, a hero! at least in my eyes.

At ten o'clock, I am back again into my cell, and already I begin to feel the weight on my shoulders, as always and everywhere, of the black ennui or tedium of Sunday. I read in order to divert my attention, but one is so miserably warmed that at the end of ten minutes I am benumbed with cold. I leave my book aside and begin to walk about. Then the idea took hold of me to attract the rooks to my window. I had still left with me a piece of bread from the evening before, and this I crumble down in front of the window and wait. I whistle and sing. "It is strictly forbidden" say the regulations, my copy of which I happen to open and read. An interesting chapter is chapter 13 entitled "Rewards and Punishments." The portion devoted to the rewards is extraordinarily succinct. It ends by the promise of provisional liberty on the termination of three quarters of the punishment, to every prisoner whose conduct has been pronounced exemplary. The punishments, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. I only give a few of them here, such as, for instance, the prohibition of visits, suppression of three months' pay, deprivation of the bed, putting on a diet of bread and water, placing in irons, confinement in ill lighted or dark dungeons. I was going to omit the punishment of flogging upto thirty strokes; but I will have occasion, alas! to refer to it later on.

But hold! There are the rooks. I see two of them who are having a junketing on my window ledge. And there is a third one who flops down to share the feast. They gracefully go shares in my crumbs, then, as they do not see any more crumbs falling down before them—and the reason is obvious, my stock has run out—they take to their wings. I take down my slate and sketch on it the view I obtain from my window: the court-yard, the sentry-box, the sentinel, and the town of Halle in the background. The sketching absorbs two

hours of my time, and then I plunge into reading.

At last, the evening bell rings. It is five o'clock. They distribute an uninviting soup or gruel of buckwheat of which it is impossible for me to swallow even a spoonful. At half past five I am in my bed, for on Sundays they close the prison very early in order to allow the warders to enjoy their evening at home. I have to face a night of twelve and a half hours—a dreadful torture, indeed!

On Monday morning, the curious official who might have looked into my cell through the peep-hole, would have observed me stitching most assiduously. The foreman tailor came and went. The bait of two hundred marks had completely warmed his cold blood! At eleven o'clock the office warder came to take me to the Governor's cabinet where a visitor was waiting for me.

"Do you know this gentleman?" asked me the Governor in designating with his hand an elegant personage wearing a monocle, who rose up on my entrance.

If I knew him, indeed! It was the Commissioner of Police—Herr von Tausch—the crafty engineer of the process or case against me. A perfect gentleman all the same.

"I bring you", he remarked to me, "your liberty. At least, it entirely rests with you to leave this hell of a place. The Government has sent me to tell you that if you denounce your accomplices and make a complete confession it will give you your liberty."

And the policeman fixed me in the white of my eyes to surmise the effect of his words.

The cat is out of the bag! That is then the reason why they had had me condemned to seven years' hard labour! Having learned nothing by the enquiry, and also nothing by the trial in the court, they hoped that this dreadful condemnation, and the fearful prospect I had before me, would finish the work of the *juge d'instruction* and help me to decide to purchase back my liberty at whatever cost! My answer, it is unnecessary for me to mention, was quite ready. Where there had been no crime at all, there could not be any question of complicity, and much less of a confession. Herr von Tausch appeared to be deceived and he told me when going away to ponder over his words.

He said he would call again later on. He was however spared this unnecessary trouble, for six months after he was arrested on charges of perjury and violation of official secrets.

Tuesday—March 23rd. At morning exercise. Who is then that grand looking prisoner before me, so erect, so slim and so supple? He wears his round helmet rakishly, a bit leaning on one ear. He looks elegant and well-groomed even in his prison clothes! He is about thirty years old. The face is oval and emaciated with the disadvantage of a slight prominence of the jaws and cheek-bones. There he is smiling and regarding me with his grey hard eyes. My neighbour in the rank or file whispered his name to me. He is O'Connor, the American adventurer. A most astonishing type of man, if one could believe, all that was told about him. Being awarded, in default, fifteen years of compulsory leisure in return for diverse exploits practised in the New World, O'Connor had come to tempt fortune in the Old, and lastly, in Germany. His ways were for the rest most simple. He worked in banks, and here is his *modus operandi*:—He had made for himself a nice hollow cane of German silver, at one end of which was fitted a pince or catch, and at the other was a knob with a small button in its centre. When one pressed this button a spring mechanism extremely fine and ingenious, hidden inside the tube of the cane closed the pince and by lifting a click the pince reopened. O'Connor who happens to be a draftsman of no mean order, sent me later on a detailed sketch of his famous cane, in case I desired to get one like it made for me! Now let us see how he makes use of this subtle instrument. We will follow that fat gentleman who happens to enter the vestibule of a certain bank. He takes out from his pocket a well-filled pocket book and goes to one of the windows at the counter. "A draft on London for five thousand francs" he tells the window-clerk and at the same time opens his pocket-book and proceeds to range carefully, on one side of the window, the small packets of bank-notes intended for the payment of the draft.

But stop! Who is this elegant young man at the next window? Tall, lithe and distinguished looking, he enquires of the

clerk some financial information in a strong English accent. He has placed on the ledge of the counter a pretty german silver cane one end of which is in the form of a beak and it is only a couple of millimetres from the bank notes of the fat gentleman. The latter is properly occupied in speaking to the clerk about the draft he wants, and in the meanwhile, marvel of marvels! the beak of the cane opens and snaps up one by one several of the little packets.

"Oh Yes! Meci! Meci!" lips O'Connor and disappears by the exit door with lightning-like rapidity, while the fat gentleman who thinks he has suddenly got dimness of vision looks in all his pockets for the little packets of notes which the German silver vulture has carried away in its beak.

When a coup of this description had succeeded, the first thing O'Connor did was to get himself clothed anew at a fashionable tailor's and the next to part for Monaco, where he finished by losing everything he had gained by his nefarious exploit. This persistent ill-luck at the gaming tables of Monte Carlo compelled him to renew his exploits with the German silver cane regularly; while if he had gained a large amount at one fortunate turn of the wheel, it is likely that he might have held himself in peace and given up his dishonest practices. Afterwards, when our acquaintance had ripened into intimacy, he never ceased to repeat to me that he only wanted money to become honest!

Here is how Fate at last laid him by the heels and put a stop to his valorous deeds. It was a fine day in spring. The "Palmen-garten," the beautiful park of Frankfurt-sur-le-Mein, embalmed the air with the youthful perfume of its exotic flowers. O'Connor had just spent his last gold pistole at the Pavillion in gallant company, and now, as the evening was falling, he roamed about the lanes and alleys, the idea of going to sleep without a sou in his pocket was particularly distasteful to him. The strange thing was that his thoughts pushed him insensibly beyond the park, and his feet led him towards the locality of a bank well-known to him. He was presently in the hall where busy officials and customers were crossing each other. A lady who is counting bundles of notes before a window attracts and rivets his attention.

He shoulders his way to the next window and asks the clerk some question.

At the same time the German silver cane makes a diversion on the side of the bundles of notes, the beak opens and nabs a bundle, but just at this critical moment a sharp noise bursts from the hollow of the cane, the spring of the mechanism inside had probably slipped from the catch and escaped. O'Connor grew pale, hesitated for a moment and then grabbing the cane and his booty showed a pair of flying heels. But someone had seen and understood the meaning of the play. He at once shouted "Catch thief." A Town Sergeant barred O'Connor's way. The latter pulled out his revolver and sent a shot flying through the latter's helmet. The policeman fell, another stepped into his place. The passers-by mix in the melee. It became a regular man-hunt. As long as he had cartridges in his revolver O'Connor was able to hold his pursuers at bay. But the last shot was fired and then in a twinkling the quarry was brought to earth.

O'Connor heard himself condemned to four years' hard labour for attempted robbery and eight years' additional penal servitude for attempted murder on the person of a town sergeant. "The four years for the robbery are still running", he remarked to me in recounting this history, "but eight years for a mere revolver play, it is an enormity! an injustice!"

Friday—March 26th. The little foreman made an irruption into my cell, with his features in an unusual animation, with a brilliant look, and after satisfying himself at the door that there was no one in the neighbourhood, he drew from his pocket a letter and two bank-notes of one hundred marks each. It was the reply to the letter I had sent to France through him.

The Parisian friend to whom I had written encouraged me in my plan of escape; and moreover promised me his personal co-operation, without giving a thought to the risks of the undertaking. It was characteristically French. This friendly letter at all events illumined the night of my living tomb with a pale ray of hope.

My life in the prison is now well-regulated and the days pass each other in the same hutedrum fashion. I stitch, I read, I sing,

and I whistle, relieved by conversation with the foreman, or the warder and the other prison officials; I write letters and receive them, and I read the morning paper; I put on flesh, thanks to my professor of tailoring, and I feed the rooks and the sparrows, and I watch the clouds chasing each other.

The summer has come in, and we rise at five o'clock and retire at half past seven.

I stitch, I have said, but if the idea had occurred to Herr Bohn, the chief Foreman, to observe carefully the pantaloons on which I worked, he would have seen that it was always the same garment. In reality, I did nothing but dream, and the fine weather aiding me in my reverie, I suffered from an acute attack of home-sickness. The recollection of the pleasure parties of other days, the cycling excursions in the forests of Fontainebleau and Saint Germain, the boating and sailing trips on the Marne, in fact, all the incidents of my free pleasant life in Paris take hold of my imagination; torture my heart, and pursue me with intolerable regrets. Oh! That I might have the wings of a dove!

The swallows have now returned to their haunts, the swallows to whom belongs the space, the sky, and the immense universe! Two families of blackbirds or starlings have come and settled in the cemetery, whose rose-bushes are now in blossom. They have chosen their lodging in two charming villas which the administration has built for them on the tops of a willow and an acacia—two tiny wooden houses, painted green, with a round surbased opening to each, in front of which is placed a roost shaped like a bench, in order to allow the young couples to take the air at their doors, in the beautiful summer evenings. Assuredly the birds only are really happy in this world.

I am no longer the newcomer in my division. In April they brought a fair young man, about twenty-six years old, fresh and pink, named Schmidtkonz, ex-sergeant of the Bavarian Army and a commercial traveller in France, condemned to six years' penal servitude for high treason. To believe the judgment against him, this man must have tried to procure from a regimental comrade employed in the Military Administrative Office at Metz, important documents in order to deliver

man in France. His comrade denounced him and had him arrested. What particularly struck me in Schmidtkonz were his steady eyes, and the acute energy of his regard. I thought to myself that this man would give the administration a great deal of trouble, and the sequel proved that I was not wrong in my estimate.

One beautiful morning in June, Warder Mathes told me that they were going to transfer one of our prisoners to the Lunatic Ward in the Central House of Moabit-Berlin. It was now a long time since he had been mad, but as he was inoffensive and they were short of accommodation in Berlin, he was allowed to remain here. He talked most reasonably when his particular hobby was not in question and performed his task well. Recently however he had taken the Warder Pabscht by the collar, so that it became necessary to think of confining him in a mad house. He is Wolff the Callfactor of the infirmary.

Outside, in the corridor, the bell was ringing, and Mathes left me in consternation. Wolff mad! and I had no knowledge of the state of his mind! In the meantime there goes the project of Christmas, my project of escaping by water! Well! it can't be helped, some other thing must be thought of.

I was still a prey to the bitter reflexions which this fatal news gave rise to in my mind, when Mathes shouted the command: "Ready for exercise." At the yard I found O'Connor in front of me. For some time now we had fallen into the habit of exchanging a friendly nod with each other.

That morning there was something unusual in the nod O'Connor gave me, something arch and triumphant, and air of superiority and supreme decision!

The men in my division, forty-two in number, were going by the side of the cemetery. They marched one after another at an interval of eight paces from each other, the head and the tail of the file being divided by a distance of some thirty metres. Suddenly I saw O'Connor doff his helmet and I heard him cry out, from the distance, to the warder: "Erlauben sie?" This is the formula used by the prisoners to request permission for leaving the ranks. Mathes made a sign of assent. O'Connor left the file and stooped down making as if he was

knotting again the laces of his shoes. Just as I passed by him he whispered in a very low voice—"Good-bye, Sir!" I continued my walk and at the first turning, I looked in the direction of O'Connor. He was still stooping. Just as the last man passed by him, I heard Mathes briskly call to account a prisoner who had failed to keep to the regulation step. O'Connor took advantage of this diversion to crawl on all fours behind the cemetery palisade and disappear behind a tomb. My heart beat violently. I looked in all directions. Nobody had observed anything! What was going to happen? The sentry calmly continued to walk up and down the length of the cemetery, very much absorbed in his own reflexions to notice the figures of the prisoners! At one moment with his rifle charged ready for shooting, he was only a couple of steps from the hiding place of O'Connor. The sentry has strict orders to shoot without hesitation any prisoner found leaving the ranks without permission. Suddenly, I saw springing up from the tombs an elegant cyclist clad in a grey coloured costume with his helmet covered by the same sombre-hued stuff. The cyclist bounded towards the wall of the enclosure. The palisades, the rose bushes, the lilacs and the tomb stones gave him a partial cover. He flung a rope ladder with iron hooks over the crest of the wall. It is O'Connor who is running away! Oh! my God! provided he is successful in eluding them!

The hooks of the ladder did not catch; it was necessary to hurl it again. I look at Warder Mathes. Prisoner Gebhard whispers something in his ear and points his finger at the cemetery. Mathes precipitates himself and shouts. Then a clamour is raised in the court-yard. The prisoners have understood the significance of what was happening. But the sentry is there, gaping unconscious of anything unusual. He saw an elegant gentleman engaged in throwing some twine over the wall; but he did not comprehend its meaning and looked complacently. This time the hooks have caught on. There is O'Connor going over the ladder! He grips it with the agility of a monkey, and God be thanked, he reaches the top and finds himself brutally brought down to the foot of the wall. Two prisoners had run and

took hold of the ladder and they caused the fall of the unfortunate fugitive. Mathes then arrived on the spot and took hold of one of the arms of O'Connor who was naturally stunned by his fall from a height of five metres; a prisoner seized his other arm, and the delinquent was thus led to the lock-up and there confined pending the time the Governor pronounced his verdict in the case.

It is sad to think, but I believe, in the whole of the prison, I was alone in deploring the miscarriage of an escape planned with so much art and skill and carried out with such sang-froid and courage. On the con-

trary all around me the prisoners manifested a kind of malignant and jealous satisfaction at the event of O'Connor's disgrace. Not a word of regret, not a sign of commiseration for the fate awaiting O'Connor; but worse than that they envied the fortune of the traitorous Gebhard, and the two wretches who helped to catch hold of their comrade, well! forsooth, because they were going to receive from the administration the usual reward. Each of them would touch at least six marks of blood money; for they had valiantly responded to the call of duty! Pooh!

ENGINEERING EDUCATION IN AMERICA

FOUR years ago I sailed from India for America to complete my engineering education. Each year has more strongly impressed me with the necessity of students in India, who contemplate courses in American Engineering Institutions, having some accurate information regarding conditions here, before leaving home. Some things in this article may seem to have been written to discourage prospective students from coming to America. The writer's purpose is the opposite, to encourage them to come but to save them from certain disadvantages. Probably my only qualification for this task consists of over three years' study in two of the Institutions of the Eastern part of the country and nearly a year in this Western University, added to extensive correspondence and study of catalogs of various Institutions. Students intending to come to America for the purpose of studying Engineering would do well to choose, according to means, one or more institutions from the list included in this article, and then to get into correspondence with them before leaving India. By so doing, they can avoid a lot of misunderstandings and inconveniences that otherwise may present themselves.

One may say without exaggeration, that America today leads the world in Engineering. America, so to speak, is a country

made by Engineers. They have developed her unrivalled material resources and wealth. The highest buildings, most extensive railroads, biggest dams and canals (Panama, for example, now under construction), successful handling of various mines, excellent sanitation, and other engineering feats are the signs of the perfection that America has attained in this particular science. As a result, American engineering institutions attract students from every part of the globe. The doors of the American schools and colleges are open to foreigners who are extended a cordial welcome wherever they go. The Chinese and Japanese students are making the best use of American universities and colleges, but unfortunately the number of Indians at engineering schools is distressingly small. We are still awfully inclined toward an easy life, and do not realize that our present condition demands of us to pay more attention to technical lines. Let us for some years give less attention to the studies of law, arts and other such branches that have filled every atom of Indian atmosphere with vain theoretical talk, and display some interest in scientific studies. To meet this need, we must come to this country not by dozens but by hundreds. The superiority of American engineering over that of any other nation is not to be doubted. Even in India the Water Power stations and the

Steel Works, established in Central India by the able sons of the late Mr. J. N. Tata, the Carnegie of India, are engineered by Americans.

At all American institutions the length of the engineering course is four years, except at Harvard and Yale Universities where the undergraduate courses, preparatory to engineering, are of three years and lead to B.S. and Ph.B. degrees respectively, followed by graduate courses of two years leading to corresponding engineering degrees. Before going into any further discussion, I should explain what is meant by the terms "school" and "college." The line of separation between these two terms is not so distinct in this country as in India. In Eastern Universities and Colleges of America each department is designated as a school; such as School of Engineering, School of Mines, School of Medicine, etc. A College is an institution independent of a University, having a number of departments and a right to confer degrees. An exception to this is noticed in Western Universities where each department is called a College.

The term School is often applied to designate an institution of any kind or size. My list gives only the schools offering from fair to best engineering courses. The southern universities and colleges are wilfully omitted on account of color prejudice existing there. The Institutions mentioned are not uniform, nor of same standing—some offering highest scientific theoretical training, while others, by virtue of their splendid location, giving the students best of chances to combine theory with practice. The importance of location can never be too much emphasised.

According to geographical location, the Institutions are divided into three parts—Eastern, Central and Western. The abbreviations indicate the degrees† given at that Institution in Engineering courses offered there.

* C. E. (Civil Engineer); M. E. (Mech. Engineer); E. E. (Electrical Engineer); Ch. E. (Chemical Engineer); Cer. E. (Ceramic Engineer); E. M. (Engineer of Mines); Met. E. (Metallurgical Engineer); B. E. (Bachelor of Engineering); B. S. (Bachelor of Science); Ph. B. (Bachelor of Philosophy); M. E. in E. E. (Mechanical Engineer in Electrical Engineering).

EASTERN.

INSTITUTIONS.	Location.	Civil.	Mechanical.	Electrical.	Sanitary.	Chemical.	Ceramic.	Mining.	Metallurgical.	Tuition (per year.)	Total expenses (per year.)**
STATE OF NEW YORK—											
Columbia University ...	New York City	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	C. E.	Ch. E.	...	E. M.	Met. E.	\$ 250	\$ 700
Cornell University ...	Ithaca	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	C. E.	...	...	...	...	\$ 100	\$ 475
New York University ...	New York City	B. S.	B. S.	...	...	B. S.	...	...	...	\$ 100	\$ 450
Polytechnic Institute ...	Brooklyn	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	...	Ch. E.	...	...	...	\$ 200	\$ 550
Rensselaer Polytechnic	Troy	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	...	...	...	...	...	\$ 200	\$ 600
STATE OF CONNECTICUT—											
Yale University ...	New Haven	Ph. B.	Ph. B.	Ph. B.	...	Ph. B.	...	Ph. B.	Ph. B.	\$ 150	\$ 500
STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS—											
Harvard University ...	Cambridge	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	...	...	B. S.	B. S.	\$ 150	\$ 500
Mass. Institute of Technology ...	Boston	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	B. S.	\$ 250	\$ 600
STATE OF NEW JERSEY—											
Stevens Inst. of Technology ...	Hoboken	...	M. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	\$ 250	\$ 600
Princeton University ...	Princeton	C. E.	...	E. E.	...	...	...	...	...	\$ 100	\$ 400
STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA—											
Univ. of Pennsylvania ...	Philadelphia	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	...	...	\$ 150	\$ 500
Lehigh University ...	South Bethlehem	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	...	Ch. E.	...	E. M.	Met. E.	\$ 150	\$ 500
University of Pittsburgh ...	Pittsburgh	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	E. M.	Met. E.	\$ 100	\$ 450
Pennsylvania State College ...	State College	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	B. S.	...	\$ 350

** Expenses of a student for entire year comprising academic year of nine months and three months summer vacation.

ENGINEERING EDUCATION IN AMERICA

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INSTITUTIONS.	Location	Civil.	Mechanical.	Electrical.	Sanitary.	Chemical.	Ceramic.	Mining.	Metallurgical.	Tuition (per year.)	Total expenses (per year.)
STATE OF OHIO—											
Ohio State University	Columbus	...	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	...	B. S.	Cer. E.	E. M.	...	\$ 30* \$ 400
Case School of Applied Science	Cleveland	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	B. S.	B. S.	\$ 150 \$ 550
CENTRAL.											
STATE OF INDIANA—											
Purdue University	Lafayette	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	...	...	\$ 25* \$ 350
Rose Polytechnic Institute	Terre Haute	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	\$ 100 \$ 450
STATE OF ILLINOIS—											
University of Illinois	Urbana	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	\$ 400
Armour Institute of Technology	Chicago	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	...	...	\$ 150 \$ 450
STATE OF MICHIGAN—											
University of Michigan	Ann Arbor	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	...	...	\$ 50* \$ 400
Michigan Agricultural College	Lansing	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	...	...	...	...	\$ 50* \$ 400
Michigan College of Mines	Houghton	...	...	...	...	...	...	B. S.	...	...	\$ 150* \$ 600
STATE OF WISCONSIN—											
University of Wisconsin	Madison	...	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	...	Ch. E.	...	B. S.	...	\$ 50* \$ 400
STATE OF MINNESOTA—											
University of Minnesota	Minneapolis	...	C. E.	M. E.	E. E.	...	...	...	E. M. Met. E.	...	\$ 60* \$ 400
STATE OF MISSOURI—											
University of Missouri	Columbia	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	B. S.	B. S.	\$ 40* \$ 400
STATE OF KANSAS—											
University of Kansas	Lawrence	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	\$ 50* \$ 400
STATE OF NEBRASKA—											
University of Nebraska	Lincoln	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	...	...	...	...	\$ 30* \$ 350
STATE OF IOWA—											
State Univ. of Iowa	Iowa City	...	B. E.	B. E.	B. E.	...	B. E.	...	...	...	\$ 30 \$ 350
Iowa State College	Ames	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	\$ 50* \$ 400
WESTERN.											
STATE OF COLORADO—											
Colorado School of Mines	Golden	...	...	...	...	...	...	E. M.	E. M. in Met.	...	\$ 150 \$ 600
STATE OF CALIFORNIA—											
University of California	Berkeley	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	\$ 20* \$ 300
Stanford University	Palo Alto	...	A. B.	A. B.	A. B.	...	A. B.	...	A. B.	...	\$ 30* \$ 300
STATE OF WASHINGTON—											
University of Washington	Seattle	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	B. S.	...	B. S.	B. S.	\$ 300
STATE OF OREGON—											
Oregon Agricultural College	Cornwall	...	B. S.	B. S.	B. S.	...	...	...	B. S.	...	\$ 10 \$ 350

* Non-resident fee, charged of those not resident of the State in which the Institution is located.

Of all these, Rensselaer Polytechnic, Massachusetts Inst. of Technology, Stevens Inst. of Technology, Cornell, Columbia, Michigan are the leading engineering institutions in the country. Columbia University and Colorado School of Mines offer the best Mining Engineering courses. No less important, on account of their location, are the Mining Schools of the following: Michigan College of Mines, situated in a well-known mining region; University of California in the biggest gold and oil fields; University of Pittsburgh in the world's largest centre of coal mining and steel industry; and Lehigh University in the anthracite coal region. For Chemical Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Brooklyn Polytechnic, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Ohio State, and Stanford are best known. Illinois and Ohio State, are credited with offering best Ceramic courses.

None but those who expect support from home should go to East, as the schools there are very costly, all, except a few, charging a heavy tuition fee. As to self-support, no student should come to America before being thoroughly aware of the hardships of a self-supporting student's life. True, a few entirely self-supporting students have come out successful, but this does no longer go to ensure the success of everybody with ambition but no fitness, as the chances for self-support are growing fewer and competition more keen. However, chances are not wanting for energetic, hustling persons with good physiques. Such students should come to West, as the colleges and universities there are comparatively inexpen-

sive and self-support is possible to a limited extent. The engineering students should never come to America with the idea of self-support as the studies in that line are too severe to allow time for outside work. Students with a monthly support of from Rs. 40 to 50 should not hesitate to come; the rest can be earned easily. To such prospective students I can safely recommend the University of California, as offering the best engineering courses on the Pacific Coast; though Stanford and Washington offer good courses.

As for the entrance requirements, students, seeking entrance in American engineering schools, must have passed F. A. examination of an Indian University or have done equivalent work. A good knowledge of mathematics and drawing, and, above all, an inclination for engineering are strongly desirable. An entrance passed student will find attendance at an American High School for a year or two prior to his admission to a university much profitable. For less prepared students, there are some schools offering various technical courses of two years leading to diploma only. Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, New York, and Heald's School of Applied Science of Oakland, California and many others of this type are examples. These schools will be found best suited to their preparation, and will give them chances that unfortunately cannot be found anywhere in our own land.

UPENDRA NATH ROY, E.M.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, Calif., U. S. A.

DARWIN AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

WHEN Charles Darwin was a young man, he read his grandfather's "Zoonomia", a philosophical pamphlet which was made the vehicle of many semi-scientific theories. The grandson was disappointed with his grandfather's work, because, to his thinking "the proportion of speculation seemed so large to the facts that were given." Could any other

ance be more characteristic of the mind that later on revealed itself in "The Origin of Species", "The Descent of Man" and other masterpieces? In these books we find the presentation of an epoch-making theory; but how small in the space occupied upon the pages is the proportion of theory to the proportion of facts that are adduced as needing explanation, and as possibly

affording a basis for some such hypothesis as that of Evolution! Charles Darwin possessed all the imagination of his grandfather, along with the mental qualities which Bacon saw the necessity of cultivating:—"desire to seek, patience to doubt, fondness to meditate, slowness to assert, readiness to reconsider, carefulness to dispose and set in order."

The conviction animated the mind of Darwin as it did that of Bacon, that the making of hypotheses and general explanations of things could not go on profitably until a large body of evidence had been collected together. In other words, observation and experiment are the precondition of reasonable belief, and the necessary basis of anything deserving the name of knowledge or philosophy or faith. Experience is the real guide of human reason, and the accumulation of the world's experience, or rather of certain modes of the world's experience, is stored up in the treasure-house called Science. This is the fact which Bacon stood for, and this is the fact which, always knocking at the doors of man inclined to disregard it, burst like a thunder-clap upon the ears of sleepers, with the publication of "The Origin of Species." The world has seldom had such a startling awakening out of the slumber of received opinions as when it was forced to listen for the first time to the story of mankind's ascent from the animals; and within no circles of society were the effects of the shocks felt with more disturbance than within the religious circles, which long remained in a condition alternating between anger and consternation. The new ideas were resisted as altogether subversive of religion, and not for the first time in history the labours of a man of science were subjected with unanimity among the sects to all the forms of ecclesiastical censure.

That attitude of mind on the part of churches has all but passed away, and few save the most conservative religious apologists continue to feel any difficulty in accommodating themselves to the researches of Darwin. The results at least of Darwin's work have been accepted, but there still remains a reservation or misgiving in many religious minds concerning the quality of Darwin's intellectual temper. Was that cautious, investigating, hesitating intellec-

tual disposition a religious disposition? Can any man be reckoned a religious man whose intellectual ideal bears the remotest resemblance to Bacon's intellectual ideal:—"desire to seek, patience to doubt, fondness to meditate, slowness to assert, readiness to reconsider, carefulness to dispose and set in order"? A few of these items indeed any theologian might be disposed to regard as unobjectionable, but taking the frame of mind as a whole, is it the frame of mind which is approved of and cherished by the churches? Questions like these although they are seldom stated are not unseldom answered in the negative by persons who appear to entertain no misgiving about their ability to utter the verdict both of piety and of common sense upon the problem.

If these persons are right in their fixed habit of mind with regard to the matter, that is to say, if the customary, conventional view of what constitutes a religious disposition is to be adopted, then it is difficult to see how any student of science can be supposed to possess a religious disposition, since the portrait of what every student of science wishes to become, or tends to become, is presented in the words of Bacon. If truth requires us to deny that Darwin was religious, then it is impossible for science and religion to dwell in the same breast together; and every intelligent man will be obliged to reject one or the other. Practical consequences therefore, for clear-sighted people, depend upon the solution of the question which it takes some naïveté to propound so directly:—Was Darwin religious?

The facts appear to be that Darwin was a member of no church; that after a certain period of his youth he gave himself with whole-hearted adherence to no form of public or private devotion. He made no attempt to reconcile his conclusions with the religious and theological teachings of his time; and the authoritative denunciations which rose around him did not deter him from his course. His soul was "like a star and dwelt apart." Such aloofness from much that the majority of men held sacred was clearly the mental temper of the man. Does that mental temper compel us to regard him as destitute of religion?

Consider the life of Darwin, his patient

and long-continued labours, his earnest search for truth, the love and awe of facts that led him from youth to old age, the value of his work to all the later generations of mankind. Shall we be content to allow so remarkable devotion and perseverance to remain outside our definition of religion? We pray for truth, perhaps. Darwin did not pray for truth; he sought for truth; and which of us is the better worshipper? We pray for goodness. Darwin did not, and yet he became as it were a pavement for the firmer steps of men: that is he achieved goodness. Is it more religious then to pray for goodness and possibly do nothing further, than to attain to goodness, and not to pray? Or shall we think a deeper thought about prayer, and satisfy ourselves that prayers upon the lips are out echoes, when they are not altogether foolish, of the strivings within us? *Laborare est orare*, "to labour is to pray." The Latin proverb seems to suggest that a man who is at work, whether he fall down upon his knees or whether he do not, is not a prayerless man.

But Darwin was not a believer! No, he certainly was not; not at least in the ecclesiastical sense of the word. But it may be pointed out that he was a worshipper; that he worshipped truth, for instance, and the fearlessness that can bear opposition for the truth: that his mind must have bowed down in such wonder before Nature as would, were we to insist upon the comparison, dwarf many a devotee's emotions before God into insignificance. Is church-bred awe measurable with Darwin's awe? Do the churches nurse such greatness of mind and feeling as dwelt in Darwin? The question seems to prompt its own answer; that it is dangerous to deny that Darwin was religious.

The emphasis of Darwin's life seems to be laid more upon doubt than upon faith; but this may be but a superficial impression, for certain great articles of faith can be discerned in him. He believed in truth, as we have said; he believed that a man might usefully devote his life to a search after truth; he believed that truth when it was found was precious, even though a new truth should strip its discoverer of every other truth that he had dreamed he possessed. There was this faith implicit in Darwin,

although it was his business, his usefulness, to doubt; and although in this business he was absorbed, it may be, to the exclusion of explicit faith altogether. That faith of some sort belonged to him whether he knew it or not, goes without saying; for who can work without faith? Or if the life of a Darwin can be lived without the aid of faith, of what value is faith? It is not necessary however for the good effects of the faith we hold, that we should be conscious of our faith, or every day reminding ourselves of it. It may be, as I say, that Darwin never stated his faith, never made it clear to others or to himself; but that he possessed faith, is as clear to sight as that he did the work of faith. And that work was doubt, with the faith underlying it that doubt if not so good as knowledge, is better than delusion. The great thinker therefore, silent about his convictions as he was, and to all appearance an agnostic was a believer under all, and we can see that belief and doubt in a thing so large as the mind of man are by no means exclusive one of another. Belief may lead a man to doubt as it led Darwin, and the work of doubt in the world is quite as useful and necessary and legitimate and religious as the work of faith, since doubt in one of its aspects is reverence for truth, and in another of its aspects is belief in the making. That is the next point for consideration.

I have said that doubt is reverence for truth; but doubt is more than this: doubt is the inevitable accompaniment of sublimity of feeling. When we are in the presence of any sublime object our state of mind is a mixture of certainty and uncertainty, for while we know that we are in the presence of the sublime, we know also that we are in the presence of the unfathomable. Even were we to "see God"—to use a grand Biblical expression—our doubts would not be removed, but would increase upon us, for would He not be incomprehensible? Doubt therefore, even in the immediate presence of God, would still be an element of human worship.

But forsaking metaphors, we are everlastingly standing, as at moments we are only too painfully aware, in the presence of the unfathomable. It is from this unfathom-

able, this inscrutable, about us and within us, that we derive our keenest joys and our acutest mental sufferings. We bear both the joy of worship and the suffering of the knowledge of our ignorance because both are proper and inevitable to our nature, and to the situation in which we are placed. If we knew all things as men esteem knowledge, perhaps we should be beyond both joy and sorrow, perhaps we should be incapable alike of ecstasy and of misgiving; but for the present, wearing these emotions of our finitude, we are human, as we know and feel ourselves. Let none of us therefore profess himself above doubt, or see in doubt anything that is unbecoming to either a religious or a manlike bearing. The religious consciousness of the world has always spoken of faith and not of knowledge, for while the former is possible to us, the latter, in completeness at least, is impossible. And yet the same religious consciousness, guided in this by an attempt at system rather than by intuition, has set up creeds, and has constantly, even when creeds have been abandoned, shown a disposition to consider doubt as the enemy of faith. Apart from doubt, faith would not be possible; and it is by renewed intercourse with doubt that faith is ever reviving itself and casting off the old forms which hinder it for forms more suitable to receive it. A wise man therefore is both a doubter and a believer, but he lays no claim to certainty. For both doubt and faith are part of his nature, but certainty has no proper claim upon him. Both faith and doubt are of the atmosphere in which the human spirit grows up to its highest; but a religious certainty which shuts out doubt as enemy to religion can but breed such types of mind as fail to perceive the grandeur of Darwin; as strive to arrest the work and the influence of all daring and freeborn sons of genius; as would hinder the march of mankind on their great, courageous and unknown

progress. Who indeed that has taken a thought would exchange the feeling of "the burden and the mystery, the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world" for the consolation and comfort of an ecclesiastical refuge? Who would give up the subliming knowledge of the perilous and tragical situation of men, for a secret communicated to him by a priest, or whispered it may be by traditions hoary with age and palsy? What substitutes of equal moral value can be found for the urgency of questioning, and the courage of faith?

The conclusion seems to be therefore that Darwin and all men who worship the same ideals as he, instead of being devoid of the religious spirit are eminent examples of it. There are in fact two types of religious-minded men, the doubters and the believers, and each of these has his part to play, and the world could not get along without either of them. The churches hitherto have fixed their eyes exclusively upon the religious temper of faith, and it has not occurred to them how essential to any real belief is the constant habit of doubt. Hence science, one of the pillars of the moral and religious as well as the intellectual life of man, has had to go on its way outside the churches. But when at length religious communities come to see that it is their business to bring up adherents to mental honesty far more than adherents to a creed, they will love and esteem the doubters as much as the believers, and a niche for Darwin will be found among the saints.

It remains to be said that there are other ways of exercising faith besides the way of the student of science, and that there are other sources of religious conviction besides the sources that science offers to us. But a discussion of these things would be rather a supplement than a contribution to the present essay.

P. E. RICHARDS.

MAN: HIS ORIGIN AND ORIGINAL HOME

ANTIQUITY OF MAN.

[Besides the authorities cited, the following authorities are relied upon: (1) K. A. von Tittle's *History of Geology and Palaeontology*, translated by Dr. Ogilvie Gordon; (2) Dr. Beddoe's *Races of Britain*; (3) D. G. Brinlon's *Races and Peoples*.]

It has been very nicely remarked by a distinguished man of science that man is not so young as he looks. I can safely assert without any fear of contradiction that his age is at least half-a-million years. This estimate is extremely moderate.

The historic or the contemporary period of man is never less than ten thousand years. The next preceding geological period, which is popularly known as the pre-historic period, was of a duration scarcely less than seventy thousand years, during which time man had made considerable progress in social life. Even before this time there is indelible record of human activities through a period of half-a-million years which is technically called by the geologists "The Pleistocene age of the post-tertiary or quaternary times." From this calculation alone the readers will see that 500,000 years is really a very moderate estimate of the age of man.

Previous to the quaternary period is the tertiary period which had a duration of about three millions of years. This tertiary period is divided into three parts by the geologists, namely, the eocene (duration 1.25 m.), the miocene (duration 1 m.), and the pliocene (duration .85 m.) periods. Not only man's immediate ancestor or precursor, but man himself, has been found in the new pliocene beds. This discovery leads the anthropologists to strongly suppose that man must have been evolved previous to the new pliocene times. In support of this proposition a very important fact is adduced by the anthropologists: In the later or upper miocene beds, remains have been obtained of an animal (*Dryopithecus*) allied to the chimpanzee and as such allied to man. The students of evolution will surely be inclined to hold that at a

time when the *Dryopithecus* could be met with, the remote precursor of man must have been evolved. Darwin remarked nearly half a century ago:

"We are far from knowing how long ago it was when man first diverged from the catarrhine stock; but it may have occurred at an epoch as remote as the eocene period; for that the higher apes have diverged from the lower apes as early as the upper miocene period is shown by the existence of the *Dryopithecus*." (*Descent of Man*, p. 156).

I need hardly point out that this calculation takes us back to a time removed from us by one-and-a-half million years. Man is certainly not as old as the hills, for the hills had come into existence long before man was born; but his antiquity is still very great, and he is not so young as he looks.

ORIGINAL HOME OF MAN.

Now that the doctrine of evolution is regarded by all scientific men of eminence as an elementary truth like the Copernican and Newtonian doctrines, it will quite do, if I make the bare statement that the mighty ancestor or precursor of man was a furry animal of arboreal habits. The question I am here concerned with is regarding the probable region which became the original cradle of not only the precursor of man, but also of man himself. Where man as a species evolved by casting off his furry coat, has been for the last half-a-century a subject of serious investigation by the anthropologists. Though that Holy Land has not been definitely identified, the scholars all agree in holding that the original home of man was in some part of Southern Asia. The great anthropologist Mr. A. H. Keane makes the following careful remarks regarding the original centre of human evolution:—

"It will be admitted that such a region is more likely to have been the cradle of mankind than any other, where the simioid and anthropoid precursors occur either only sporadically, or not in association, or else not at all. Thus are excluded the whole of the New World and most of the northern section of the Eastern Hemisphere, leaving as the only possible centre of evolution some part of the southern section.

of the Eastern Hemisphere, where the proportion of land to water was far greater in the secondary and early tertiary periods than at present." (*Ethnology*, p. 236).

The naturalists now all agree that the evolution of the anthropoid apes and of man's immediate precursors must have taken place in those regions which still continue to be the home of the catarrhine apes. The lemurs, the higher apes and the two great sections of the Negro division of man live within the region extending from the south of Africa to Malaysia. When Darwin suggested in a hesitating manner that the human species was evolved in the southern part of Africa, he had the catarrhine apes and the Negroes of Africa in view. He quite saw the difficulty of his position, but could not work out his proposition further, as it was not then definitely established that there existed once a vast continent stretching from the south of Africa and extending to Malaysia, joining the Indian peninsular region with it.* The area within which the evolution of the anthropoid apes and of man took place, "must obviously be sought," says Mr. Keane, "in those regions of the Indo-African and Austral continents, which survived into tertiary times, and which were the common home of the anthropoids and of the lemurs with both of which sub-orders the Hominidæ show affinities."

Dr. D. G. Brinton, the celebrated American anthropologist, has suggested in his work the "Races and Peoples" that—

"Man was first developed in the warm regions of the Western or Atlantic portion of the Old World, somewhere within the present or ancient area of Africa, and not in Asia."

So far as Dr. Brinton has shown the impossibility of the northern regions to have been the cradle of mankind, his views are regarded by the naturalists to be sound. Dr. Brinton stated it in a paper in the *Forum* that the original home of man was along the southern slopes of the mountain ranges stretching from the Cantabrian Alps to the Eastern Himalayas, but the principal original cradle land was the western section of this vast area. In this suggestion Dr.

* Vide R. D. Oldham: *The Evolution of Indian Geography* (*Geograph. Journal*, March 1894); Mr. Holland's paper in the 2nd Vol. of *Ind. Empire*; *Man's Ethnology*, pp. 229-30; Keane's *Africa*, Vol. I, Ch. III.

Brinton took no account of the distribution of land and water in tertiary times. Failure to take this important fact into consideration vitiated also the judgment of James Dallas. The most fatal objection to Dr. Brinton's theory is what Mr. Keane has ably stated:—

"West Europe is far too limited an area, and has been too frequently subject to upheaval and subsidence, to be the primeval home of the higher and larger mammals."

Mr. Keane has further shown in a very convincing manner in Chapter XIV of his *Ethnology* that—

"All the known facts imply that here [in the western section of Europe] man is an intruder, arriving in West Europe from the south across the Mediterranean isthmuses in company with the great African fauna."

It is true that we can trace now an early and primitive type of mankind from Gibraltar to the Eastern Himalayas and on to Ceylon and Australia, but the physical conditions of the early times make it impossible that the western section of this vast region could be the home of our early ancestors.

The only objection that can be raised against the theory that man had a centre of evolution on the Indo-African and Austral continents is whether the continents aforesaid did really continue to exist in tertiary times to allow men to be evolved there. The remarks of Mr. Holdich and Mr. Holland regarding the physical aspects and geological condition during tertiary times, as embodied in Vol. I of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, seem to be to the effect that the Indo-African continent of the secondary period did not survive far into tertiary times. It is however clear from what they have stated and from what R. D. Oldham has written in his paper on the evolution of Indian Geography that throughout the secondary times India was connected by continuous land across the Indian Ocean with South Africa on one side and the Malaysia on the other. It has however been established by recent geological investigations that the Indo-African and Austral continents, though belonging mainly to secondary times, must have persisted far into the tertiary epoch. (Keane's *Ethnology*, p. 229). As the remarks of Messrs. Holdich and Holland relate merely to India, it cannot be said

that they differ from what Mr. Keane has stated. Mr. Vredenburg's "Summary of the Geology of India" is silent on the point. I wanted to see what this learned geologist would state regarding this ancient physical aspect in his "Geology of India" still under preparation. On reference to "Australasia" by A. R. Wallace and "Africa" by A. H. Keane (Stanford Series, New Issue), we learn that, though broken in parts, the continents referred to above survived down to the quaternary epoch. Summarising all the arguments, Mr. Keane writes in his 'Ethnology':—

"Thus all the conditions point to these Indo-African and Austral lands as the most probable centre of evolution of the pliocene precursor, who may have easily migrated thence in small family groups to every part of the Eastern Hemisphere—northwards through India to Central Asia, eastwards and westwards to Australasia and Central Africa, and from Africa to Europe. From the already described distribution of land and water at that time, it is evident that all the continents were directly accessible by 'overland routes' to the migratory groups, which in their new homes became independently specialised by the natural process of re-adjustment to the different environments." (p. 238).

Evolution of man on the now submerged continent can only explain how men of the same type may now be found on the main land of South Africa, on the scattered islands in the Indian Ocean, in Malaysia and in Australia. They are now separated from one another by impassable waters because of the breaking up of the old continents; but they retain their old similarity in physical type having failed to modify greatly their original physical character in their isolated homes. This clearly shows that the pliocene men, who were left in their original home, have now been divided into African and Oceanic groups of Negroes having the intervening waters of the Indian Ocean between them. This remark regarding man applies also to the apes that inhabit the vast region now described. In these regions alone, and nowhere else, are found "several groups, which approach nearest both to the higher Simian and to the earliest known human types."

"There rolls the deep" where our *pitris* first assumed the form of men and had a happy existence of many thousand years. Who knows if our scientific men will not obtain as a result of their devotion to the *pitris*, some consecrated bones of theirs to

identify conclusively the holy shrine of the earliest *pitriloka*?

DISPERSION OF MEN.

Excepting those who were left behind in their original home, the pliocene men migrated in all directions and formed new centres of evolution to develop the special types within the new changed environments. In their migration they found continued land to proceed almost to every part of the globe and became differently modified by climate, food and struggle for existence. It will not be relevant to describe all the routes by which the pliocene men advanced towards different parts of the world. But one fact is of the greatest moment to be noticed here that at the time of this earliest migration from the Indo-African continent, the road was open through "India to the shores of the flooded Central Asian depression," which extended at the commencement of the pliocene time from Turkestan to Sicily.

Europe was populated in remote past by two principal streams of men proceeding to Europe from Asia from the south and from the east. All the great modern races of Europe have sprung from the mixture of these two races, none of which spoke any Aryan language. The present European nations are mainly the descendants of the old immigrants whose language was in no way connected with what is called the Aryan tongue. How the Aryan tongue and the Aryan civilization were superimposed upon the people of Europe, will be discussed later on. What became of those who came into India from West and South, what physical type they developed and what civilization they attained, will also be considered afterwards.

What is most important for me to note here in connection with the migration of man, is the civilization which the different groups of men developed in different centres of their new evolution. Men did spread over almost all the known parts of the globe during the early part of the quaternary times, but each and every geographical area was not favourable for their moral and intellectual growth. Not only those who were left in their original home, but also those who were forced in the struggle for existence to live in isolated

corners or secluded uplands, did only degenerate, where, for want of communication with other races, the groups of families and hordes of people could not get fresh blood of other groups or hordes, and remained only isolated without getting much incentive to struggle for higher existence. How human life began to petrify in the Negro areas, can easily be understood.

From the imbedded records of man in the neolithic period, it has been ascertained by the ethnologists that the centres of culture in prehistoric times "are mainly confined in Asia to the south (Naga, Khasia and Jaintia hills, the Deccan, south of the Vindhya Range, Irania, Asia Minor, Moab, Syria, Palestine, Arabia); in Africa, to Mauritania taken in its widest sense (Tripolitana to the Atlantic); in Europe to the south (Crimea, Mediterranean islands, Iberia), the west (Gaul, Belgium and British Isles) and the north (Scandinavia). Greece and Italy are excluded, because the cyclopean tombs of those regions seem to be of different type, and much more recent, being directly traceable to historic peoples." (Keane's *Ethnology*, p. 133.)

Though the European countries have been shown to be seats of neolithic culture, yet it must be remarked that this culture in Europe proceeded from Asia. It is now universally admitted by the anthropologists that Europe is merely a dependency of Asia, as from Asia the whole stream of men and human culture flowed into Europe. The earliest settlers in Europe were a dwarfish race. Mr. Keane has stated in clear terms—

"That after the last ice-age Europe was resettled from two different quarters, the east and the south or south-east."

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* of 1893 it was shown that neolithic man is unanimously allowed by all the anthropologists to have reached Europe from Asia, from the east and south. There is also a general agreement amongst the naturalists that the seat of a relatively advanced civilization was in those quarters of Asia and Africa as have been enumerated before.

Thus we clearly see that the civilization of the historical times of India did not and could not have emanated from elsewhere than from the northern region of India itself

or from some neighbouring tracts of India lying to the north-west. The vague theories built upon queer interpretations of Vedic texts do not deserve any consideration now. It was physically impossible for men of culture to have migrated from an arctic home in historic or in pre-historic times. No one will deny that philology has much importance in ascertaining many questions of antiquity, but many philologists have brought philology itself into disrepute by building idle theories without referring to the records which the earth has still preserved for us. Even such a great scholar as Max Muller is guilty of the offence of having started his theory of the Aryan origin of many nations of Europe and Asia on the strength of some philological suggestions only.

It is no doubt true that neolithic culture went from Asia to Europe. But the tribes who carried that culture did not and could not carry any Aryan civilization with them. On reference to the modern works of ethnology including Dr. Beddoe's "Races of Britain", the readers will find that the present races of Europe are mainly the descendants of those very tribes who inhabited that region in the remote past, and as such have no ethnic relationship with the Hindus and the Iranians. As investigation regarding the physical character of those people, who attained a high civilization in prehistoric times in India, has not been very vigorously and carefully pursued, we cannot obtain any sure data to establish whether the Hindus of India are the very descendants of the pre-historic people of the soil. But our natural expectations and the analogy of other nations raise a presumption strongly in favour of an answer in the affirmative. The question as to how some races of different countries came to speak the dialects of one language, must be solved after making due recognition of the facts ascertained by the anthropologists, and by avoiding reckless and impossible assumptions.

The ethnologists assert, that when primitive man was only making chipped implements in Europe, higher civilization developed in the Nile and the Euphrates valleys. That about the same time there was advanced culture by the eastern slope of the Himalayas and to the south of the

Vindya range, is beyond any doubt; only we do not know if the civilization of India of the historic times can be connected with that of the pre-historic period.

Though not connected together ethnically, the tribes or races which flourished in pre-historic times within the vast area extending from the East Himalayas to the north of Africa, developed a physical type almost common to all of them. The same sort of favourable environment brought about almost the same sort of results in different independent centres of pre-historic culture. The ethnologists are fully aware that the old Egyptians, the Jews and the Arabs, the old Babylonians, the Iranians

and the Hindus have no ethnical unity amongst themselves, or with the races of Europe; yet because of certain common physical features, they are all grouped together as Caucasian races. This name 'Caucasic' has no ethnic value whatever. They have been all grouped together, as they differ from the Mongolic type and the Negro type, and as they agree in certain respects for having developed almost a common type within one vast area, though at different centres.

I have thus far only prepared my ground for an ethnological discussion relating to the races of India.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

HINDU MARRIAGE AND THE DIVORCE QUESTION

THE Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu in introducing his Special Marriage Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council referred to an objection which had been raised in certain quarters against the measure, viz., that the Bill if passed into law would encourage divorce, and asked whether divorce was not desirable in Hindu society under certain circumstances. The intention of this paper is to suggest a few considerations which may throw some light on the question.

Two objections are commonly raised against provision of divorce in Hindu society, viz., that it would destroy the sanctity of Hindu marriage, which is an irrevocable union, and that it would encourage hasty and frequent disruption of family organizations. As regards the first objection, it should be observed that if the sanctity of Hindu marriage entirely excludes the idea of separation then Hindu matrimonial unions do not possess that sanctity; for repudiation on the part of the husband has been recognised as a legitimate course of conduct—nay a duty—in the shastras.

"A wife given to intoxicating liquors, having bad morals, given to contradicting her husband, attacked with an incurable disease, as leprosy, and who has been spendthrift of his wealth, ought to be replaced by another. A sterile wife ought to be replaced in the fifth year; the wife whose children are all dead, in the sixth year; the wife who only bears daughters in the

eleventh; the wife who speaks with bitterness, instantly."¹

"For one whole year let a husband bear with the aversion of his wife; but after a year, if she continues to hate him, let him take what she possesses only giving her enough to clothe and feed her, and let him cease to cohabit with her."² "If a woman proud of her family and her importance is unfaithful to her husband, the king shall have her devoured by dogs in a very frequented public place."³

It is however painfully true that the shastras have granted no right of repudiation to the wife.

"Although the conduct of her husband may be blameworthy, and he may give himself up to other amours and be devoid of good qualities, a virtuous wife ought constantly to revere him as a god."⁴

* Manu, Book IX, 80-81.

नपयाकाङ्क्षया च विद्विषया च वा भवेत् ।

आधिया प्राविशेत्तया हिंसायुक्ती च शक्या ।

नभ्यादभिविषेद्यान् दम्बे तु सप्तवत् ।

एकवर्षे श्रीमन्मो नववर्षावितराणी ।

† Manu—IX, 77.

संवत्सरं त्रीविधं द्विकर्त्तुं त्रिविधं पतिः ।

जयं संवत्सरान् नो दायं कथा च संवत्सरम् ।

‡ Ibid. VIII, 371.

नवार्धं सप्तवर्षा तु श्री आविश्वकृषिया ।

दो पतिः सप्तवर्षाया संवत्सरे सप्तवर्षिणी ।

§ Ibid.

विधियः सप्तवर्षो वा पुनर्विधौ श्रीमन्मो ।

एकवर्षः द्विधा सप्तवर्षं त्रिविधं द्विकर्त्तुम् ।

But that fact adds to rather than minimise the importance of the question asked by the Hon'ble Mr. Basu.

From what has been said it would appear that the idea of divorce is not at all foreign to the Hindu conception of marriage. But there is this difference between the marriage system of the Hindus and what is known as civil marriage, especially that obtaining in Europe and America, that whereas in the one case the right of divorce is granted to one party only, in the other case that right is equally possessed by both the parties. It is interesting to note that besides adultery the circumstances under which divorce is permitted by the Hindu Shastras, as is clear in the passages from Manu quoted above, are family pride, aversion, failure to give birth to son, sterility, and habit of speaking with bitterness. And when we bear in mind that very slight evidence suffices to prove adultery, as is shown in the passage quoted below, does the list of offences need any commentary to indicate the position of the wife in relation to the husband in the Hindu matrimonial unions?

"To pay little attentions to a woman, to send her flowers and perfumes, to frolic with her, to touch her ornaments and vestments, to sit with her on the same couch, are considered by wise men as proofs of an adulterous love."⁶

It is noteworthy in this connection that in Europe and America of the several circumstances mentioned above, adultery alone, and that again understood in the strictest sense of the term, would be considered as a legitimate cause of divorce.

As regards the second objection urged against divorce, it cannot be denied that adoption of the institution in the Hindu society would be likely to give rise to many cases of hasty and injudicious separation, in view of the experiences of the people of Europe and of America. Thus we learn that "a woman in Detroit has applied for a divorce, alleging that her husband has only taken her to one-penny picture show in a year."⁷ But that likelihood does not justify the conclusion that divorce is not

necessary. We have to consider whether the advantages that would accrue to society from adoption of the principle of divorce will not generally outweigh the evils that might result from it. The question is whether these evils will be compensated by the relief that will come to the unhappy families and parties to miserable unions. Some light on this point may be obtained from a reference to the facts of European and American life. No senior student of Sociology will contend that the institution of divorce in Europe and America has undermined the integrity and the moral basis of family life. The opinion of the writer of the article on divorce in the new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica about a particular country, which however may be considered as typical of the Western world, may profitably be quoted here—

"The question (how far the frequency of divorce in the United States has been a social injury) is very like that of illegitimacy. No trustworthy inference regarding the moral condition of a community can be derived from the proportion of illegitimate children born—so regarding the prevalence of divorce. It is by no means impossible, for example, that the spread of divorce among the Negro population in the South marks a step in advance from the condition of largely unregulated and illegal unions characteristic of the race immediately after the war. The prevalence of divorce in the United States among the native population, in urban communities, among the New England element, in the middle classes of society, and among those of the Protestant faith, indicates how clearly the social phenomenon is interlaced with much that is characteristic and valuable in American civilization. And one who knows anything of the family and home-life of America will not readily despond of the outcome."

The effect of the recognition of divorce on family morality in Europe and America may perhaps indirectly be gauged by the statistics of persons remarrying each year and of those divorcing during the same period, and also of the widows and widowers; because from these statistics we can measure the extent to which the desire for marriage with a third person is the real motive for divorce. Such statistics are not available for all the advanced communities. But a general idea about the matter may be formed from the facts stated in the following two lines. In Connecticut the number of persons remarrying each year is about one-third the total number of persons divorcing, "which is probably a rate not widely different from that of widows and

⁶ Manu—VIII, 352.

⁷ *The Statesman*—March 21, 1912.

⁸ *The Statesman*—March 21, 1912.

widowers of the same age."* And the figures for Switzerland, Holland, and some of the German cities, notably Berlin, indicate that the proportion of the divorced who remarry speedily is about the same as that of widows and widowers. That applications for divorce are not commonly inspired by fantastic or ill-considered grounds is evident from the fact that in the United States between 1887 and 1906 about 78 p. c. of divorces granted by the Courts were due to the three causes—desertion, adultery and cruelty. The other familiar causes of divorce are imprisonment, habitual drunkenness and neglect to provide. A noted American student of sociology has laid great emphasis on another circumstance, which is not at all a familiar—because for obvious reasons it is not mentioned before the courts—but nevertheless the most serious question that we are called upon to consider in this connection, *viz.*, hideous diseases of the husband. It is this circumstance that has recently led to the enactment of a most important piece of social legislation in the United States, where a local legislature has passed a law that every citizen shall submit himself to a medical examination before contracting marriage. The American sociologist just referred to believes that the frequency of divorce in the advanced sections of the civilized world, which is being regarded by many social thinkers and statesmen as a symptom of a possible social anarchy, is but an indication of a new process of socialization which is going on in the Western world and under which marriage is tending to be a contract on the footing of perfect equality between the two sexes and yet the tie of union is being progressively strengthened. As Westermarck has shown—

"On the whole, progress in civilisation has tended to make marriage more durable."† "The faint-hearted cry has come to us that everything is coming to an end. It is not so; on the contrary everything is about to be renewed. From the most distant stone-age the history of humanity has only been a long series of regenerations. Far from mourning

when the world seems to be entering a period of fresh life, let us rather rejoice."*

Altogether it may be said that the institution of divorce in the Western world has not proved to be a social injury; on the contrary, it has afforded relief to thousands of miserable unions, and by letting free the parties to such unions it has added to the sum total of their individual happiness, has helped the development of their personalities as hopeful, confident and vigorous social units and has thus indirectly fostered the growth of harmonious and progressive social structure.

It is for the reasons set forth in the previous paragraph that in the West the right of divorce has been granted not only to the husband but to the wife. It is not to be assumed, however, that throughout the West marriage is a contract on the footing of perfect equality between the sexes. Among the European countries where absolute divorce is permitted, the position of the wife in England is still inferior to that of the husband, for in that country the husband must be accused of one or other of several offences besides adultery. In Italy, Spain and Portugal, a judicial separation may always be decreed on the ground of the adultery of the wife, but in the case of the husband other aggravating circumstances are necessary.

"But there is a growing opinion that, where it (marriage) is not (yet a contract on the footing of perfect equality between the sexes), it ought to be so. Again, when both husband and wife desire to separate, it seems to many enlightened minds that the state has no right to prevent them from dissolving the marriage contract, provided the children are properly cared for; and that for the children also, it is better to have the supervision of one parent only than of two who cannot agree."‡

The Hindu law has given full right of divorce to the husband but has denied the right entirely to the wife. Apart from the question of the theoretical injustice of the situation, we have to consider whether there is any practical necessity for granting the right to the wife. We have to ask: how many cases of miserable unions are to be found in the Hindu society to which divorce would come as a great relief, how

* The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Art. Divorce.

† The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, Vol. II, p. 397.

* Letourneau—The Evolution of Marriage and of the Family, p. 358.

‡ Westermarck—The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, Vol. II, p. 398.

many cases of cruelty are occurring every day in the Hindu families, how many husbands have ruined beautiful homes by habitual drunkenness and how many unfortunate wives are forced to submit to the cruelty and humiliation of living with husbands who are suffering from hideous diseases. These questions do not admit of precise answers, because social statistics dealing with all these facts are not available; but no careful observer can fail to obtain a satisfactory answer in a general way. In this connection the evidence of one of the most gifted women of modern India illustrating the position of women in the Hindu society may profitably be quoted.* A near relative of that lady had been given in marriage in her childhood to a boy whose parents agreed to let him stay and be educated with her in her own home. But after the marriage had been concluded they failed to act according to the agreement. The boy was taken to the home of his parents and grew up to be a worthless dunce, while his wife through the care of her father developed into a bright young lady and well accomplished. Thirteen years later, the young man came to claim his wife, but the parents had no heart to give their beloved daughter to that beggar; nor was the wife willing to go with him, since he was perfectly a stranger to her. Some orthodox people of the community who believed that a wife should follow her husband even though he be a worthless man collected funds and enabled him to sue her and her parents in the Court of Justice. The case was decided in favour of the husband according to the Hindu Law, and the wife had to go with him. Another illustration is the case of Rukhmabai, which profoundly agitated Hindu society. That lady was brought up under the living care of her father and learned from him how to defend herself against the assaults of social and religious bigotries. But after her father's death her husband brought a suit against her in the Court of Bombay. The young lady declined to go with the man and defended herself on the ground that the marriage had been concluded without her consent and as such could not be legally valid. Mr. Justice Pinhey, who

tried the case in the first instance, gave his decision in favour of the lady. This decision aroused orthodox hostility all over India and vast sums were collected to enable the husband to appeal against the verdict of Justice Pinhey. The Chief Justice sent back the case to the lower court for retrial on its merits as judged by the Hindu Law, and the husband won. The lady was commanded not only to go to live with the man but was also obliged to pay the cost of the dispute. This could happen because marriage in the modern Hindu society is governed by "laws enacted in barbaric times, four thousand years ago," and Hindu orthodoxy does not realise that a law may require modification or even repeal in view of the advancement of civilization and the growth of enlightened ideas.

The life and institutions of the Hindus must be as much subject to the law of evolution as those of other races, and if marriage and the family have been constantly modified in the past it cannot be maintained that they will remain forever crystallized in their present state. Careful investigations into the subject of matrimonial institutions have revealed the fact that all forms of marriage tend to be in the fullness of time voluntary contracts on the footing of equality between the sexes. Letourneau has said.—

"Our various researches on the subject of divorce have led us to nearly uniform conclusions. They all show us that, however dissimilar may be the countries and the epochs, the union of man and woman begins, with very rare exceptions, by the complete slavery of the latter, and her assimilation to domestic animals, over which man has all possible rights, *a fortiori* that of driving away. Then as the ages move on their course we see societies which become by degrees civilized, and in proportion to this advance the condition of the woman improves. At first the man could kill her if she displeased him; then, cases of adultery apart, he contented himself with repudiating her; next, the severity of the right of repudiation, at first unlimited, was mitigated; then it was restricted to certain well-defined cases; some rights were even granted to the repudiated woman. At length her own right was recognised to seek divorce in order to escape from intolerable treatment. At last a return was made to divorce by mutual consent, which had been allowed in a good number of primitive societies; before a rigid legislation, generally theocratic, has crystallized, in codifying them, some of the old barbarous customs."

The causes of the gradual emancipation

• Evolution of Marriage and of Family, Pp.

247-248.

* Rukhmabai is *The High-Caste Hindu Women*, pp. 88-90.

of married women in modern civilization are manifold.

"Life has become more complicated; the occupations of women have become much more extensive; their influence has expanded correspondingly, from the house and household to the public life. Their widened interests have interfered with that submissiveness which is an original characteristic of their sex. Their greater education has made them more respected, and has increased their independence; finally, the decline of the influence exercised by antiquated religious ideas is removing what has probably been the most persistent cause of the wife's subjection to her husband's rule."^e

^e Westermarck—The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, Vol. I, P. 669.

In the light of the universal law of evolution outlined by Letourneau, the future of married life in the Hindu society is no difficult to imagine, since the past history of that life is in perfect agreement with that law. And one may reasonably maintain that legislation backed by public opinion may some day be able to sanction in this country, in spite of the opposition of orthodox Hinduism, what it has accomplished long since in Europe and America in spite of the opposition of orthodox Christianity.

SATISH CHANDRA BASU.

ABOLISH HARMONIUMS !

SINCE I have begun to lecture on Indian music and to write articles on that subject for the Indian press, I have received numerous letters from Indian musicians and musical amateurs, enquiring why I condemn pianos and harmoniums. Some of them have gone so far as to assure me that the harmonium is now fashionable in India, and that for this reason alone, it is impossible to do away with it! Music, however, is not concerned with fashions, trade interests, or any other motives of that kind, and if Indians persist in following an unmusical fashion, they must reap the consequences in injury to their musical capacities. Let me endeavour to expound the rationale of this statement.

The piano, harmonium and organ are keyed instruments, tuned to a fixed pitch which cannot be modified according to the mood of the player. Pitch is height or depth of sound. Infinite gradations of sound are possible on instruments such as voice, violin, string, wind. Fixed pitch occurs in instruments where the modification of sound is, for mechanical reasons, impossible. C is always the same on the harmonium, whereas, it may be rendered with variety of pitch by the voice and still be within the compass of C. Keied instruments came into existence to meet a need of the Western harmonium—the need

^e C is the middle C on harmonium.

of the composer to hear many sounds at the same moment, whilst composing, when it was impossible to gather together players of different instruments, with whom he might experiment. As composers began more and more to hear their work inwardly without the need of externalising it, and to compose the finest things for chorus and orchestra instead of for keyed instruments, this need of course disappeared, but the habit of piano playing, etc., had been formed in the meantime, and was allowed to continue. Moreover, some very beautiful work had also been written for piano and organ by our greatest composers, and the instruments could not be relinquished without also sacrificing these. Thus the practice grew. Now it is a recognised fact that the great composer should not need a piano to help him in his work. He should be able to hear inwardly the effects he wants to produce, and to commit them straight to paper. Many have done this. Many more would have done it had their faculties not been blunted by the constant use of purely external means such as those provided by the keyed instrument, at times when they should have been developing their real inner musical faculties instead.

The evil results of the use of keyed instruments in the West are innumerable. During the last fifty years the harmonic, though it has a steady following, is vocal

art, mainly because of the deadening influence of keyed instruments on the voice. The genius of the piano, harmonium and organ is inimical to that of the human voice for many reasons, chief among which is that the tones of the voice are pitched by a wonderful spontaneous and natural process to express innumerable delicate gradations of tone which no keyed instrument can ever do. Now the result of constantly practising to the accompaniment of keyed instruments has been that singers have imitated their *artificial* pitch, and have done it so thoroughly that there are to-day, according to a well-known musical scholar here, Mr. R. A. Streatfield, "probably not two musicians in the whole of Europe and America who could sing tones smaller than half a tone," which in plain English means that Western musicians have paralysed their vocal chords and deadened their capacity for distinguishing fine shades of sound, just as Western feet have been rendered comparatively useless by the wearing of tight shoes. The beautiful old Italian school of florid (rapid, full, and variegated) singing has practically disappeared which is the direct result of imposing artificial pitch upon vocalists. In its stead we find a coarse heavy quality of voice, often allied with a difficulty in keeping in tune even to the bare notes of the piano,* and this difficulty is not because our singers have no ear for music, but because *keyed instruments are positively out of tune*, and the vocal chords, obeying their natural impulse to sing in tune, refuse to copy these artificial tones until 'trained' by long years of practice. This 'training' eliminates every vestige of spontaneity and birdlike nature from our singers, and when it is 'completed' we obtain a dull lifeless and wholly unmusical product, as like a machine as it is possible to be, and equally unlike the expression of the human soul.

The same deadening process has gone on amongst stringed instrumentalists, but not to such an extent, because most of the great instrumental works are performed without the aid of piano or organ, and so their use of pitch is comparatively unrestricted.

* Organ and harmonium are implied unless otherwise stated.

† "Comparatively," because harmony necessitates certain natural pitch-modifications, which are not

Instrumentalists have been hampered, nevertheless, by technical confusion arising out of having to adapt their pitch—and all their fingering—to the piano, when playing in piano sonatas, quartets, quintets, etc., and when accompanying piano Concertos in orchestras. Inevitably this has tended to force them to fix their pitch to the unmoving sounds of keyed instruments, and so to-day we find a curious state of affairs in the Western instrumental world. The great solo instrumentalists are still clinging to their freedom of pitch, and pathetically attempting to practise it against the bulk of their orchestral brethren, who have frankly allied themselves with the piano and its false tonality, and thrown natural music to the winds. The result is that our orchestral concerts are absolutely devoid of musical power, they are mere cultured noise, whilst the few inspired solo players who still survive can never express their musical souls to the public, through the fog of artificial pitch by which their accompanists surround them. Our eminent pianists are of course absolutely unaware—for all practical purposes—of the existence of true sound. Their capacity for sensing it is dead. A well-known pianist, and one of our greatest scholars, composers and conductors here, said frankly to me not long since, in answer to a question about the pitch of a certain note: "I think it is all right. But I really couldn't judge! You violinists know more about tune than we do." And this is the utterance, remember, of a very great Western musician, known throughout the West as a distinguished authority. He started life with a fine ear, which has been carefully ruined by his piano studies. If he has suffered, how much worse has it been with the lesser musicians!

It has come, then to this: the musical soul of the West is in bondage to keyed instruments, machines. It is of no use going to our Western concerts to hear music. We hear many cleverly arranged sounds, but we go away empty.

How do these machines work? What is artificial pitch?

Two kinds of musical pitch are recognised in the modern West. The first is Natural however exaggerated like artificial pitch, but which it would take me too far from my subject to enter into here.

or Just Intonation. Natural or Just Intonation is that perfectly satisfying tone or combination of tones which is produced by an unconscious but unerring process of tonal adjustment by the true musicians. All young violinists, for instance, before their ears have been spoiled by playing to piano accompaniment, tend to produce such tones. That great violinist, the late Dr. Joseph Joachim, when examined in his scale-playing by the physicist Helmholtz, was found to produce unerringly, scales in the tonal relations of which the most exact acoustical and mathematical principles were unconsciously followed. These were tested by Helmholtz by the finest apparatus of modern science. Needless to say that they were far different from piano scales. The true natural scale-player, like a true mathematician, has no rigid artificial standard, like that provided by keyed instruments, by which to reckon his notes. The only standard of art is pure aesthetic enjoyment. With every change in tonal relationships, therefore—with every mood and atmosphere—tone must be readjusted to harmonise with its surroundings. This fine adjustment of tone is called *Sruti* in Indian theory. Only such constant readjustment can be mathematically and artistically correct as Helmholtz has proved. Nature is a perpetual flux and change, obeying one immutable law of adaptability: even so is all true art and all true science.

Now when man invented the crutch by which he has lost the use of his musical limbs—the keyed instrument—its mechanism precluded the use of Just Intonation. Let me try to make this clear, as simply as possible. In any given *mela* (mode) the relation of tones to one another is in a naturally fixed ratio. The *mela* sung on every possible keynote (ψ) will always contain a similar proportion between its notes, but every change of keynote (ψ) will bring about an arrangement which will differ in the actual number of vibrations per note, though not in the proportion between the notes in the scale. The human voice is of all instruments the most perfectly adapted to express this principle. It can be trained to express it unerringly, in all modes, under all possible conditions. Keyed instruments, on the contrary, are the very worst of all possible means. Their rigid notes admit of

no gradations, or, if a keyed instrument could be invented which could admit of *gradation*,—i.e., slurring, not jumping from note to note—there would still be the few rigid modes from which the gradations were made, all tones on keyed instruments being calculated from two or three modes only, instead of from seventy-two. Each ratio of vibrations in the seventy-two modes differs slightly. No keyed instrument could provide for this. And it is absurd to try and limit modes and *Srutis* to the exigencies of any mere machine. As I sit at my window writing this, I am listening to the wind playing in the trees in my garden. What would the gods say if we had the impudence to try to fix the tones of the wind?—or to arrange that it should play on one branch of a tree and not on another? Doubtless all that it does in its wild perfection is correct and beautiful. How much more so the Spirit of Man, playing on His Aeolian harp, the Lyre of Apollo, untrammelled by the artificialities of musical crutches and machines?

Through the use of these machines, artificial or Tempered Pitch came into existence in the modern West. The machines could not be adapted to the needs of man's soul, so he elected to forget he had one, and deliberately turned his pianos so that all the notes were slightly false in relation to any perfect scale, but so that a general Mean Tone or mechanical adaptation between all notes and all scales occurred. In justice to Western musicians it must be said that many have rebelled, that many more would rebel if they could only hear the pure tones, say, of Indian *Srutis* often enough.

Before dealing further with this matter I want my readers to consider these facts:

1.—No keyed instrument is found throughout the entire ancient musical world. The Greek lyre was not a keyed instrument in the strict sense, nor is the harp, nor are the bells, for reasons too lengthy to enter into here.

2.—The whole Eastern tradition, the whole of the Greek tradition, all the early Western and to this day all Western Folk (traditional) Music employed and seasons Just Intonation as well as modes (*melas* and *ragas*).

3.—For reasons which will have become clear, the advent of the keyed instrument and its rigid pitch has well-nigh killed modal feeling among Western musicians. The majority of them are at present incapable of feeling the beauty of a raga, which is only a form of mode.

4.—This condition of musical colour-blindness, if I may so put it, has only obtained in the West *within the last three hundred years*. It was never known in the whole previous history of the world. Is all the previous musical effort of the whole world to be set at naught by a three-hundred-year old Western experiment: an experiment which has killed* music wherever it has been followed?

5.—It is not necessary to develop musical colour-blindness in order to appreciate and perform all the greatest choral and instrumental works of the West.† Musical colour-blindness follows only on the cultivation of keyed instruments. All choral and orchestral work may be rendered exempt from it, since pure harmony does not demand it, but only a delicate shifting of the *śrutis* which changes with every mode and 'key' (♯).

6.—Because of its adaptability to all shades of tone and feeling, the human voice is undoubtedly the most perfect of musical instruments. It is therefore the most sensitive. We have seen that Tempered Pitch has done more harm to vocalists than to instrumentalists. This has resulted, in the West, in the vocal art now being generally regarded artificially, by cultured people as being less worthy than instrumental—which is tantamount to saying that an eye-glass is better than an eye! I do not here want to disparage instruments. But I say that they are less than their creator, and that the musical state of

affairs which has trodden down the God-made singer until he has become a mere slave to a machine and is then blamed for being lifeless, needs to be put an end to by every lover of the Beautiful.

Now what are we doing in India? We are trying to go a step further than the West in this downward path of music! You, my reader, may think it foolish of me to talk thus seriously about music at all, when the Woman question, and the Depressed Classes question, and the Labour question and many other deep sores are pressing into the world on every side. I am perfectly aware that beside these throbbing human problems the question of whether or not we should sing in tune must seem of absurd unimportance. I know that when the heart of the world is in tune, and its deeds are just, it will sing in tune, even as the birds sing, because they are good, loving and just and God shines through their perfect lives. But the educational value of sound, its creative building force, for good or ill, is nevertheless a factor which may be used to harmonise and purify society, and in so far as it is a profound and natural means of raising our hearts to the Spirit of Truth and Justice—not a mere trifling jingle to flatter and appease the appetite for sensuous pleasure and self-seeking—in so far, I say, as the exercise of true music for the uplifting of society is one of the political virtues incumbent on every man and woman who possesses the gift, it becomes our sacred duty to guard the purity of its tones; this indeed is the first step to be taken in any serious musical education, for how can God the Singer reveal himself through impure sounds? India is trying to go a step further away from truth in music than the West, because she has adopted the harmonium, which is even worse than the piano. It is only a make-shift portable instrument which the missionaries brought to India, no such thing being used in the West, excepting at street-corner meetings in the slums of our cities, where no other keyed instrument would be possible. This, then—a degraded form of a degradation—is what Indians have elected to use for the accompaniment of their divine ragas and rāgīs! The public-house corners of the West wedded to the soul of Indian music! Some Indians have

* Compare the musical capacity of the Board School child, carefully trained to a piano, with that of the peasant in some out-of-the-way part of Europe, who has never been trained at all. The latter is far superior. The farther we go from civilization and its machines, the more music do we find.

† Works for string and wind instruments, of course. Several of the wind instruments are fixed pitch, but are so dexterously and sparingly used as not to clash with the others. Their very clumsiness only serves to bring out by contrast the beauty of just intonation, without detracting the ear as keyed instruments do when mixed with orchestras.

even goes so far as to make what they call a *srutis* harmonium—to fix the *srutis* as one might try to fix the echoes of the ocean! It is in the nature of music that the *srutis* should not be fixed: mathematically-perfect sounds, as I have indicated above, being always in a state of change and adaptation, under the sole guidance of intuition and aesthetic sense—the only infallible standards of musical tonality. Any attempt therefore to determine the *srutis* must end in failure. It is obvious. There are seventy-two modes, for instance, in South India. How can any fixed standard of *srutis* be made to fit all of these? What is the use of trying to count the drops in the ocean of sound? What utter fatuity is it that impels Indians to try to make an harmonium to register those sounds?

The quality of harmonium tone, loud and rasping, is ruining the capacity to hear delicate grades of pitch (*srutis*). How can *murchchhanas* (fainting-notes) be heard or sought after in that din? Noise kills music. All soft gliding effects are also precluded. The drums—copying the harmonium—grow louder and louder, and the singer must shriek if he is not to drown. So with these things Indians are ruining their splendid vocal heritage—the most perfect in the world—and they are not even replacing it by fair instrumental music. *Vina* and *saranghi* will not sound in tune with harmonium, and nothing will ever make them so to sound. Are Indians, then, going to sacrifice them to harmonium? They must choose. Either it is to be harmonium with its false pitch, gradually compelling all

Indian musicians to sing and play "in tune" with it, and forcing them to the state of musical paralysis* to which we have "attained" in the modern West; or it is to be the abolition of harmonium and of Tempered Pitch, and the education of true musical sense with the help of *vina* and *fiddle* and *saranghi* above all, with the help of the best of all instruments, the human voice.

It is certain that the Tempered Pitch of keyed instruments and the Just or Natural Intonation cannot exist together. One or the other must go. On her choice of which, the musical future of India depends. We cannot imitate the bad without becoming like it. The way of the bad, the vulgar and the mercenary, is easy. It is the broad road that leads to musical destruction. They who would "enter in at the Narrow Way" which leads to harmony eternal, would rather be silent than utter a sound which they know is not straight from the Soul of Music: they who have gazed upon Her naked beauty would offer their own lives rather than false jewels to the Mother of Worlds.

MAUD MANN

(*nee* MAUD MACCARTHY.)

* The test of this is so simple. Musical capacity in its ultimate analysis is the power to produce sound and rhythm. Not one in a thousand Western musicians could distinguish *srutis* or perform the complex time-patterns of *raga*. It is not that the capacity is not there, but that it has been educated out of them. They might retort that Indians could not play in orchestras and produce harmony. Indians can learn these things with extraordinary rapidity, they being easy compared with advanced forms of *raga* and *tala*.

THE ANNALS OF ISLAM*

By PROF. HOMERSHAM COX, M.A.

THIS is a work absolutely indispensable for all serious students of the history of Islam. The original materials continued in the Oriental writers have been

* *Annali dell' Islam*, compilati da Leone Caetani, principe di Teano.

brought together, translated and illustrated by critical notes. Future historians will find texts hitherto scattered through many libraries now collected in a single book, a book which, it is true, consists of several thick quarto volumes. Prince Caetani does

not claim for his own work the title of history.

"My aim has been to place before the student, the original material as it is in the sources and not as it has been elaborated and modified by the historian and the philosopher; then I have sought that the conscientious investigator who wishes to form for himself his own independent conception of the great historical problems of Islam may be able to find in this work all the elements necessary for his judgment."

After an introduction of 340 pages dealing with the early life of the Prophet, the plan of annals is strictly followed. Every event is given under the heading of the year of the Hijra in which it occurred. Up to the end of the tenth year the different accounts are fused into a single narrative, but from the eleventh year onwards each tradition is given in a separate paragraph with the sources from which it comes. Some idea of the amount of labour involved may be gained from the statement of the Prince that—

"All the first part of the work, reaching down to the year 132 of the Hijra, has been three times entirely rewritten, throwing in the fire the fruit of almost ten years of continuous work."

When necessary the paragraphs are followed by short critical notes, but special paragraphs have been devoted to the discussion of questions too important to be disposed of in a note. Some paragraphs have been contributed by Dr Horowitz the distinguished professor of Arabic at the Aligarh College.

Only a profound Arabic scholar would be competent to criticise so learned a work. All we shall attempt, is to give some account of the conclusions to which Prince Caetani has been led by his researches. For the present we confine ourselves to the period ending with the Flight of the Prophet to Medina. In the first place, we must note that the Prince rejects much which earlier historians had accepted as true.

"While the beginnings of Zoroastrianism, of Buddhism, and even the origins of the Christian faith, are involved in thick legendary clouds that hide many unpleasant truths from critical indiscreet regards, Islam has the appearance of being born, so to say, in the sight of all, and in so open a manner that it seems as if all the various places of its development could be studied with relative security."

This appearance by which most of the European biographers of Muhammad have allowed themselves to be deceived, is however a mere illusion. As a matter of fact

"before the memorable flight to Medina we know scarcely anything certain, and the little that tradition tells us is so distorted by later influences that the truth escapes us and we must abandon ourselves for the most part to theories and conjectures."

The ultimate sources for the history of Islam are the Quran and the Hadith. For the earlier part of the Prophet's life, however, we must depend on the Hadith since there are no references to it in the Quran. As to the value of the Hadith, European scholars differ widely from Mahomedans. The Mahomedan tests the value of a tradition by the *isnad* or chain of witnesses going back to a companion of the Prophet. If there is no reason to suspect the *isnad*, the tradition must be accepted.

"No one can deny that theoretically the principle was just and correct, but the critical acuteness of the orientals does not ever surpass a certain limit, it does not ever dare to put in doubt every fact before accepting it. That is to say, it did not dare to affirm that the very process of falsification which had multiplied to infinity the traditions on the Prophet might have extended itself in the same way and the same proportions to the *isnad*, as soon as this system of justification had arisen. The Musalman traditionists admitted, it is true, the existence of suspected *isnads*, but only in case they discovered there were gaps or chronological absurdities in the list of names, or invented names of persons who had never existed. If, however, the *isnad* was in perfect order and contained good names every suspicion was excluded, it did not ever pass through their mind that it was a task of the greatest facility to prefix to any tradition whatever the most perfect and best of *isnads*. To admit this would have shaken the basis of all Musalman traditionism, and would have cast discredit on all Islam. The Musalman doctors never had so much critical boldness, nor ever dared to express so radically destructive a doubt: but in us non-Musulmans long familiarity with all the material of the *Hadith* makes even this pessimist doubt arise, and it increases in force the longer the traditions are studied and their irregularities, contradictions, errors and absurdities are examined."

Without contesting these remarks of the Prince, we may recall the well known fact that Bukhari rejected by far the greater number of the traditions current in his time. Now Bukhari lived in the ninth century of the Christian era, when very few people in Europe exercised any criticism at all. The "critical acuteness of the Orientals" was above that of their Christian contemporaries, even if it fell below the standard of modern European scholars. Till as late as the eighteenth century the European was in general quite as uncritical as the oriental. Even now, the Christians

accepted stories which would, if we are not mistaken, be rejected by the canons of the traditionists. Take for example the parable of the Prodigal Son. It occurs only in the third gospel attributed to S. Luke. Now the author of this gospel, S. Luke or another, was by his own statement not a companion of Jesus. He does not say whether he heard the story from a companion or only at second or third hand. In short the tradition floats loose, so to say, without any *isnad* and would, we believe, have been rejected by Muslim critics.

Returning to the Muslim traditions, there is reason to believe that in many cases the *isnad* is later than the tradition itself. The oldest of the traditionists Urwah b. al-Zubayr often gives traditions without *isn'd*.

"This means that even in the times of Caliph Abdal-malik, that is to say about A. H. 70-80, or sixty years and more after the death of the Prophet, a traditionist although already distant from the events, he narrates, did not think himself obliged to justify the source of the notices he furnished."

In Ibn Ishaq who died fifty years after Urwah, we find the *isnad*, but even yet not in the complete form adopted by Bukhari. With this last writer who died A. H. 256, the system reaches its full development. The conclusion Prince Caetani comes to is that we cannot rely on the *isnad* and "that the greater part of the traditions is a product of the period commencing about A. H. 30 and reaching its greatest development about A. H. 200."

Nevertheless the Prince considers that these groups of traditions to which the names of certain companions of the Prophet are attached give a general idea of what these companions would have said even if the facts in detail are not always true. Unfortunately the companions who knew the Prophet best have left the fewest traditions. Most are due to men who were very young at the time of Muhammad's death. The names that occur most frequently in the collections are those of Ibn Abbas, Abu Hurairah and Anas b. Malik. Now a Muslim theologian assumes that a companion cannot lie. The veracity of the successors of the companions may be doubted but not that of a companion himself. Those who are not Muslims will not be disposed to admit any such sharp distinction between the men of successive generations. The

European scholar, cannot like the Mahomedan abstain from examining the inherent probability of a tradition before accepting it. Such an examination leads in general to the most unfavourable conclusions, and the Prince gives several instances of absurd traditions. Instead of quoting any of these, we will take one from Muslim the second of the great Muslim collectors.

"From Abu Hurairah, he said: The Prophet of God, may God Bless him and give him peace, one day was among his people and there came to him a man and said: O Prophet of God what is faith? He said: That you believe in God, and His angels, and His books, and meeting Him, and His Prophet, and that you believe in the final resurrection. And he said: O Prophet of God what is Islam? He said: Islam is that you should worship God and not associate any one with Him, and that you should perform the prescribed prayers, and bestow the ordained alms and fast in Ramadan. He said: O Prophet of God what is piety? He said: That you should worship God as though you see Him although you see Him not but He sees you. He said: O Prophet of God, when is the Hour? He said: The questioned knows no more of it than the questioner but I will relate to you its signs; when the maidservant gives birth to her master that is of its signs; when men of naked feet and bodies become lords of people that is of its signs; and when the pasturer of sheep lives in palaces that is of its signs. There are five things which no one knows but God to whom be praise and glory. Thereupon the Prophet of God, may God bless him and give him peace; Verily with Him is the knowledge of the Hour, and He sends down rain and He knows what is in the wombs and no man knows what shall befall him to-morrow and no man knows in what land he shall die. Verily God knows and is aware. He said: † Thereupon that man turned away and the Prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, said: Bring him back; and they went to bring him back and they found nothing, and the Prophet of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, said: That was Jibril, he came that he might teach people their religion."

The remarks of the Urdu commentator on part of this Hadith are curious and we will quote them although they have no connection with the annals of Islam.

"In the time of that Hazrat, may God bless him and grant him peace, in Arabia and Rome (Constantinople) and Egypt and Iran there was the same culture and civilisation, and the people of Europe, that is to say Feringistan, were quite savage and ignorant peasants like animals; especially the people of England and Russia had a very small share of humanity, and like animals lived in the forests and hills; there was no method of rule and government. Now in our time since some days these same wild people have made such progress that they have become the rulers and masters

* A verse from the Quran.

† Abu Hurairah said.

of the world. Perhaps this too is a sign of the judgment and this is the meaning of this Hadith."

Now no one without theological prepossessions will believe that when the Prophet was surrounded by his friends the angel Jibril came and questioned him, any more than he will believe that a man who had lain four days in the grave was restored to life. Assuming that the tradition goes back to Abu Hurairah, the only conclusion is that Abu Hurairah was untruthful. This is in fact the conclusion to which Prince Caetani comes: "Abu Hurairah deserves the title of liar in the full sense of the word." His opinion of Ibn Abbas is equally unfavourable, and in general, he thinks that very few of the traditions relating to the early life of the Prophet are trustworthy.

"The best companions have not others, and the memory of the Prophet has been entrusted to those who were the least worthy of preserving it and handing it down to posterity. We come then to the painful conclusion that in every element there is falsehood or error; and that scientifically speaking we ought to make a *tabula rasa* of the greater part, if not of almost all the legendary and semi-historical material of Islamic history before the Flight and limit ourselves to the Quran alone and those few traditions whose antiquity and authenticity are beyond discussion."

The Prince however reproduces and examines the early traditions, since in any case they throw light on the conditions of ancient Arabia. First of all, we have the traditions as to the ancestry of the Prophet. Here the same influences have been at work as in Christianity. The early Christians compiled two distinct fictitious genealogies of Jesus tracing his descent from David or even Adam. Although a later Christian legend attributing to Jesus a virgin birth made these genealogies superfluous, they are given in the gospels—

"The first Christians imbued with Judaism could not conceive the Messiah and Redeemer born in a modest family of a humble village in Palestine, and wished to raise him to the rank of a prince of royal blood, the tendency to nobilitate him was so strong that they did not notice the contradiction into which they fell: if Jesus was the Son of God, he could not be son of Joseph, but then what was the use of the genealogical tree going back to David and the patriarchs? In Islam the same tendencies were verified, the effect likewise of ill-digested rabbinical traditions. The aim was to prove that no family was nobler than that of Muhammad and that therefore God when He chose himself a prophet had the sagacity to confer the supreme gift of prophecy only on the most noble among the Arabs, on the direct descendant of Abraham. Muhammad, a practical statesman, who went straight to his object, without caring about idle secondary details, never

made any pretensions to such an honour It was the later men, and in particular the two great inventors of biblical and genealogical fables, Ibn Abbas and Ibn al-Kalbi who after the death of the Prophet set to work to create for him a patent of nobility."

In some points the Prince pushes his scepticism further than other scholars. Thus he throws doubt on the statement that Abdullah was the name of the father of the Prophet and believes that that name was not used in Pagan times. "I hold it impossible to adduce an *authentic* literary proof of use of Abdullah before the times of Muhammad." Stress must be laid on the word "authentic" which the Prince italicizes. The name Abdullah does occur among the heathen Arabs but he thinks that it should be interpreted as an orthodox correction of Abd-al-Lat or some such name. However we meet with Abdullah among the names of the pagans or the ancestors of the pagans killed at Badr and Uhud.* Now it is easy to understand that a Musulman might be ashamed of a pagan ancestor but there seems no reason why the names of men who fought against the Prophet and had gone to hell in their unbelief, should have been altered. Moreover as an interesting review of the Prince's book in the "Quarterly" points out, the Quran itself shews that Allah was known to the Arabs although ar-Rahman was strange. Then too, as a Musalman friend of the present writer urges, the fact that Muhammad was called son of Abdullah in the treaty of Hudaibiyah concluded with the pagans seems good evidence that this was really the name of his father.

Almost the only event which Prince Caetani admits as historical in the early life of the Prophet is his marriage with Khadija. Leaving this period, we come to the time of Muhammad's assumption of the prophetic office. His claims to inspiration have seldom been judged fairly by European writers. Among these writers the best known in India is Sir William Muir. Of his work the Prince says:—

"His only sources are Ibn Hisham and al-Waqidi with an imperfect and superficial subsidiary aid extracted from the verses of the Quran. He ignores altogether the immense importance of all the rest of poetical, traditionist and historical Arabic literature. It is especially the studies of Goldziher, that have revealed how much these materials could indirectly illuminate the subject and how it is not possible to

* In the list given by Prince for Badr Nos. 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 55 and in the list for Uhud Nos. 1, 23.

comprehend either the Arab people, or the medium in which Muhammad was born, or the relations between Muhammad and his countrymen, without studying thoroughly all the Islamic literature of the first three centuries of the Hijra. Muir ignores all this vast field of studies, making thereby a grave gap in his historical materials and depriving himself of an assistance of primary importance. Besides this he is above all deficient in Quranic analysis, because he is ignorant of Hebrew literature and of homiletic and rabbinic literature from which Muhammad principally drew his religious materials. Lastly Muir believed that he could explain everything by discovering in his fashion, in the legendary traditions (apocryphal) on the infancy, signs that Muhammad suffered from epileptic attacks, although it is not clear what can be the connection between epilepsy and religious feeling nor how one can be the effect of the other. Religious feelings form part of the noblest impulses of the mind and of the heart and it is not at all obvious to us that one who suffers from that horrible disease must be especially inclined to the contemplation of religious problems. As to the theory of diabolic influence according to which Satan was the effective inspirer of Muhammad, a theory which Muir has seriously maintained, it is not worth the trouble of giving to it even a line in refutation considering its intrinsic absurdity."

The theory to which Prince Caetani refers is given in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, Vol., II, pp. 90—96. The whole passage is worth reading for its amusing naïveté, but we have only space for two sentences:

"May we conceive that a diabolical influence and inspiration was permitted to enslave the heart of him who had deliberately yielded to the compromise with evil? May not Satan have beguiled the heart in the habitude of an Angel of light and, even when insinuating his vilest suggestions have professed himself a Messenger from the God of purity and holiness?"

This is the question which Sir William Muir feels "it is incumbent upon us to consider from a Christian point of view." He is not dogmatic however and is content "to have suggested the awful possibility." At times he is inclined to think that if only Muhammad could have attended a Presbyterian service and listened to a Scotch sermon all would have been well.

"Had he witnessed a purer exhibition of its rites and doctrines, and seen more of its reforming and regenerating influences, we cannot doubt but that, in the sincerity of his early search after the truth he would readily have embraced and faithfully adhered to the faith of Jesus."

The Prince remarks that Muir's book is pleasant to read and in a way this is true, but there are numerous passages that offend the taste of an English reader. For instance:

"Khadija, surrounded by her maids, was sitting

upon the upper story of her house, on the watch for the first glimpse of the caravan, when a camel was seen rapidly to advance from the expected quarter, and as it approached she perceived that Mahomet was the rider. He entered, recounted the prosperous issue of the adventure, and enumerated the various goods which agreeably to her commission he had purchased for her. She was delighted at all she heard; but there was a charm in the dark and pensive eye, in the noble features and in the graceful form of her assiduous agent, as he stood before her, which pleased her even more than her good fortune."

It is clear that if Sir William Muir had not become an Anglo-Indian official he could have achieved equal success as a writer of penny novelettes for servant girls. But in a book meant to be taken seriously "the dark and pensive eye" is out of place.

It is more profitable to consider the Prince's own view of Muhammad's inspiration. He insists, perhaps at somewhat unnecessary length, on the Prophet's absolute sincerity. This is a point only the narrowest of theological opponents will dispute. The whole Quran leaves on the mind the impression of the Prophet's intense personal conviction of the truth of the message he delivered. Take the following passage:—

"By the star when it falls, your comrade errs not, nor is he deluded, nor speaks he out of lust. It is but an inspiration inspired. One mighty in power taught him, endowed with sound understanding, and appeared, he being in the loftiest tract. Then drew he near and hovered over, until he was two bows' length off or nigher still. Then he inspired his servant what he inspired him; the heart belies not what he saw. What, will ye dispute with him on what he saw?"*

The sincerity of Muhammad's belief that he saw the angel seems to us as much beyond doubt as the sincerity of S. Paul's that he saw the risen Jesus. There are many other instances of such visions. Among the most celebrated is the vision of Colonel Gardiner quoted by Scott in his *Notes to Waverley*. Colonel Gardiner, a man who had till then led a dissolute life, saw one night

"A visible representation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory, and was impressed as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect (for he was not confident as to the words): 'O sinner, did I suffer this for thee, and are these thy returns?'"

Obviously the fact of Colonel Gardiner's vision is known only from his own statement. From the nature of the case,

* Surah LIII, Palmer's translation.

there can be no second witness. Those who doubt the Colonel's word cannot be convinced by any argument. "Will ye dispute with him, concerning that which he saw?" But the sincerity of Colonel Gardiner's belief in his vision is proved by the change it produced in his life, and exactly the same may be said of the visions of S. Paul and Muhammad. Those who have reached the scientific stage of thought will not of course believe in the Angel Gabriel any more than in the risen Jesus. But a rationalistic explanation does not exclude entire belief in the honesty of men who had these visions.

According to the Prince :

"None of the existing surahs is absolutely the first of the revelations received by Muhammad."

This is very likely true but we can hardly believe he is right when he goes on to say :—

"These did not come to him one day suddenly like a flash of lightning in a clear sky, but they were instead the product of a long period of incubation and of religious reflections, that Muhammad transformed with much care into literary compositions, always however in the conviction that the internal stimulus that moved him to act was a supernatural being."

The fact that the present writer has witnessed phenomena which he believes to be identical with those of inspiration perhaps justifies him in giving his own views. Otherwise he would not have been bold enough to express an opinion on a question about which so many learned Arabic scholars disagree. In the first place it must be noted that the inspiration of the Prophet was always accompanied by external physical signs. We are told that he was thrown into violent agitations. These signs could easily be recognised by those around him and his companions always distinguished his inspired from his ordinary state. There was no difficulty in knowing when the Prophet was himself speaking and when God was speaking through him. Next we note that his opponents explained these signs by saying he was possessed by a *jinn*, "*Bihi jinnatun*." So there was no doubt about an external power influencing the Prophet; the point in dispute was whether this influence was due to God or to a *jinn*. In the same way there was no doubt that

Jesus was possessed by a spirit, but the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem called it "an unclean spirit" while he called it "the holy spirit."*

Now anyone who lives in Kulu in the Himalayas, as the present writer has done, may see for himself the phenomena of possession by a god. The technical term for the state of the man is "*ubharna*" and for the action of the god "*khelna*" "to play." The man who is subject to these attacks is called a "*gur*" and to every temple one or more "*gurs*" are attached. Very often the faculties of the "*gurs*" are transmitted from father to son and this is in accordance with the laws of heredity, but often they are not transmitted, a fact which seems inconsistent with imposture. Moreover the *gur* is perfectly well known to the people among whom he lives. It would be difficult for him to carry on imposture for many years without being detected. He is not in any way a professional priest but earns his livelihood by ordinary secular occupations. Sometimes he only receives revelations from his own family god, and shews the genuineness of his belief by acting on them. But the decisive argument against fraud is that the symptoms of *ubharna* cannot be produced voluntarily. We have seen an imitation of *ubharna* made at our request by a Kulu friend, and afterwards we saw the real thing. It seems to us the reality can be distinguished from the imitation. This is, of course, merely the opinion of a layman, and it would be well if these phenomena could be observed by some expert in nervous diseases. Religion will never be properly understood till it is studied from the point of view of mental pathology. Again we have seen possession by a *bhut*, the Hindu equivalent of the Arab *jinn*. The phenomena of possession by a god and possession by a *bhut* are distinct, but not so different that they could not be confused by a malevolent opponent.†

The account in the sixth book of the *Æneid* of the coming of the God to the Sibyl is not all poetic fancy. It is, with some exaggerations, a description of *ubharna* which Virgil himself must often have witnessed. *Ubharna* was common

* Mark, chapter III.

† *Ubharna* may sometimes be seen in the plains too, but it is not, we think, so common as in the hills.

* Surah XXIII, The Believers.

among the Jews, and the Jewish *nabi* corresponds to the Kulu *gur*. Balaam, the son of Beoz was a *nabi* and we are told that he said: "Have I now any power at all to speak anything? The word that God puts in my mouth, that will I speak." This passage which comes from the Elohist writer is evidence of what used to happen in his time about 800 B.C.* In Kulu the *gur*, we are assured, does not know in his normal state what he has said in the state of *ubharna*. Still the one state may influence the other, as a man's waking thoughts influence his sleeping thoughts. The inspiration a prophet receives from his god, will be coloured by his own beliefs and emotions even though the inspiration is perfectly genuine.

Internal evidence does not shew which was the first surah revealed, and the traditions disagree. They disagree also as to the first convert. By some this is said to have been his wife Khadijah, by others his cousin Ali. As Ali was at the time a boy only ten years old or less, his conversion could in any case have had little meaning. Prince Caetani thinks more weight attaches to the traditions which make Abu Bakr the first convert. If not the first, he was certainly the most important. A man of unblemished integrity, rich, generous, of courteous manners, his adhesion to Islam produced a great effect on his fellow citizens and is for us, at the present day, one of the strongest proofs of the perfect sincerity of Muhammad. About the same time, or even earlier, Zaid, the adopted son of the Prophet, was converted to Islam. These four, Abu Bakr, Khadijah, Ali, Zaid, were the first converts. Five others soon joined them influenced by the exhortations and example of Abu Bakr. Within a short time forty-five more converts were made, a list of whose names is given by Ibn Ishaq.

After three years of private preaching Muhammad received the command from God to teach Islam in public. Prince Caetani quotes a tradition from al-Zuhri, which he believes to be thoroughly genuine with reference to this period:

"The Prophet invited people to embrace Islam both in secret and in public and to his appeal responded principally the young, and the weak among men: things went on to such a point that many believed

in him, while the Quraish did not show any aversion for what he said, and when Muhammad passed by any place where they were united in assembly, they pointed at him saying:—There is the young man of the bann Abdul-Muttalib who speaks of heaven.—So it went on until he spoke against the idols that they adored besides God and pointed out the perdition of their dead pagan fathers: then in consequence of this they hated him and made war against him."

From this passage it is clear that the hostility was due to practical considerations rather than to theological differences. Similar motives have led in recent times to bitter disputes between the Wahhabis and ordinary Sunnis. The Wahhabis do not believe in the intercession of the saints and denounce as idolatry the reverence^o paid to relics. Now these relics bring in a great deal of money to their proprietors, and the natural indignation of the priests when they feared the offerings at their shrines might fall off, led to violence and in a few cases even to bloodshed. In the same way the Kaba was a source of income to the Quraish and they feared its prosperity would be injured by the teaching of Muhammad. They were willing to acknowledge Allah the Creator of heaven and earth, but they claimed that their gods and goddesses had the power of intercession with Him. There is, as Prince Caetani remarks, no evidence that the Quraish were guilty of any very serious persecution.

"If we admit that the traditionists have introduced many exaggerations, we shall easily come to the conclusion that, suppressing the exaggerated, there remains very little to the charge of the Quraish. The importance of the persecution is still further diminished if we look in the Quran for evidence in support of the assertions of the traditions: the sacred text makes no mention of true persecutions and does not ever mention personal violence."

Even in modern times, with their boasted tolerance, a man who attacked the religion of his country as Muhammad did, would meet with rudeness and insult, and beyond this the Quraish do not seem to have gone. We need not estimate any the less highly the courage and patience with which the Prophet persisted in his mission through years of ridicule and neglect. This fortitude, Sir William Muir naively remarks, is all the more marvellous, because Muhammad was not like Elijah and other Jewish

* *Taxim* as distinct from *sijdah*; but the Wahhabi will not admit the distinction.

* See Addi's Documents of the Hexateuch.

prophets, "strengthened by the palpable demonstrations of miraculous power".

It may be that sometimes slaves converted to Islam were treated with great cruelty. The Prince thinks that if such cases ever occurred they were exceptional. Of the instances related by tradition the best known is that of Bilal, the slave of Umayyah. He is said to have been thrown on the ground and exposed to the sun during the hottest hours of the day with a stone placed on his breast. This torture was repeated for many days, but when urged to renounce Islam, Bilal only answered "Ahad, ahad" "One, one". At last Abu Bakr persuaded Umayyah to accept another slave in exchange, and set Bilal free. Other slaves were also ransomed by Abu Bakr who spent for the sake of Islam a fortune of forty thousand dirham.

Here we must interpolate a remark. Limits of space only permit us to give short notes of the conclusions to which the Prince has come, but in the "Annals of Islam" the original authorities are reproduced in condensed translations so that the reader can form an opinion as to the validity of these conclusions for himself. The Prince does not aim at writing a history in the ordinary sense of the word. So he does not, like Gibbon for instance, write a connected narrative and support it by authorities in notes. He reproduces the traditions and when necessary gives notes with critical comments. We will translate one paragraph with the accompanying note to indicate his method:

"Muhammad, knowing himself protected by his uncle continued to preach and so much the more increased against him, the discontent of the Quraish. They no longer concealed their hatred, they discussed with vivacity the new doctrines and tried to stir up ever more and more the idolaters against him. A new commission of Quraish was sent to Abu Talib, and this time was not content with protesting but went on to threaten more energetic measures if Muhammad did not desist from preaching. Abu Talib remained afflicted and disturbed by the threats of hostility and of civil war, but he would not yield or abandon his nephew. Meanwhile he sent for Muhammad, related to him the threats of the Quraish, and begged him to spare the family and himself greater misfortunes. 'Do not impose on me,' he added, 'a greater burden than I can bear.' Muhammad thought he perceived in the words of his uncle a threat of abandonment. 'If they were to give me' he cried, 'the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left, asking me to abandon my mission, until God Himself reveals it, or I perish, I will not abandon

it,' and he went away weeping. His uncle called him back and said: Go and preach what you wish. By God, nothing shall make me abandon you. (Hisam, p. 168; Tabari I, pp. 1176—1179, where is given another version more prolix and interpolated, which goes back to Ibn Abbas; Athir II, pp. 47-48 and 48-49; Khaldun II, App. 8; Halab I, p. 387)."

["NOTE. The assemblies of the Quraish to deliberate on the conduct of Muhammad and their meetings with him and with his uncle Abu Talib to obtain the cessation of the Musulman propaganda, form one of the favourite theses of the traditionists and reappear in various forms in different passages of Ibn Hisam: besides the form noted now and in the following paragraphs, it reappears on the occasion of the death of Abu Talib, to demonstrate indirectly that Abu Talib was a Musulman at heart, and did not wish to become an open convert that he might not bring new misfortunes on his family (Hisam, pp. 278-279)"]

In these years owing to the persecutions of the Quraish some of the converts renounced Islam. Yet they seem to have been subjected, not so much to physical violence as to insults and perhaps deprivations of the means of livelihood. The Prophet therefore ordered those most exposed to temptation to flee to Abyssinia. It is difficult to ascertain the truth about this Flight to Abyssinia owing to the variety of conflicting authorities. According to the Prince, European writers have been mistaken in adopting the supposition that there were two Flights, and Muir in especial, with very little critical good sense, accepts all the legends of later writers. The question is fully discussed in the "Annals" but we cannot give an account of the discussion here. Fortunately there is a very early account of the Flight to Abyssinia preserved by Tabari. "The document," says the Prince, "has a special importance both historical and literary:

"It is perhaps the most ancient specimen that we possess of Arabic historical prose and it is also the most ancient version of the pretended emigration in Abyssinia."

Urwahribn al-Zubayr wrote to the Khalif Abd-al-Malik as follows:—

"He, that is to say, the Apostle of God, when he called his people to embrace those things, for which God had sent him of the right direction and light, that had been revealed to him, in the beginning, they did not shew repugnance towards him in those things which he invited them to embrace and were almost on the point of listening to him. Until he made mention of their idols and there came some of the Quraish from Taif, who had possessions and disapproved what he did, they were harsh towards him, and shewed aversion for what he said and excited against their dependents. Then the people separated from him and abandoned him except those among them that God preserved and they were few. It lasted as long

as God wished that it should last, then their chiefs deliberated to tempt those among their sons, their brothers and their tribes who followed him from the religion of Allah. There then came a violent temptation for those who followed the Apostle of God among the people of Islam: and they were tempted who were tempted and God protected among them those that he wished. When this thing was done to the Musalmans the Apostle of God ordered them to set out to the land of Abyssinia, and in Abyssinia there was a good king who was called the Najaohi: no one had to suffer injustice in his country and through his merit peace reigned there and the land of Abyssinia was a market frequented by the Quraish, who traded in it because of the abundance of provisions, the public security and the good business. Then the Apostle of God ordered them to go to that land: and all the Musalmans when they were oppressed in Mecca and when the Prophet feared for them temptations went to that land. He instead continued without ceasing and so passed various years and they were harsh towards those among them who had embraced Islam. But afterwards Islam increased in it and there entered in it some men among their nobles."

The chief of the nobles who were then converted to Islam were Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet, and Omar the future Khalif. Hamza, the romance of whose life is so widely read in India, is said to have become a convert owing to his anger at the insults uttered against the Prophet by Abu Jahh. The conversion of Omar which took place probably about a year later, is related in two ways. According to one version he found his sister and her husband reading the Quran and overcome with anger struck them. Then suddenly becoming ashamed of his action he asked to be allowed to see what they were reading. It was the Surah T. H. the twentieth of the Quran which tells how God sent his prophet Moses to Pharaoh. As he read the words sent down from the Merciful seated on the Throne the heart of Omar was changed and he became a Musulman. The other story, which rests on inferior authority, is that Omar was converted as he overheard the Prophet praying and reciting the Quran near the Kaba. In any case, his adhesion gave new hope and courage to the Musalmans. In later years Omar was the wise ruler of a mighty empire; now he was the chief support of a small and persecuted body of believers. To him, more than to any other one man, excepting only the Prophet himself, the triumph of Islam is due.

The conversion of Omar was due to the impression made by the Quran, and in the Quran Musalmans have always

seen the decisive proof of the divine origin of their religion. Later, in the case of the heathen poet Labid we have another example of the effect produced by the book on a man who approaches it without any bias in its favour. Even to the modern European, who is a Christian if he believes in any religion at all, this message of God's mercy and power, when recited in the original, appeals with overwhelming force. We may quote the testimony of Lieutenant Boyd Alexander, the African explorer:

"Never had my prospects looked more black than they did as I lay awake in the open, staring up at the sky. Sleep too seemed to have utterly deserted me, and my mind worked hard to discover a way of escape from the troubles that beset me....All my hope seemed departed when lo, the figure of a man, wrapt in white, stood out upon the roof of the mosque, clear cut against the sky. It was the high priest, and presently he lifted his voice and chanted in deep musical tones a verse of the Koran. As the glorious sentences rolled out upon the night, I fell to dreaming under their spell and a feeling of peace came over me. Once more I was borne up by faith and hope, and soon I fell asleep."

To this period is assigned the incident of the false verses, an incident to which Muir in the hope of discrediting the Prophet assigns great importance. The story related by Tabari is as follows:*

"On a certain day, the chief men of Mecca, assembled in a group beside the Kaaba, discussed as was their wont the affairs of the city; when Mahomet appeared and seating himself by them in a friendly manner began to recite in their hearing the LIII Surah. The chapter opens with a description of the first visit of Gabriel to Mahomet and of a later visit, in which certain heavenly mysteries were revealed. It then proceeds

And see ye not Lat and Ojja.

And Manat the third besides?

When he had reached this verse, the devil suggested an expression of the thoughts which for many a day had possessed his soul; and put into his mouth words of reconciliation and compromise, the revelation of which he had been longing for from God, namely,

There are the exalted females

And verily their Intercession is to be hoped for.

The Coreish were surprised and delighted with this acknowledgment of their deities; and as Mahomet wound up the Surah with the closing words,

Wherefore bow down before God and serve Him.

The whole assembly prostrated themselves with one accord on the ground and worshipped."

Afterwards we are told Gabriel revealed to the Prophet the true verses as they now stand in the Quran.

* Muir's Translation.

Mahomedan critics have already pointed out that the story is unworthy of credit and that the *isnad* is unsatisfactory. Prince Caetani gives good reasons for thinking that this *isnad* is an invention of later traditionists. Without entering into these technical discussions we may note the intrinsic improbability of the narrative. The Quraish hitherto bitterly hostile to the Prophet are represented as listening attentively to the recitation of a Surah although they did not know beforehand what it would contain. Their rejection of his claims was due far more to political than to theological reasons and yet this one concession makes them willing to recognize his authority. The character of Muhammad too is completely misrepresented. No man was more conciliatory in unessential matters. If he had lived in India he would doubtless have forbidden the killing of cows. But about the fundamental doctrine of God's unity he would admit no compromise. There must be no tolerance of idolatry either directly or indirectly under the pretext of intercession. As the Prince says:

"Muhammad was a true statesman, gifted with a most delicate political sense and of an extraordinary ability in dealing with and governing men. Gross errors such as that of momentarily accepting the worship of three idols were impossible for him. It would have been equivalent to destroying in a single instant all the patient labour of the preceding years and to ruining himself for ever... The Quraish far from desiring peace with him and far from wishing to recognize the hated and feared agitator as their spiritual head, as the story wishes us to believe, would have profited by his momentary weakness to demolish him pitilessly in the sight of all both pagans and Musulmans."

The explanation of the story is to be found in the verse of the twenty-second Surah:

"We have not sent before thee any apostle or prophet but that when he wished Satan threw not something into his wish."

It belongs to the class of anecdotes invented by later traditionists to explain passages in the Quran whose original meaning had been forgotten.

Three years before the Hijra the Prophet lost his wife Khadijah and his uncle and chief protector Abu Talib. At this time Islam seemed to have come to a standstill. There were no longer any active persecutions but few new converts were made. The

attempt of the Prophet to convert the people of Taif had completely failed. But now an event occurred of decisive importance in the history of the new religion. Certain men of the tribe of the Khazraj, said to be six in number, who had come from Yathreb to Mecca on the annual pilgrimage listened to the exhortations of the Prophet and became Musalmans. These men on returning to Yathreb, afterwards known as Medina, the city, preached the new doctrines with success. When the season of pilgrimage returned the following year, twelve men of Medina met Muhammad at Aqabah, a height outside Mecca, and on behalf of their fellow citizens pledged their faith to him. This pledge, known as the first pledge of Aqabah, ran as follows:

"We will worship one God only, we will not steal nor commit adultery nor kill our daughters; we will not slander: we will not disobey Muhammad."

Musab Ibn Umair was now sent to Medina to teach the doctrines of Islam. He also conducted the prayers since the Medinese would not accept any one of their own body, owing to the jealousies of the two principal tribes the Aus and the Khazraj. Islam spread rapidly and in almost every family of Medina there was a convert. Next year representatives of the people of Medina again met the Prophet at Aqabah. Hitherto the Musalmans had endured their injuries patiently but God now gave them permission to take up arms against the infidels. By the Second Pledge of Aqabah the men of Medina bound themselves to receive the Prophet and to defend him against his enemies. When this meeting became known to the pagan Meccans the persecution of the Musalmans broke out afresh. Indeed if we consider the point of view of the Quraish we can hardly blame them. They could foresee what afterwards happened, that Muhammad and his followers at Medina, almost due north of Mecca, would become a danger to their commerce with Syria. The history of the period is one-sided since it comes exclusively from Musulman sources, but even so the Musulmans appear always to have been the aggressors.

Even now the Quraish seldom if ever used any physical force. The Musulmans of Mecca were allowed to depart peaceably to Medina. It is extremely doubtful if those who stayed behind were subjected to

actual constraint. Muhammad with Abu Bakr remained to the last, forming as the Prince says, a kind of rear guard. Doubtless he feared that some of his followers, if left behind and no longer under his personal influence, might abandon him. When they had once fled to Medina they had committed themselves irrevocably. The story of the flight of the Prophet himself has been distorted by legends. This much is clear that leaving only Ali behind, he set out with Abu Bakr to Mount Thaur, south of Mecca, exactly in the opposite direction to Medina. Fearing they would be followed, the two remained hidden for some time in a cave. This is referred to in the Quran in the words:

"When they two were in the cave alone; when the Prophet said unto his companion:—Be not cast down for verily God is with us."

Numerous legends have been related about this case, but the truth seems to be that the Quraish did not attempt to injure or detain the Prophet. After a time, generally said to be three days, the two left the cave with a guide Abdullah Ibn Arqat who brought them safely to Medina. It is especially worthy of notice that this Abdulla Ibn Arqat was not a Musulman but an idolater.

Seventeen or eighteen years later, the Khalif Omar determined to reckon the Musulman era from the year of the Flight or Hijra. This year was in fact the turning-point of Musalman history. Islam hitherto persecuted or neglected now enters on a period of almost unbroken success. The history of Islam too, takes a new aspect, it emerges, the Prince remarks, almost suddenly from darkness into light. Hitherto the historian has had to extract grains of truth from a mass of legend; now he has fairly trustworthy materials at his disposal. With the Hijra, begins a new stage in the career of the Prophet. So far we have seen him the teacher of a new religion. Like S. Paul, with whom he may most naturally be compared, he combined the fervour of the enthusiast and visionary, with the clear practical good sense of the man of the world. Conciliatory in details, firm in essentials, he too was ready to become "all things to all men" that he might win them to acknowledge the unity of God. At Medina, Muhammad, no longer only a

warner and preacher, displayed his marvellous capacity as a statesman and ruler of men. He created a nation, and initiated the conquests which led to the formation of an empire rivalling that of the Cæsars.

With the Hijra, Prince Cæstani closes the introduction to the Annals of Islam. To this introduction, although it is a comparatively small portion of the work, we must for reasons of space confine our review. We are afraid we have been able to give our reader only a very imperfect idea of the intellectual acuteness and vast industry shewn in the compilation of these annals. One last point we must notice. The Prince has been more critical than previous historians, and has rejected as fabulous much that they had too readily accepted. But the most penetrating criticism has not in the least diminished his admiration for the Prophet. On the contrary, when the cloud of legend is dispersed the greatness of Muhammad is all the more conspicuous. We will conclude by quoting Prince Cæstani's own judgment:

"A man is *great* only in proportion as his thoughts and actions are above the level of men of his time. But to be just in our appreciation we must not ask from a simple mortal more than is humanly possible. If Muhammad did not see and perceive some truths which are now the common property of the mass of men, because they are the heritage of a civilisation centuries old, we cannot reckon this a fault in him, and it is our duty to recognize that Muhammad was *great* in the true sense of the word, in as much as his figure emerges like that of a giant above all his contemporaries, both within and beyond Arabia. The greater part of his most eminent followers were great and celebrated in their turn, only in so far as they preserved the genius of the great master and followed faithfully his example. Muhammad created a new society and founded a new faith, both by far superior to those previously existing in his country. The measure of this superiority is given by the immense success that it had in the world, among people who yet were heirs of most ancient civilisations. Although he was a simple son of the desert, who perhaps never went outside his own country, and never knew any part of the boundless world that surrounded him, yet he created a religious system so genial, so adapted in certain special conditions of society, to the true needs of human nature, that even today after almost thirteen centuries his system is a strong faith, active and living among nearly two hundred million men, and makes every year thousands of proselytes in the heart of two great continents—Asia and Africa. There has never existed another man of whom so much could be said, and who has left so enduring a mark on the vicissitudes of his fellow-beings."

THE AJMERE URS

THE Moslem month of Rajab draws annually a large concourse of people to the heart of Rajputana. Train-loads of pilgrims from all parts of India and even outside India—Afghanistan is well represented—converge to Ajmere. Their number is roughly estimated at over 25,000. The object of attraction is the shrine of Kwaja Moinuddin Chisti, the prince of Indian Moslem Saints, who died about 1235 A.D. Among other things, India is a land of Moslem Saints as well, and Garibnawaz's name stands first among them. Whenever a Saint dies, his memory is perpetuated by an *urs* and an accompanying *mela* which is not unlike the mediæval fairs of Europe, a happy blending of religion and secular show. The greater the Saint, the grander the *urs*. As a rule every village in India with any pretensions to Moslem antiquity has a patron *vali* or Saint and in some cases a host of *valis*; but the immortal Khwaja of Ajmere towers high above all Moslem Saints of India.

The *urs* begins from the first of Rajab and lasts for six days. The majority of pilgrims arrive on the new-moon day. Every night the Dargah is brilliantly illuminated with over a thousand lights which, with their red and green covers and festoons of flowers, appear very picturesque. The shrine of the Saint is open day and night and for six days running there is a regular inrush and outrush of eager pilgrims and sightseers through the Dargah gates. The rush at the entrance to the Mausoleum is so great that it is very difficult to worm one's way through the crowd and unless the services of a *khadim* or Dargah usher are engaged, it is well nigh impossible to gain access to the marble grave. On either side of the massive gateway of the Dargah are shops which principally cater for the pilgrim population, supplying them with sweetmeats, flowers, scented wicks, incense and other votive offerings. All along the Dargah road, toy shops spring up

like mushrooms which do a roaring trade in pice-a-piece gewgaws whose vociferous, earsplitting noises, heard on all sides, proclaim to the world that the *mela* is in full swing. There is a bustle and confusion everywhere. The streets and narrow lanes radiating from the Dargah are thronged with people. Above the din of the crowd are heard the resonant cries of itinerant *tumbulies* and flummery vendors. Sturdy beggars sing in sonorous tones the praises of the Khwaja, levying a toll on the passing pilgrims. Inside the Dargah the scenes are more varied and picturesque. Fakirs of the *madaria* and *jalalia* orders rend the air with their weird shouts, invoking the aid of the Khwaja. Suspended from the trees like so many flying-foxes are seen some pilgrims who, by such acts of asceticism, seek the intercession of the Saint for the attainment of their object. Far from the "madding crowd" in a secluded corner sit *mashaihs* with drooping heads and flowing beards, buried in deep meditation. The nowbat beats *nafiri* notes from the *Nakkarkhana* at regular intervals. Near the cistern a Malkajan or Jankibai attracts large audiences by her free open air concerts. At dusk, devout *mcwatis*—men, women and children—cluster in front of the shrine and holding ghee lamps in their hands chant, in their native tongue, bhajan-like hymns setting forth the miracles of the Saint. As the gloom deepens, the Dargah music begins.

As none but Moslems are permitted to enter the precincts of the Dargah, a brief description of the various quaint rites and ceremonies that are performed during the *urs* days will not fail to interest the general reader.

Let us begin with the *siarat* ceremony. For this purpose there are over a thousand *khadims* or *vakils* who have monopolised the right of conducting pilgrims to the holy dome. Were a pilgrim to enter the Dargah without a *vakil* or usher, he would

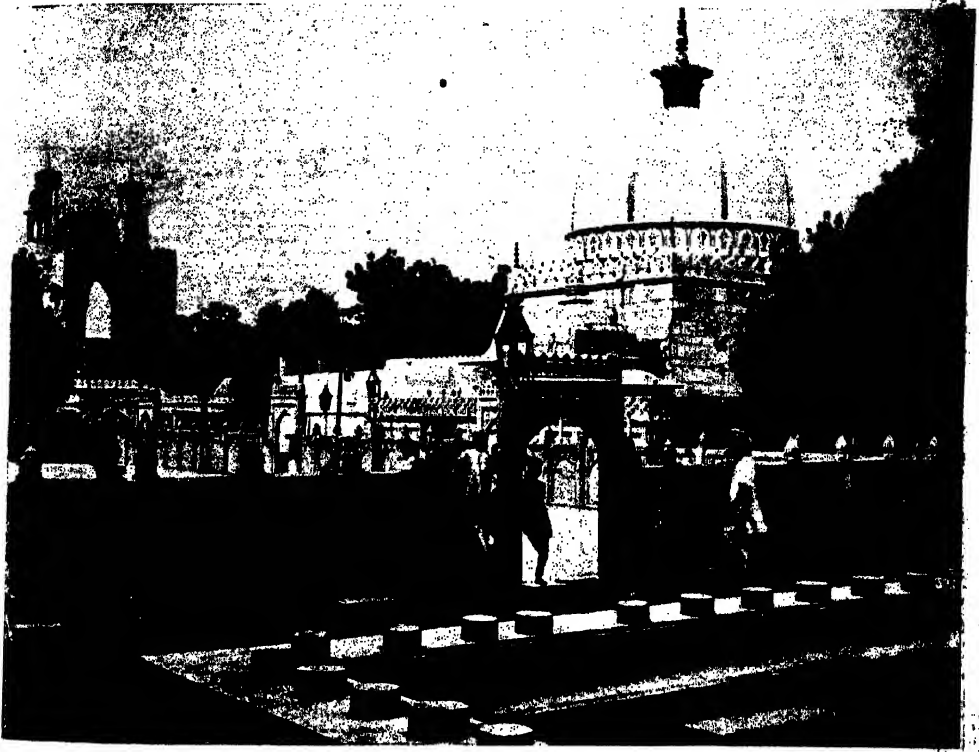


Main Entrance to the Dargah, Ajmere.

find himself in a very awkward situation. To avoid this, almost every pilgrim selects beforehand his own vakil who receives him at the railway station and lodges him in his house as a paying guest. After the necessary ablutions the pilgrim proceeds to the holy shrine. A five-rupee note is handed over to the vakil who brings a basket of sweetmeats and two others containing flowers, wreaths and scented wicks. On reaching the mausoleum, the pilgrim bends and applies his warm lips to the cold marble grave. Meanwhile the vakil holds the gold embroidered coverlet of the grave over his head and pours forth a long benediction. This done, the pilgrim is led off to the left side of the tomb. The vakil then holds up his hands and murmurs *fateha* in which he is joined by the pilgrim. This

is followed by the strewing of flowers and spreading of garlands over the grave. The vakil once more takes the embroidered coverlet and drawing it over the pilgrim's devout and inclining head utters, in rapid succession, a series of invocations, rounding them off with a blessing. This concludes the *ziarat* ceremony. Now the pilgrim may enter the shrine at any time, free from the observance of any formality and is not harassed by the *khadims* either. The pilgrim rewards his vakil liberally on his departure home.

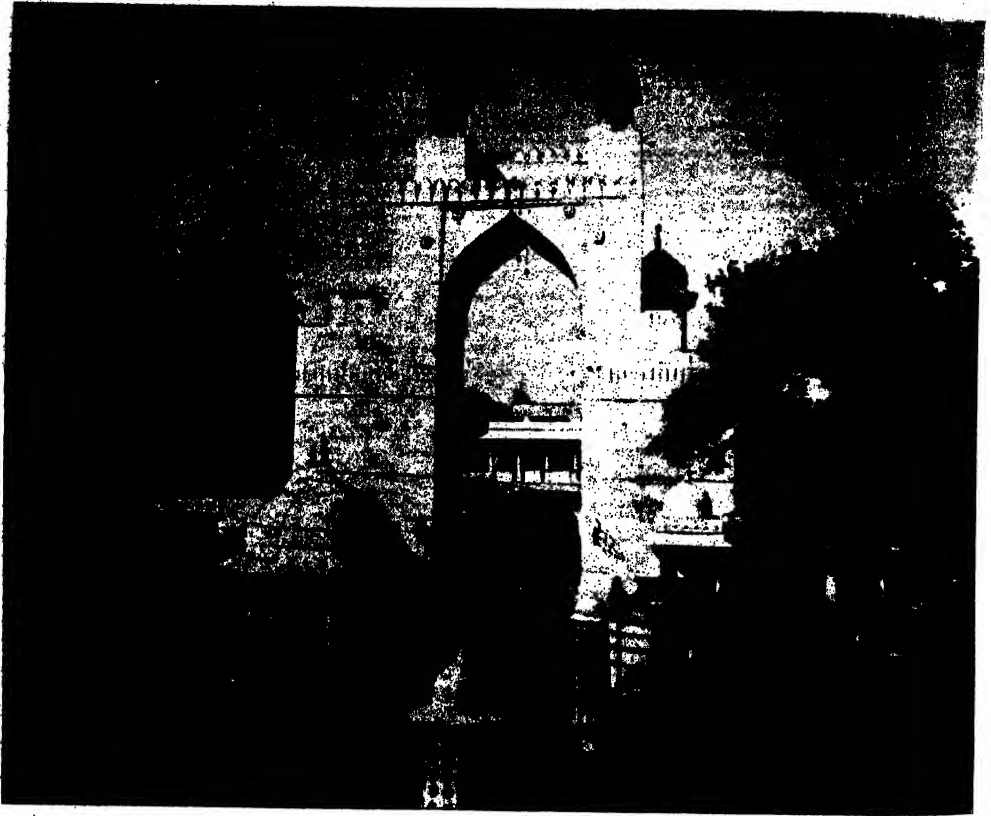
Next we come to the *kavvali* and *ghusul* ceremony. The *kavvali* or dargah music is a prominent feature of the *urs* and attracts large audiences. It is held after sunset in the *mahfilkhana* or music hall which is brilliantly illuminated. The hall, which



The view of the Shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, from Shah Jehan's Mosque.

was built by the late Sir Asman Jah of Hyderabad (Deccan), is a huge Shamiana in brick and large enough to accommodate 7,000 men. It is a perfect square. In the centre there is another square space, leaving a wide passage all round. Above the central square is a dais-like *masnad* called the *Sujjadah* which is occupied by the *Divanji* or spiritual heir and the *Mutavalli* or hereditary steward of the Dargah. In front of the *Sujjadah* at a respectable distance sit the *kavvals* (musicians) with their musical instruments of antique construction. The sides of the central square are lined with pilgrims who sit reverentially with folded legs. The incense burns. Thick fumes in fantastic shapes curl up to the ceiling. The scented wicks perfume the air all round. At a signal from the *Divanji* the thudding *tubla*, moaning *Sarangi* and trilling *Sitar* blend into sweet oriental harmony. Ghazals (odes) from Hafiz, Mowlana Rumi and other *Sufis* are sung.

Some choir of *kavvals* performs wonders in music. Deep silence reigns. All of a sudden, a *sufi* shrieks and bursts into wild ecstasy with fists clenched, features convulsed, eyes rolling madly, movements frantic and gestures unintelligible—a perfect picture of frenzy. Music continues to pour forth its heart-melting strains and the *kavvals* repeat the couplet over and over again, the monotony, however, being relieved by the singing of the hemistiches in various tunes and pitches. Every one amazed and bewildered gazes at the *sufi* who in his trance is utterly unconscious of the wondering crowd around. At 12 p.m. the *Devanji* and *Mutavalli* get up from their seats and followed by many devout pilgrims proceed to the holy shrine to observe the washing ceremony called the *Ghusul*. The two spiritual dignitaries wash the tomb and sprinkle powdered sandal-wood over the grave. The water used in washing is collected in bottles by the *khadims* who

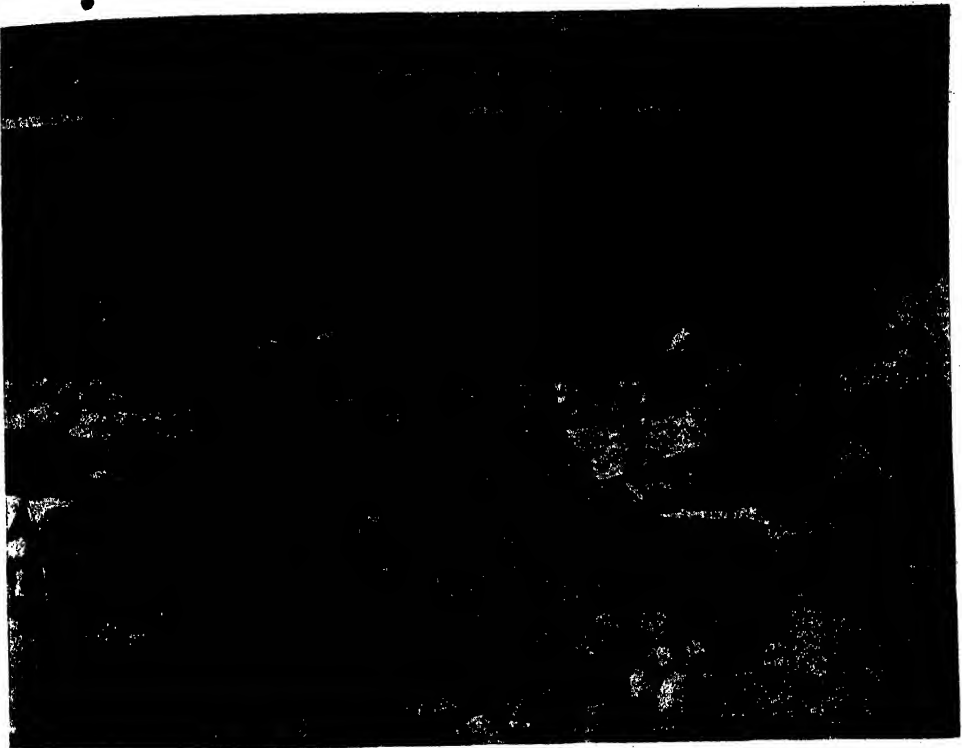


The Baland Darwaza of the Shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, showing the big (on the left corner) and small (on the right) *degs*. From the canopied dais *fatiha* is offered during the *deg-looting* ceremony. The pigeon-holed columns were formerly used for illumination.

dole it out to the pilgrims. The sandlewood and roses strewn over the grave are similarly distributed among the pilgrims. The *Ghusul* over, the Dewanji returns with his following to the *Mahfilkhana*. *Kavvali* then ceases. *Fateha*-reciters form themselves into a semi-circle before the *Sujjadah* and repeat texts from the Quran. All hold up their hands and invoke blessings of the Almighty God on the saint's soul. The *mahfil* melts away as soon as *shirini* (sweetmeats) is distributed. The same programme is repeated for six days. But on the last day the proceedings begin early in the morning instead of in the night and are marked with scenes of great excitement. The last day's ceremony which is termed *gul* is over by 2 p.m. and with it the "urs."

Then there is the *Rasmi* or light ceremony. It is performed a little before

sunset. Although it may be observed at any other time, the *urs* is considered a very fit occasion for its observance. The pilgrims willing to take part in it make known their intention to their *vakils* who purchase for them perfumed candles and make all necessary arrangements. The pilgrims are conducted in front of the main entrance to the holy dome and arranged in a line or two. Before each of them a candelabrum is placed. These candelabra, which are Dargah property, are oddly-constructed brass candlesticks with their iron bars all round, looking like so many cages. They are provided with fine muslin coverings. The scented candles are set in the sockets and lighted. The *nawbat* beats *nafiri* notes. The cage-like candelabra are then placed on the heads of devout pilgrims. Standing erect and supporting, with up-



Friday Prayers during the *urs* when all the dargah buildings are converted into a mosque.

lifted arms, the candlesticks on their turbans or *topies*, they present a curious spectacle. Softly moving towards the entrance and entering the passage by twos and threes, they are led to a corner and made to fall into a line. A salutation hymn is recited by a *khadim*. The candelabra are set down gingerly. The candles are removed and set in the sockets on the silver-mounted frame round the grave.

Perhaps the most interesting ceremony is *deg-looting*. As one passes through the massive gateway called the *Baland Darwaza* one notices to the right two colossal *degs* or cauldrons known as the big and small *deg*. They are permanently fixed in the ground with steps all round to enable men to reach the top and are provided with huge gaping ovens of solid masonry. Rich pilgrims propose to offer a *deg* feast. The cost of cooking the big *deg* is Rs. 1,000 while the materials for the small one cost half the amount. Besides this, the donor

has to pay a couple of hundred rupees more in the shape of presents to the Dargah officials. Like the *Roshni* ceremony, the *deg-looting* may be performed at any time but the "*urs*" is decidedly the best time for it. Sacks of rice, sugar and dried fruit are emptied into the cauldrons. Ghee and water are then added. The cooking lasts the whole night. By day-break the gigantic rice-pudding is ready. Eight earthen pots of it are reserved for the foreign pilgrims and the rest is scrambled for, boiling hot, by the people of Ajmere and the *khadims* of the Dargah. The looting scene is best witnessed from the roof of the *Mahfilkhana*. To escape the effect of the scalding mass, the looters are swathed in rags from head to foot. They impatiently wait for the signal. The police maintain order and keep the bystanders out of harm's way. The *Mutavalli* then arrives on the scene. Standing on the canopied dais close by and holding up his hands he murmurs



View of *Mahfilkhana* in the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, on the last day of the urs when *gul* or last *fateha* ceremony is performed.

fateha, consecrates the contents of the *deg* to the Almighty God and invokes blessings on the saint's soul. He then moves away to some place of safety. The looters, buckets in hand, scramble up the steps round the *deg*. All eyes are turned towards them. Down go the buckets into the smoking *deg* and up comes the rice-pudding which is handed down to co-looters below. When the cauldron is half empty, ropes are tied to the buckets and the contents looted. Of a sudden a bold fellow leaps into the *deg*. Others follow suit. The buckets continue to go in and come out until the *deg* is scraped clean. It is counted among the miracles of the saint that no lives are lost on these occasions. The looted contents are sold to the pilgrims.

The shrine, which is lavishly adorned with gold and silver, is also richly endowed. A part of the *jagirs* allotted to the Dargah by Mohamedan rulers has been divided

among the *khadims* and the members of the *Divanji's* family. One half of the *naarana* (offerings) goes to the *Divanji* and the other half to the *khadims*.

The Dargah is of great historical interest. It was begun in the reign of Altamash and finished in that of Humayun. The *Baland Darwaza* though disfigured by modern colouring contains vestiges of Jain sculpture which are still visible to the scrutinizing eye. The gateway was built by Sultan Mahmud Khilji although popular tradition ascribes it to Akbar. The shrine is the proud possessor of a pair of large drums gracing the *Nakkarkhana* and brass candlesticks alluded to above, both of which were taken by Akbar at the sack of Chittor. There are mosques in the Dargah built by Sultan Mahmud Khilji, Akbar and Shah Jahan, the last of which is used for Friday prayers. The big and small *degs* were dedicated by Akbar and Jehangir respective-

ly both of which have been renovated since, the former by the late Sir Asman Jah, prime minister of Hyderabad and the latter by the late Nawab Alam Ali Khan, also of Hyderabad. Within the precincts of the

Dargah lies Hurun Nisa, the daughter of Shah Jehan.

S. Z. ALI, B.A.

(Of H. H. the Nizam's Educational Service).

THE LAW OF CONTRACT IN CHANDRAGUPTA'S TIME

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A.

TO understand the full significance of contract (संवन्धन) as it obtained over two thousand years ago, it is essential that we should free our minds from the modern associations of the institution.

We shall begin with a general statement of the requisites of a valid contract, and then follow out each of those requisites in detail.

A contract* was of course a two-sided act and the parties thereto could be both individuals as well as groups e.g., a body of persons engaged in a common concern (संयुक्त समुदाय) was entitled to be a party to a contract.

Secondly, a contract had to conform to

* (X) तन्मात्रं साधितं द्वाभ्यां कुर्वीत संमन्विताभितः।

खे परे वा नने कार्यं दीक्षायादपचतः ॥ Bk. III, P. 181.

-बीपतिविक्रमः।

(Y) खे खे तु नने दीक्षे वापि च संकरचक्रता

संयुक्तसमुदायस्य दीक्षा इतरपक्षस्य-प्रमाणसुवासुख्यं व्यवहारा
विधेयः।

(पक्षिणं खे वा करवनादिवाचिषजं त्रयेयुः)

व्यवहारकायना ॥ Bk. III, P. 148.

In (Y), व्यवहार may be taken to refer to the free exercise of one's will though a technical meaning = document, may be attached to करव (vide Manu VIII, 51, 52, 154)

I quote here Manu VIII, 51:—

यथैष्यन्मन्त्राण्युपकरणेन विनाशितम्।

वाप्येवमिदंकार्यं दृष्टव्यमेषां प्रतिपत्तः ॥

But whichever meaning is taken, the reference to the unfettered exercise of the will of the parties is apparent in both the cases. करव in the second sentence in (Y) seems to bear the meaning of Document. व्यवहार refers to the object in the करव, of the contract, and रूप to the circumstances under which a contract is made. This meaning of रूप circumstances

the following restrictions viz., (a) that the agreement between the parties should be clearly expressed without any ambiguity (संमन्विताभित), (b) that it should not be made in secret (संयुक्त), (c) that it should be in the presence of witnesses (साधितम्).

Thirdly, it should comply with certain conditions as to time (काल), place (देश) and वर्ग (i.e., caste, class &c.).

Fourthly, the object (व्यवहार) for which the contract is made and the circumstances (रूप) attending it must be such as not to offend against law in any way e.g., there must be no undue influence, &c. (अपवर्धन).

Fifthly, the consideration (वैतन) must not be illegal and improper, the parties, witnesses, agents must be competent (प्रमाणसुवासुख्य) and in short the contract must conform to all the technicalities of law, i.e., must be संयुक्तं वा (see passages (x) and (y), f.n.).

The first requirements as I have already stated are that the agreement of the two parties should be expressed properly and that there must not be any secrecy about it. Witnesses have to be called when a contract is formed. It appears that instruments (करव) are used in contracts and when the terms of a contract are entered on

as opposed to the time and place of a contract, is found in Manu VIII, 45—

संमन्त्रं च संप्रमाणं दाक्षायणं वाचिषः।

दीक्षं दर्पं च कालं च व्यवहारविधौ स्मृतः ॥

प्रमाण = authority. It seems to refer to capacity, of the parties of witnesses, etc. संयुक्तं वा refers to all the technicalities that are to be complied with. संयुक्तं however seems to be a needless repetition of what is implied by "दीक्ष" that goes before.

an instrument, the witnesses could have been dispensed with.* We find its parallel in some of the Sanhitas. But witnesses were a necessity in oral contracts.† But we find an exception to this general rule. A suit was not dismissed on the ground that no witnesses were forthcoming to testify to a point at issue. In a dispute, for instance, regarding the non-payment of the wages of a labourer, the employer could be sued even if the former could adduce no witnesses.‡ Other instances of this exception will be furnished by the class of contracts called तिरोहित to which we shall have occasion to turn presently. The presence of witnesses was repugnant to the object of a तिरोहित contract and it was entered into in secret. A document may sometimes be used in such a case in lieu of witnesses but sometimes there may be neither a document nor any witnesses.§ Under such circum-

* An analogy to this rule is found in Colebrooke's Digest, Vol. I, p. 16, 3rd ed. where the contract of loan is dealt with—

"Brihaspati quoted by Bhavadeva, Vachaspati and Chandraswar:

A prudent lender should always deliver the thing but, on receiving a pledge of adequate value either to be used by him or merely kept in his hands; or with a sufficient surety and either with a written agreement or before credible witnesses."

Yajñavalkya II, 91.—"But every document which is in the handwriting of the party himself is considered as sufficient evidence even without witnesses, unless obtained by force or fraud." For the passage of Manu on this point see supra. For references to document in contracts, see the passage (y) quoted above; see also the last sentence p. 176 चाबादानम् which runs thus—चाविद्यादविद्योर्ना दुःस्य दुहिते रिताभिनिर्वै वा हनीया चाविद्वान्वेव कात् ।

† It has been pointed out while dealing with legal procedure that three witnesses either approved by both parties (चतुर्गताः) or trustworthy (प्राचरिताः) or pure (शुद्धः) served the purpose best. In a suit for debt however two witnesses approved by the parties might be sufficient but never one. For a parallel rule as to the number of witnesses see Yajn. II, 69, 70; Manu, VIII 60, 77.

‡ हासकसः सर्वकारकः । Bk. III, p. 184.

§ Manu VIII, 109 and 110 (S. B. E.).—"If two (parties) dispute about matters for which no witnesses are available, and the (judge) is unable to really ascertain the truth, he may cause it to be discovered even by an oath."

"Both by the great sages and the gods oaths have been taken for the purpose of (deciding doubtful) matters; and Basishtha even swore an oath before king (Sudasa), the son of Pijavana."

stances, a dispute was decided by examination of the parties themselves, by a reference to any custom that might govern the transaction, by taking the opinion of experts (ज्ञातृणां), by utilizing other resources that the court commanded, e.g., the information given by the "agents" attached to the law courts, and by looking to some form essential to the transaction, e.g., the seal in the case of a deposit under seal. So we see that as a general rule openness and publicity were required for the formation of a contract and it had to be entered into in the presence of witnesses. But we have noticed that there are also deviations from this rule. The absence of witnesses could be made up by an instrument or otherwise.*

Let us now turn to the restrictions as to time and place with which a contract had to comply. As a rule, the following contracts were void, viz., those which were (i) नक्तकृत i.e., formed during night, (ii) अन्तरालागत entered into the interior apartment of a house, (iii) वनराजत—made in a forest (iv) उपवृत्तकृत—formed in any other secret place.†

* In this connection it should be noted that a person who overheard or saw a thing by stealth could be taken as a competent witness—एवमन्वयदारेणैका कौ

पुत्रव उपवीता उपद्रष्टा वा साक्षी स्वात् राजतापसवज्ज ।
p. 176—साक्ष्यधिकारः. Other rules as to witnesses that have been pointed out in connection with the legal procedure in general apply also to contracts under proper circumstances.

† Manu takes particular note of the interior apartments of a house (अन्तरालागत) and of forests (वनराज) where any act may be done.—Manu VIII, 69. Kautilya also particularly mentions them. Yajñavalkya however mentions both नक्त and अन्तरालागत contracts in Bk. II, verse 32.

‡ तिरोहितकारणान्नक्तारक्षीयप्रयत्नरक्षणाच्च अन्तरालाग्नमविद्येयः । कर्तुः आश्रितुश्च पूर्वज्ञातवद्वयः । शीघ्रवादिर्न प्रत्यक्षः । नवेदानीं तु द्वयवयवः ।

(EXCEPTIONS)

(a) परोक्षवाचिकवचनवचनवचनवा वा तिरोहितविद्येयः ।

(b) हासकवादिपनि विवाहप्रवृत्ता जीवात्मनिष्ठादिनीनां

आश्रितानां चादुर्गन्धमानकरोरुमादिद्येयः ।

(c) हासकानुग्रहेण कर्तव्य विवाह राजनिवीकानां पूर्वज्ञान-
अन्तरालाग्नं च रात्रिकालादिद्येयः ।

(d) हासकानाम् आश्रितानां नञ्ज्यवचनवाचनवा-
चनवादिद्येयः ।

(e) वृत्तादीनि चोपनिष्ठाः तिद्येयः ।

(f) निषङ्गवचनवादि चोपनिष्ठाः तिद्येयः ।

चोपनिष्ठा न तिद्येयः । Bk. III, pp. 147, 148. अन्तरालाग्न-
वादिद्येयः ।

The object of making these contracts void is, as already pointed out, that the law wanted to discourage clandestine contracts as far as possible. However, to remove horrible hardship to particular classes of persons who might suffer by these rules, an exception is allowed for their sake to each of the above four rules. I shall now speak of these exceptions in the order of the above four rules (*vide* (c), (b), (d) and (f) below):—(i) Though all *वचन* contracts are void yet those that have some connection with or are made in order to ward off violence, attack and affray, those that are formed for doing anything connected with the celebration of marriage as well as those made under orders of the Government were valid. The contracts made by the *पुर्वरात्र-वचन* also fall under this exception.* It will be seen that all the cases mentioned here are cases of great emergency. Unless the rule is a little relaxed in respect of people trying to defend themselves from assault, &c., the protection of their life and property would be an impossibility, and it is for the same reason as well as for its own safety that the state reserves to itself a full

* The exceptions under (i) seem to contemplate such cases as this:—If A promises B to pay a certain sum of money in consideration of his informing a police officer of a burglary that is being committed in A's house, the contract cannot be impeached on the ground that it was made at night.

पुर्वरात्र वचन—*पुर्वरात्र* is the time from dusk to midnight. The use of the word in this sense occurs in Aitareya Brahmana, Kausika Sutra, Katyayana Srauta-Sutra, Mahabharata, Panini II, 1, 45. (commentary)—(see Monier Williams). Those who usually transact business during this time are therefore *पुर्वरात्रवचन*. But who exactly are meant is not clear. If we take the meaning to be any persons who enter into contract during *पुर्वरात्र* then an objection may be raised that if such a case had been contemplated such sweeping rule as the following would have been laid down, *viz.*, that any *वचन* contracts are void; the general rule then could well have been that all *वचन* contracts are void. Again, if all contracts be allowed up to midnight why they cannot be allowed, say, a few minutes after midnight would be difficult to explain. Removal of secrecy about the contracts is the general policy and therefore if all sorts of contracts are allowed during the first half of the night, they will offend against and for the time negative this policy. So, it is most probable that only a limited set of persons is the object of consideration of the Government in this case in view of the hardship that will otherwise be put on it and therefore *पुर्वरात्र वचन* has most likely a technical meaning and refers to a limited group of persons.

contractual freedom. Again, Hindu marriages are never celebrated before dusk and sometimes the *lagna* (propitious moment) may shift so far into the night as to touch even its small hours. Hence, it is a necessity that contracts conditioned by such marriages should be sanctioned. As to the exemption relating to the class of persons last mentioned, there is some haziness as to who exactly were meant. The literal meaning of the word *viz.*, those who usually do their business during the first half of the night, does not carry us very far.

(ii) This exception shows some consideration to diseased *pardah* women (*बन्धितः*). If in a sound state of mind, they can make contracts relating to *दाय* (division of property), *निक्षेप* (open deposit), *उपनिधि* (sealed deposit) and *विवाह* (marriage) in the inner apartments of the houses, though the general rule is that *वचन* contracts are void.

(iii) Exemption is given by the third exception to the traders (*वाप*), *वृजान*, i.e., cowherds &c., hunters (*वाप*), spies (*वाप*) and those who have to roam in the forests frequently (*वने व्रजन्*). They can enter into valid contracts in the forest though contracts by all others in that place are void.

(iv) The fourth exception relates to the *उपवचन* contracts. *उपवचन* as will appear from the text, refers to any secret place other than the private apartments of a dwelling-house or a forest. The general rule is that any contract in any such secret place is void—the exception being in favour of partners in a concern (*निषेध वचन*).

It should be noticed here that in all these four excepted cases, the requirements as to witnesses or in lieu of witnesses the requirements as to document had to be complied with, though of course if a case occurs in which neither any witness nor any instrument is available and which falls within these exceptions, it will stand on its own merits and the judges may try such a suit if they find it possible to do so or may dismiss it. Another point that should be noted in this connection is that if any persons try to make a contract which is void on any grounds, the proposer (*वचन*), the acceptor (*वचन*), the witnesses (*वचन*) and the person who brought together the parties (*वचन*) were all fined.

Now, we turn to the legality of the object (*वचन*) and consideration (*वचन*) of a con-

tract. The object and consideration must be legal and be such as can be upheld by a law court according to equity and good conscience. In the case of a contract in which one party tries to take undue advantage over the other, the court will interfere in favour of the party who is at a disadvantage. A concrete example given in the Arthashastra will make it clear. If a person while he is being carried away by flood, &c., or is caught in a fire or is in danger from wild animals is rescued on his promise to give to his rescuer not only the whole of his property but also his sons, wife and himself as slaves, the proposer cannot be made to perform his promise, it being opposed to all justice and common sense and therefore illegal.* The rescuer can realize only as much as is fixed by experts (*कुपय*) appointed by the law courts. Similarly, in the instance given of a contract with a public woman, improper demand made by her from her paramour or *vice versa* cannot succeed. The court does not support any such demand. Similarly, it will be seen from the passages already quoted that the general rule is that all *उपविज्ञान*, i.e., fraudulent contracts are void but an exception is made in favour of the spies appointed by the government. They can in their capacity as spies achieve their object by fraudulent contracts and they are not penalized for the fraud they commit. It seems to me that cases like the following are contemplated by this rule. A spy, for instance, makes friends with a person whom he suspects to be a thief and gradually insinuating into his confidence, proposes to buy the goods he has stolen. After taking possession of the stolen goods, the spy refuses to pay the value promised and puts the machinery of law against him instead. In such a case the law court punishes the thief but it cannot punish the spy as well for the fraud he has committed, neither can the thief bring a suit against the spy on the same ground. Thus, the law softens its

rigour and legalizes an evil to suppress a greater evil.

Now that the four kinds of valid contract *गृह्यत, वन्यवोरजन, वरचजन* and *उपव्यवृत्त* which derive their validity on account of the exceptions laid down, have been dealt with, it is time that we should turn to the valid *तिरोहित* contracts. A place is *तिरोहित* if it be such a place that anything done there would be sheltered from human sight.* It therefore includes *वन्यवोरजन, वरचजन* as well as *उपव्यवृत्त*. Now, let us look at the matter from another standpoint. Under cover of night, a place may become *तिरोहित* i.e., may be out of view on account of darkness. Therefore a *तिरोहित* place which is *परोक्ष* has reference both to the nature and situation of the place as well as to time, e.g., night. The general rule is that contracts made in such a place are void and the exception that attaches to this rule derives its validity from the objects in pursuance of which the contracts are formed. We shall consider the objects shortly, but before doing so let us enquire whether the validation of a proper *तिरोहित* contract necessarily involves a deviation from the restriction that night vitiates all contracts. It seems that such a deviation takes place in this case. We see that two classes of objects are mentioned which can validate *तिरोहित* contracts, viz., (i) *व्यतिकर'व्यवृत्त* i.e., taking a large debt and (ii) objects which are *वरचजन*, i.e., cannot be expressed and brought into others' notice owing to the delicacy that attaches to them. As to (i) it should be noticed that taking debt of a large sum of money detracts from the credit and reputation of the debtor and lowers him in the estimation of the people who come to know of the fact. Therefore, for the benefit of the debtors perhaps such an exception has been made. Regarding (ii) a difficulty arises as to what kinds of delicate and secret matters were meant. Among the numerous instances furnished by the Arthashastra a valid contract between a woman of the town and her paramour

* Bk. III p. 184.—*वाचकः, वरचजनः ॥ गरीषे गन्तुं वा-
न्यवोरजनं वरचजनं वाप्यवोरजनं वाप्यवोरजनं
व्यतिकर'व्यवृत्तं वरचजनं वरचजनं ॥*

† E.g.—Katyayana says "If a bribe be promised for any purpose it shall by no means be given although the consideration be performed"—(see Colebrooke's Digest, Vol. I., p. 462, 3rd edition.)

* *परोक्षं व्यतिकर'व्यवृत्तं वाप्यवोरजनं वाप्यवोरजनं* ॥

P 147. Bk. III. Here *परोक्ष* explains *तिरोहित*. A *तिरोहित* place is one which is *परोक्ष*, i.e., sheltered from human gaze.

seems to be from its delicate object an instance in point.

We can well see that in a contract which involves a delicate matter, the contracting parties will rather seek the covert of night for the secrecy it can afford and will by all means shun the glare of the day. In view of this it is nothing strange that an express sanction is given to a deviation from the restriction as to night. It should further be stated here that a valid विरोधित contract also contravenes the general restrictions as to चण्डाल, उपहर and बरबा, for it has been already pointed out that विरोधित includes all the three places.

Now, one word remains to be said to mark more distinctly the difference between a विरोधित contract on one side and the other three contracts on the other. The principal difference lies in the objects of the contract, the objects of विरोधित contracts being secret and delicate. There are a few minor differences which will appear from the statements already made.

We shall next consider the restrictions as to the वक्ता of the witnesses [see passage (y)].* The word वक्ता appears to be very comprehensive and signifies everything that the expressions चण्डवक्ता and जे परे वा जे in passage (x) can imply. Kautilya does not explain clearly the restrictions but they have to be interpreted in the light of what Manu and other such ancient lawgivers, say on the point. In Manu the following rule is laid down, viz.—

"Women should give evidence for women and twice-born men for twice-born men of the same kind, virtuous Sudras for Sudras, and men of the lowest caste for the lowest."[†]

The commentary of Medhatithi throws more light on this point. He says that "twice-born men of the same kind" means "twice-born men of the same caste, occupations, &c." The line जे परे वा जे कार्य (कुल) चण्डवक्ता, signifies that a Brahmin

should choose a Brahmin for a witness, a Kshatriya a Kshatriya and so forth; and failing that a person belonging to another[‡] may be taken as witness. Therefore, the two passages (x) and (y) lead to this conclusion that the contracting parties should try to make their contracts in the presence of castemen of the same sex and occupation as themselves in the first instance, failing which they can take witnesses belonging to the same caste and sex but having a different occupation and when this also fails, men of a different वर्ग may be called.

Next we consider the rules about the capacity of parties to make a valid contract. No contract could be made if any of the parties be (i) in a fit of anger (क्रुध), (ii) under stress of extreme sorrow,^{*} distress and danger, (बाध) (iii) intoxicated, (मद्य), (iv) insane (उन्मत्त), and (v) under undue influence, duress, &c., (अपमर्शित).

Those who act in supersession of these bars are fined, as already pointed out.

Here it should be noted that in connection with the subject of contracts made through agents of which I shall speak presently a few terms were used which imply a few other absolute disabilities so far as the principals are concerned.[†] अनाद्यवहार for instance indicates an age below which a person cannot make a valid contract on his own account; similarly अतीत वयवहार signifies another disability due most probably to an age-limit beyond which a person is supposed to lose the amount of discretion that is necessary for making contracts on his own behalf, though in such a stage he may act as an agent under the instructions of his principal just as a minor can. Manu and

* In the case of an agreement with an अनाद्य (man in distress) though no contract with him can hold good at law, yet we find that the law-court makes him pay a sum fixed by experts (कुलवाः) if he has already got any benefit from the other party. See Arthashastra Bk. III, p. 184, दासकर्म.

† अनाद्यवहारि च युवाः, पित्रता पुत्रे च, पिता पुत्रवता, पित्रुकेन जाता, कथितेनापिनाकायिक, पतिवत्या पुत्रवता च विवा, दासहित-कर्म, अनामतीतवयवहारयोः, अनिमित्तमजितवयवहारि-वयवहारिद्वयवहारयोः । अयवहारवता Bk. III, p. 148.

‡ अतीतवयवहार literally signifies a person who has lost his capacity to contract in any way; but most probably a limit of age is meant.

* The references here are to the two passages (x) and (y) quoted in the foot-note at the beginning of this paper.

† जोको अनाद्य विवाः कुलविवाहो उच्यते विवाः

उच्यते अनाद्यः दुष्टानामपानामनादीनिवः । Manu VIII, 68.

‡ अयवहारः—refers to the four वर्ग viz. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. (See passage (y) supra).

others however make decrepit old age (वृद्धि) an absolute bar. It should also be noted that an ascetic (व्रजित), a person convicted (दण्डित), one physically deformed (बाध), and one addicted to vices (बाधनी) can according to Kautilya make contracts on behalf of principals authorizing them, but Kautilya does not clearly state whether they can also enter into contracts on their own behalf. Some of our ancient law-givers however mention a few of the above conditions as nullifying contracts.

One other disability remains to be mentioned: a woman cannot have pecuniary dealings with a man or a woman with whom she is forbidden by law or by her superiors to do so.* If she violates the prohibition she is punished. This rule applies also to a male.

We shall now consider the rules about the appointment of agents. The following persons if authorized by the principals could make contracts as agents:—

(i) Dependants, for the person who supports them, (ii) son, for the father, (iii) father, for the son (iv) a brother, for another brother though not belonging to the same joint family, (v) a younger brother belonging to the same joint family, for an elder brother, (vi) a woman, for her husband or her son, (vii) a slave, for his master,† (viii)

* See p. 156, Bk. III. विवाहसंबन्धे—प्रतिषेधः

Cf. "Narada to Indra in the Harivansa:—No man, O thou subduer of foes, should have pecuniary dealings with him from whom he desires much affection, nor visit his wife in his absence"—Cole, Dig. Vol. I, p. 16.

† For the meaning of दण्डित See Arthasastra p. 182, बाधनी Bk. III.

a minor (अवयवव्यवहार) for one who has attained majority and is otherwise competent to contract, (ix) a person who is अवयवव्यवहार (see above), (x) a person convicted (दण्डित), (xi) an ascetic (व्रजित), (xii) a physically deformed person (बाध), and (xiii) one addicted to passion (बाधनी).*

I shall now name here the principal transactions that bear the character of contract: (I) ऋणदानम् (loan), (II) sale (विक्रय), (III) निक्षेप (open deposit), (VI) दण्डित (sealed deposit), (V) mortgage, pledge, &c., (VI) hire, (VII) partnership, (VIII) contract of service, (IX) a few other miscellaneous contracts.

From the above we have an idea of the elements that make up व्यवहार in Chandragupta's time. The elements that constitute a व्यवहार may well justify us in calling it a contract though of course owing to the changed circumstances of the age in which it prevailed, it has assumed a different complexion, some of the restrictions being peculiar to the time in which they obtained. We notice also that the legality of contracts had a larger scope than now. The Government exercised a good deal of control over the details of the subject's life and therefore legal interference touched spheres now looked upon as merely moral or social. A vagueness necessarily attaches to some of the details of व्यवहार but on the whole we see its broad features and in them a generic likeness to a modern contract.

* For the text see supra. The text seems to be a little faulty in its first portion and so I interpret it subject to some doubt.

THE FUTURE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

I desire in the first part of this article to consider what measures the Government should adopt as early as possible to develop the new relations that have been established between the rulers and the ruled as a result of the Royal Visit. It cannot be too much emphasised that it is the sacred and bounden duty of the Govern-

ment not only to refrain from doing anything that might undo, however slightly, the good effects of the Royal Visit, but to do all that in them lies to foster those relations and place them on a permanent basis. The Royal Visit has no doubt done immense good. But His Majesty will pardon us if we say that much still remains

to be done, if the by-gones are to be by-gones and India is to enter on a career of steady and progressive development. The people of India have been generally appeased by the modification of the Partition, the promise to promote popular education and "the wider element of sympathy" infused into the administration. Nevertheless, the new policy of reform and appeasement requires to be developed still further, if the good results of the Royal Visit are not to fade away. The King-Emperor, by his gracious acts of sympathy and beneficence, has placed a peculiarly sacred responsibility upon the Government of India. His Majesty has emphasised more strongly than ever the fact that India is a trust to be administered solely for the benefit of her people, and the Government will be failing in their duty, if they did not realize this keenly, and carry on the good work begun by His Majesty.

First and foremost comes the repeal of the repressive laws enacted during the last few years, particularly the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act. Those acts may, perhaps, have been necessary in the anxious times through which the country has passed; but things have now settled down to their normal condition and they are no longer necessary. It need not be said that no civilized government should place such laws permanently on their Statute-Book, since as soon as the times for which they are specially devised, disappear, they not only do not a tittle of good but do positive harm by fettering the legitimate expression of free thought. The Press Act, particularly, is a serious menace to the freedom of the press. It is not too much to say that since its enactment every honest journalist who has the courage of his convictions has been discharging his duties with the sword of Damocles hanging over his head, that any moment the Government may make it impossible for him to continue his paper any longer. The dread of being required to deposit security and of the eventual discontinuance of the paper, if the security cannot be furnished, acts as a bugbear and prevents newspapers from being genuine organs of free and honest public opinion. The Press Act is also an attack upon the natural rights and liberties of the people. By requiring the deposit of security, when-

ever a Printing Press is to be opened or a newspaper started, it makes the Press a monopoly of the rich, and prevents poor men, otherwise capable, from taking to journalism simply because they have no means to deposit the amount of security. Journalism is as noble and honourable a calling as law or medicine; it has, moreover, this further advantage that it is one of the best means of serving one's country. Surely, no good government ought to deprive any one of its subjects, however poor, of the right of following such a noble profession, if he is otherwise capable, by placing harsh conditions and restrictions upon its exercise. To prevent a man otherwise fitted, from conducting a newspaper simply because he is too poor to furnish the requisite security is a glaring infringement of the inherent right of man to adopt any profession he chooses for which he is qualified. I, therefore, earnestly appeal to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to take the matter into his serious consideration, and at the earliest opportunity repeal the Press Act and other repressive laws of the past few years. Nothing but evil can result from the gagging of the Press, and the sooner the Act is repealed, the better for the growth of sound public opinion. If His Excellency thinks that a total repeal is impossible, let the Act be at least so amended as to do away with the provision demanding the deposit of security as a preliminary condition for permission to start a press or a newspaper. The existing presses and newspapers have been expressly exempted from the operation of that provision. Let the new presses and newspapers that may come into existence be also placed on the same level, and let security be demanded from them only in case they are found to have contravened the provisions of the Act relating to the publication of objectionable matter. This is by no means a large demand and I fervently hope His Excellency the Viceroy will add to his reputation as a sympathetic and sagacious statesman by at least amending the Act accordingly. I also hope that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and other non-official members will press upon the attention of the Government the question of the repeal of the Press Act and other repressive legislation of the last few years.

The next thing that demands the imme-

their despatch on the change of capital to Delhi. In paragraph 3 of that despatch they say :—

"The maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General in Council, and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 itself bears testimony to the impossibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official votes in the Imperial Legislative Council. Nevertheless, it is certain that in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular provincial Government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of Local Self-Government on sound and safe lines."

The scheme for the future Government of India so briefly outlined in the above paragraph has been understood by some as meaning "the gradual evolution of Home Rule for the whole of India." This is the view taken, for instance, by the well-known non-conformist divine Dr. Clifford in a brief note he has contributed to the January number of the *Indian Review*. The opinion of men like Dr. Clifford is certainly entitled to great weight, and however much I wish that the venerable doctor was right, I am afraid, the interpretation is not quite warranted by the language of the paragraph. The scheme, if analysed, discloses the following features :—

(1) The Governor-General in Council is to be supreme in all matters of vital concern. It is, however, not stated what share the people of India will have in the deliberations of the Governor-General's Council. Are they to be content with only one Indian member on the Executive Council?

(2) The Imperial Legislative Council is never to have a non-official majority, not to speak of an elective majority.

(3) Provincial autonomy, i.e., the various provincial governments are to have a more or less decisive voice in purely provincial

affairs. But even in the administrations of purely provincial affairs, the Indian people are not to have a predominant, much less an exclusive share, but only 'a large share.'

These are the essential features of the scheme, and to call it a scheme for Home Rule would be an utter travesty of language. It need not be said that it cannot afford a final solution of the Indian constitutional problem. Though it may, perhaps, be accepted as a tentative measure, as a small step in the direction of Home Rule, no self-respecting Indian will consent to it as the last word on the subject. It is not by such tinkering with the problem, but by inaugurating a genuine scheme of self-government that the Indian political problem will receive its solution, and the connection between England and India be placed on a sound and permanent basis.

It is my firm conviction that this question will have to be agitated in right earnest, and the Government compelled to make a declaration that within a few years India will be given self-government such as obtains in the British colonies or as is proposed to be shortly introduced in Ireland. Nothing short of such self-government will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people.

I now come to the second and last part of my article, *viz.*, on what lines should our future political work be carried on?

The first and foremost thing in this connection is to close up our ranks and rally round the Indian National Congress. The so-called moderates and extremists must now let bygones be bygones and work shoulder to shoulder for the common cause of the motherland. It is to be hoped that earnest efforts will now be made to bring about a hearty reunion between the conventionists and the non-conventionists and that the next session of the National Congress to be held at Patna, the ancient seat of the great Magadha Empire, will be not a mere sectional gathering but a Pan-Indian Assembly of all races, creeds and parties. It is a matter of profound satisfaction that our Mohammedan fellow-countrymen are reconsidering their attitude towards the Congress and thinking of joining it and thus casting in their lot with the Hindu and other communities of India. No class or party has now any ground for remain-

ing aloof from the Congress, and any differences that may exist on the question of the Congress constitution will, it is to be hoped, be removed by the exercise of a little tact and the spirit of compromise by the leaders on both the sides. The Congress holds in its hands the future destiny of India, and we shall be guilty of suicidal folly if we do not reconcile our differences and work in a spirit of union for the cause of the great National Assembly.

The work of the Congress also must be carried on, on improved lines. We must not be content with merely holding an annual session of the Congress, at the fag-end of the year, in a week overcrowded with too many functions, but carry on our agitation continuously from year's end to year's end. And for this purpose, it must have an organ of its own in India and also an agency of whole-time workers and itinerant preachers. Its gospel must be spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is very strange that a great association like the Congress should do practically nothing to promote its objects by means of cheap, popular literature. Pamphlets should, therefore, be written in the different vernaculars, in easy popular style on subjects with which the Congress has been dealing, and sown broadcast among the people. This mode of diffusing knowledge and creating public opinion which has been hitherto grievously neglected must be freely resorted to in future.

Again, the Congress must concentrate its energies on more important matters which demand immediate consideration. For the next few years, for instance, it might apply itself chiefly to these questions, *vis.*, Free and Compulsory Primary Education, Repeal of the Press and other repressive Acts, the ill-treatment of Indians in the British Colonies, Home Rule and *Swadeshi*. All these are most important matters and demand our earnest attention. They ought to be continuously agitated by the Congress until our demands are satisfied. The Congress has declared itself in favour of free and compulsory primary education in India; and the agitation on the question must be such as to compel the Government to introduce it. The rejection of the Honorable Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill, instead of disheartening us, ought to impel

us to still greater efforts until the Government accepts the principle of compulsion. So also, we must not rest until the repressive laws of the past few years and particularly the Press Act are repealed, and our grievances in the British Colonies redressed. As regards Self-government, I have said above that we must compel the Government to promise the grant of Self-government within the next twenty-five years and in the meanwhile to take the necessary steps towards that end. To some the question of *Swadeshi* might perhaps appear more proper for the Industrial Conference than for the National Congress. In my opinion it should find a place in both. It has a most practical bearing upon our daily life and will train us in habits of self-sacrifice for the sake of our mother-country. Economics reacts on politics, and as our industrial development requires that we should go in for home-made articles even at a sacrifice while at the same time trying to increase their output and to improve their quality, it is essential that every member of the Congress should promote the cause of *Swadeshi* as far as possible even though that may involve some pecuniary sacrifice. *Swadeshi* may be described as constructive self-help and it is necessary not only for our economic salvation, but also for the development among us of a true national spirit.

Another thing that demands our earnest attention is the diffusion of Western thought, particularly Western political and social thought among the people by means of translations or adaptations of standard European works in our vernacular languages, while we must jealously guard and preserve all that is good and noble and of permanent value in our ancient thought, culture and institutions. We must at the same time adopt and assimilate the best that the West has to give us, so that the deficiencies in our own indigenous culture and civilization may be removed, and our national evolution become as full and harmonious as possible. It is therefore necessary that that kind of Western thought which we want to imbibe and mould into our national character should be brought home to our people through the medium of the vernaculars. European standard works on social and political philosophy, on important epochs of History and on the develop-

ment of free nationalities ought to be rendered into the vernaculars and brought within the easy reach of the reading public. Mill, Spencer, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, Bluntschli and other great political writers of Europe ought to be as familiar to us as to the Europeans themselves, though, of course, we may not subscribe to and accept all that they have to say on social and political problems. Speaking for my own province I cannot but express my regret that though we have been talking of representative government for so many years, there is not a single treatise on the subject in the Maratha language. Even Mill's Representative Government has not been translated into the vernacular. I understand the Bengalee language has made great progress in this respect. If that is so, it would explain why the national movement is stronger and more widespread in that province than in other parts of India. National literature is the greatest instrument of promoting national movements and such literature must spring up and inspire even the common people, if those movements are to be crowned with success. The Japanese reformers resorted to national literature as a sure means of promoting their cause; they flooded the country with books, treatises, pamphlets, &c. dealing with liberty, dignity and rights of man, the doctrine of nationalities, representative government and so forth and they succeeded in making their movement irresistible. In China, too, literature has played a conspicuous part in moulding the thoughts and sentiments of the people and in advancing the cause of the Revolution that has now become an accomplished fact. In the history of our own country also, we find great religious movements preceded, inspired and promoted by national literature. Everywhere in the world, great movements have sought to express and promote themselves through literature; in fact the vitality of a movement may be measured by this standard: Has it clothed itself in literature that appeals to and influences the common people? If it has, its success is assured; if not, it is yet a surface movement and much remains to be done before it can meet with success. The Indian reformers must not ignore the supreme value of literature as

an instrument of promoting their movement.

We are all extremely grateful to the Government for the beneficent results of the Royal Visit. But nothing would be more suicidal than to slacken our own efforts, because the Government have adopted a sympathetic and conciliatory policy. We frankly recognise that the Government have done a good deal. But let us not forget that much more remains to be done before we can realize our God-appointed destiny as a self-governing, progressive nation. Nobody denies the solicitude of the Government for public good; but there are limits to it, as the rejection of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill shows, and ordinarily, no government introduces reform until the pressure of strong and continuous popular agitation is brought to bear upon it. I have appealed above to the Government to place themselves at the head of the Reform Movement, and to initiate a comprehensive scheme of self-government, but I will not conceal my fears that the appeal is not likely to receive any response. A certain kind of magnanimous daring is needed for the Government to spontaneously and willingly extend the benefits of self-government to India; but the Government of India have not as yet shown that they possess much of that great quality. They move no doubt, but they move very slowly and not until very great pressure is brought to bear upon them. The English people have not much of idealism in their national character, and they require to be moved before they can summon courage enough to introduce reforms in consonance with popular demands and aspirations. Hence the constant need for popular agitation and efforts. The Royal Visit has done us great good, and we cordially reciprocate the new spirit that has come over the Government and that, we only hope, will not be a mere passing phase but an enduring feature of British rule in India. But the necessity for popular agitation and efforts remains as great as before, and nothing will be more disastrous than to flag in our zeal for national work and to trust implicitly to the benevolent initiative of the Government. The success, however small, that has, in the long run, attended our Reform movement,

in spite of so many rebuffs, failures and disappointments ought to be an encouragement to us to put forth still greater efforts until, by the grace of God, our goal is reached and this ancient and magnificent land becomes once again a great nation worthy of her glorious past and taking her proper place in the comity of nations. The Royal Visit no doubt marks a new era in the history of this country, but the more glorious era when India will be admitted on terms of equality into the federation of

great and powerful nations is yet to dawn, and for the early coming of that era, it shall be our duty ever to strive through thick and through thin, neither elated by small victories nor depressed by heavy defeats on the way. Let us be true to God, to our country and to ourselves, and it shall follow as the night the day, that this ancient land will realize her God-appointed destiny as a self-governing, united and progressive nation.

R. G. PRADHAN.

IRRIGATION POLICY IN BRITISH INDIA AND THE NATIVE STATES

IT is a great pity that no adequate attention is being paid to this all-important question of irrigation either by the Government or by the public. In by-gone times and especially in the Mahomedan period, to spend large sums of money on constructing innumerable large irrigation tanks, canals and wells, was considered a wise, foresighted and far-reaching policy by Government, so much so that a preference was often given to it at budget-discussions when the country was in peace. Bold schemes of canals of a thousand miles from the Ganges and the Jumna, large irrigation tanks in the Madras Presidency and some works on the Indus in the Punjab are vivid examples of the noble and beneficent rule of the old Governments. The portions thus endowed with such works even to-day suffer only to a very small extent from the ravages of a famine. In the past such works were constructed more as charity rather than with a view to invest money, bearing in mind that irrigation adds to the wealth of the Ryot, and makes them prosperous and contented. Thus the poor Ryots of villages often received a substantial return for what they earned by the sweat of their brow and paid to the Sirkar in various ways. Now railways devour nearly ten times the budget provision for irrigation, though crores of rupees have already been spent after railways in India in the latter half of the past century.

Injudicious extensions of railways are not without weighty objections. A considerable portion of the amount spent after railways goes to foreign countries to purchase rails, iron sleepers, and rolling stock, never to return. A large amount is every year draining from India into foreign countries to pay up dividends to foreign capitalists. It is true that railways have equalized and to some extent increased rates of corn, &c. everywhere in India and that there is not and will never be a famine of corn in India and the Ryot will never die of starvation if there is money in his pocket; but it is a great 'If'; but at the same time labour has been scarce and dear for agriculture and the growth of middle men between the producers and the consumers of corn has carried away much of the increase in rates by way of their exorbitant profits, brokerage and even by taking advantage of the ignorance of villagers. Again, the earnings of agriculturists by way of cart traffic have dwindled to almost nothing, which, when there was no railway in all parts, brought a substantial income to their coffers in winter and summer when there was less work for them and their bullocks. In parts of the country like lower Bengal, which are intersected by natural water-ways, the agriculturists were also boatmen and earned much by boat traffic. This source of income has been very greatly reduced. Thus the agriculturist is not so

much better off now when there are railways at the very door; and add to that the temptations brought by easy traffic. Even the poor labouring class of a province like Gujarat (where a total failure of crops is never known) have to pay now in a famine very high rates for corn (or have to starve if their pocket is empty). Again the assessment on all lands within a radius of about 3 miles from a railway line has gone up very high. Of course there are some advantages derived from railways but at least villagers almost stand where they were. Other political causes may press in for extensions of railways and for spending still more sums after them, but what the public particularly want to bring to the notice of Government, is that a sum double that provided for railways should be spent every year after irrigation to secure the following advantages:—

(1) The poor labourers get sufficient labour as there is chiefly earthwork in irrigation works and thus the country's wealth does not drain out.

(2) Waste lands may be reclaimed and may bear crops if irrigation facilities increase and thus the country's wealth is increased.

(3) As the cotton and jute cultivation has increased, the area under corn has decreased, which also accounts for present high rates of corn. Again demands for rice, wheat, sugarcane, &c., (which depend mostly on artificial irrigation) have immensely increased and their rates have consequently gone up very high. It is only by a vast extension of irrigation that this difficulty can be surmounted.

(4) Irrigation must precede railways everywhere to give them sufficient work in the traffic of increased outturns of crops.

(5) It is proved that the poverty of the agriculturists is mostly due to their idle life for eight months in a year. Irrigation will give them and their bullocks and boats work throughout the year and their earnings will be doubled or trebled. (They cannot afford to go out for employment in industrial centres for a few months in a year leaving their land and bullocks behind).

(6) Large canals and wells save tracts commanded by them from the effects of famines; (even where there are small canals and tanks) the Ryots live upon the savings

made in the past years on account of an increased outturn of crops by irrigation, and thus are less exposed to the ravages of a famine caused by the failure of those small canals and tanks in a particularly dry year.

(7) If the later rains fail or if there is no rain in the interval for a long time, an immense loss of corn occurs; this calamity can only be averted by a liberal extension of irrigation everywhere before it is too late.

(8) Facilities crop up when the Ryots go in for irrigation and they are thus encouraged to make reform in implements and methods of agriculture.

(9) Ravages caused by floods are averted by constructing large tanks in the valleys.

(10) Water (a precious form of wealth) which every year drains into the sea to no purpose, will be utilized to some extent.

(11) The sub-soil water of the areas commanded by tanks and canals gets higher up and thus expenses of drawing water from wells are much decreased.

(12) Irrigation from canals and tanks is much cheaper than from wells, though wells have, so to say, an unfailing underground reservoir.

(13) The Ryots blessed with facilities of an extensive irrigation, thrive and become prosperous and contented: consequently the Sirkar's burden is lessened and in addition direct and indirect revenues increase and the Government get the honour of the Ryots thriving.

(14) Large sums of money expended as relief and famine charges will be saved at least in areas properly protected by irrigation works, not to speak of an immense loss of men, bullocks and cattle and property to the Ryots in the famine year.

(15) The country gets richer in high class crops and fruit trees.

(16) Potable water can be arranged for at a much cheaper cost even in towns and big villages, if good irrigation works exist close by.

There are also many other indirect advantages both to the Sirkar and to the Ryot resulting from irrigation. It may happen that in certain localities a good percentage of interest on the capital sunk in an irrigation work may not be available in the first few years on account of the absence of certain natural facilities

and circumstances; however if all other indirect advantages be valued and credited to irrigation, a fair percentage of interest will in many cases, be a certainty. For example:—the assessment of waste lands brought under cultivation because of irrigation) should be credited to the head of irrigation along with the water rate. The loss to Government by way of remissions and relief as well as famine charges may to a great extent be lessened in parts protected by a large irrigation work; so the saving thus made should be credited to irrigation. The construction of a large reservoir checks the damages done by floods to villages and lands situated below the highest flood contour of a river or a water course; this should also be valued and credited to irrigation. The charge for raising the subsoil water in wells and for underground moisture should properly go to irrigation. The whole value of the crops raised by irrigation, (after deducting charges for seed, labour, &c.) should really speaking be credited to irrigation but the Sirkar generally levies such a water rate as will leave a good profit for cultivators excluding the seed and labour charges and which will encourage them to go in for irrigation to grow high class crops and to be free to some extent from being at the mercy of the rains. The failure of rains either during the monsoon or at its close means a loss of lacs of maunds of corn which can be insured by providing a good irrigation work and charging the land under command with a nominal yearly premium. Large irrigation works allow the growth of high class perennial crops or two crops in a year from the same fields. This saving in the first case and the increase of wealth in the second case is due mostly to irrigation and a much greater portion of that wealth has to be reserved for the Ryot, for their bare food and even for their prosperity and contentment, which ultimately result in deep loyalty, good feeling and even in an indirect increase of revenue, to the Sirkar. In bad years collection of land revenue is possible to a great extent owing to the existence of water near by, so some portion of the land-assessment should also be credited to irrigation, in those years, where major irrigation works exist. Water is volatile and therefore to make a storage

very remunerative it should be used as soon as possible; so it is to be kept in mind that no good percentage of interest should be expected on the capital sunk even on major irrigation works as they have to perform double duties, one of remuneration and the other of protection too, that is to say, water has to be preserved for bad years when the value of water is 75% of the value of the crops raised by its application, though the parental Government cannot levy such high water rates or sometimes have to supply water free in such bad years to save the Ryot. There is a constant fear that if the land becomes fertile when it bears high class crops by the help of irrigation, Government will raise the assessment itself and this fear discourages irrigation. Again to take the full advantage of irrigation, capital to purchase ample manure, seeds, bullocks and other implements as well as labour is in most cases necessary; facilities to raise this capital at once without any hardship at a fair interest should be given to them; or resourceful Zamindars should be created or transferred to localities blessed with irrigation works and large holdings should be assigned to them on fair terms as to assessment and water rates. All sorts of hardships and detentions caused to landholders by the servants of the Sirkar should be stopped in order to induce honourable, enterprising and resourceful landholders to enter into an agreement to utilize water on certain terms for a fixed period. There are companies for railways because Government treat them on commercial principles and methods. The same will be the case after some time as regards irrigation, if Government adopt a similar method and give facilities and open experimental works on a large scale themselves; of course in the beginning a certain guarantee as to percentage of interest will have to be given to originators.

Every year large sums of money are provided in budgets for roads and buildings which hardly yield any interest worth the name. Nearly the whole of the land revenue is every year expended to keep up the military department. Still we cannot do without them, though we can comfortably reduce their budget provision. The wealth earned by the hard labour of villagers goes to

cities and to the treasury of Government. More than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the annual income of Government, flows automatically out of villages never to return. It is only irrigation which will give some poor return to villagers and therefore any miserliness in providing for irrigation works, is much to be deplored; in short it is a very short-sighted and even an unjust policy. It is therefore much to be desired that at least $\frac{1}{16}$ of the whole gross income from all sources of a Government (even in a native state) should specially be set apart for irrigation, and not only that but remunerative major works should be taken up even by raising money, with a guarantee of interest from 3 to 4 p. c. by loans. It is found, when bad years are over, the budget provision for irrigation is curtailed, which is a very risky and short-sighted policy. It hardly remains to be said that there is ample room for economy in other items of the annual budget of

Government to save ample funds for irrigation.

This is a matter which should be ventilated often and often by all public men, bodies, and journals, and Government should be brought round to take up irrigation seriously and to provide much larger sums for it rather than throwing small bits as at present.

At a future date I may go into the details of the subject with facts and figures; but for the present I should like to draw the attention of all concerned to the facts exposed by that eminent irrigation and drainage engineer Mr. Vishvesaria at a meeting of the last Indian Irrigation Commission, how major imperial irrigation works are unjustly burdened with establishment charges and how they are not allowed to become remunerative by certain restrictions imposed upon the distribution of water and upon adjusting accounts, &c.

PRO BONO PUBLICO.

CHITORE

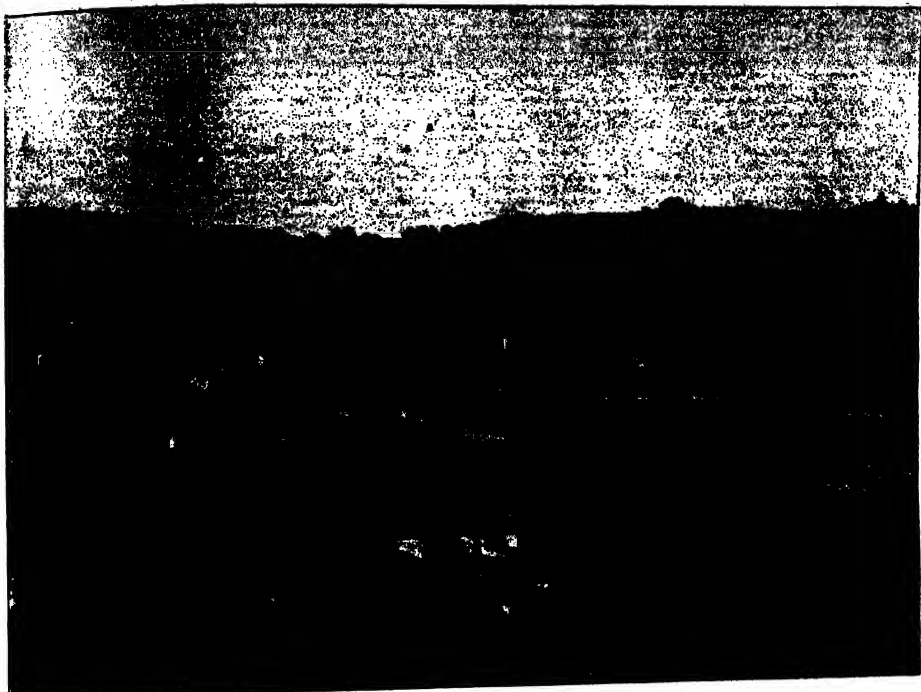
BY SISTER NIVEDITA.

IT was almost midnight as the moon grew near the full, when we looked for the first time on the fortress of Chitore. The lights in the village at its foot had been extinguished, and the hill with its great length stood dark and isolated against the sky. Almost directly above the black cleft of the Cow's mouth, stood the Tower of Victory of Kumbha Rana like a finger pointing upwards in witness of past glory. And even in the darkness we could see the gentle curving lines of the walls following the contour of hillside, with its three miles of length and one of breadth. Silently we sat on a low stone a mile off, and drank in the scene. Even thus, on the first or last night of his journey may some Rajput of old have gazed hour after hour, on this beloved home. Even thus may Padmini have caught her first glimpse of this city of her fate!

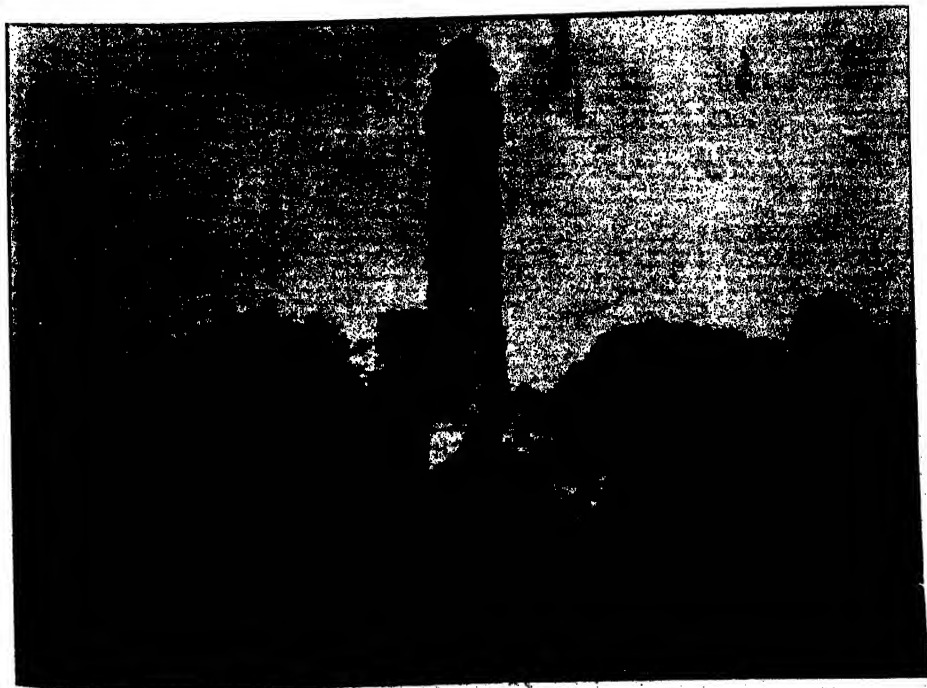
It is not a connected story, this for which

Chitore is famous. The wild romance for which her annals are so full, is a series of gleams and flashes, lasting through hundreds of years. Like watching from the plain the escalade of some rocky summit, is the effort of one who strives to picture the past of Chitore. Again and again do the banners of the clansmen appear amidst trees and crags, only again and again to be lost to sight. Wherever the mists of history lift, there is revealed the old time ideals of courage and pride of woman, and the glory of man. Chitore is no mere chronological record; she is an eternal symbol, the heart's heart of one phase of the Indian genius.

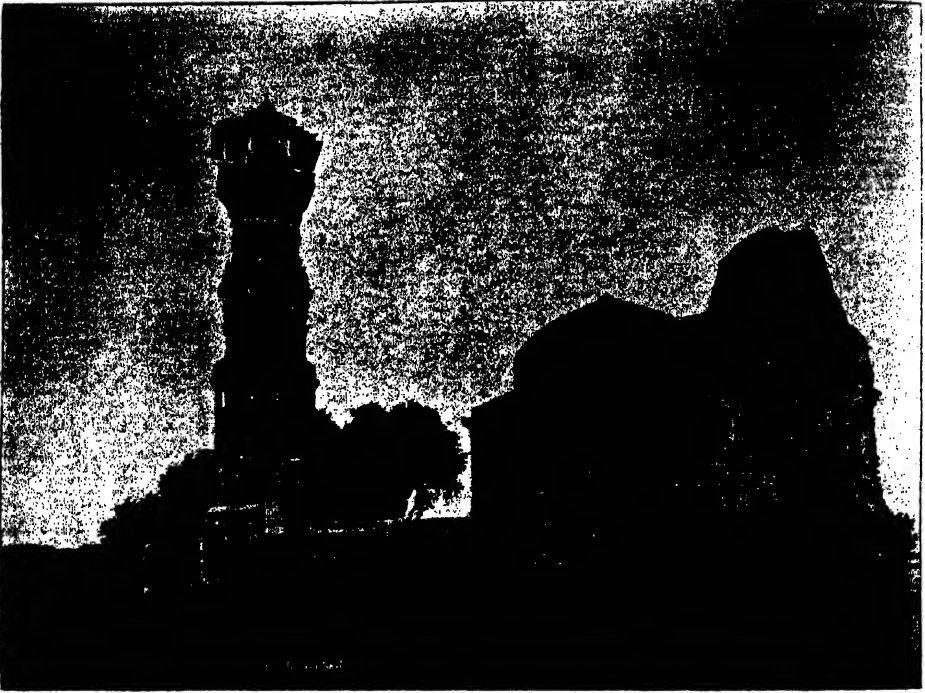
Architecturally, the splendour of the city justifies her pride. The rock on which she stands, slopes inwards from all sides, with the result that there are innumerable tanks and a water supply practically unlimited. Within the walls are the remains of what has been virtually two cities, one to the



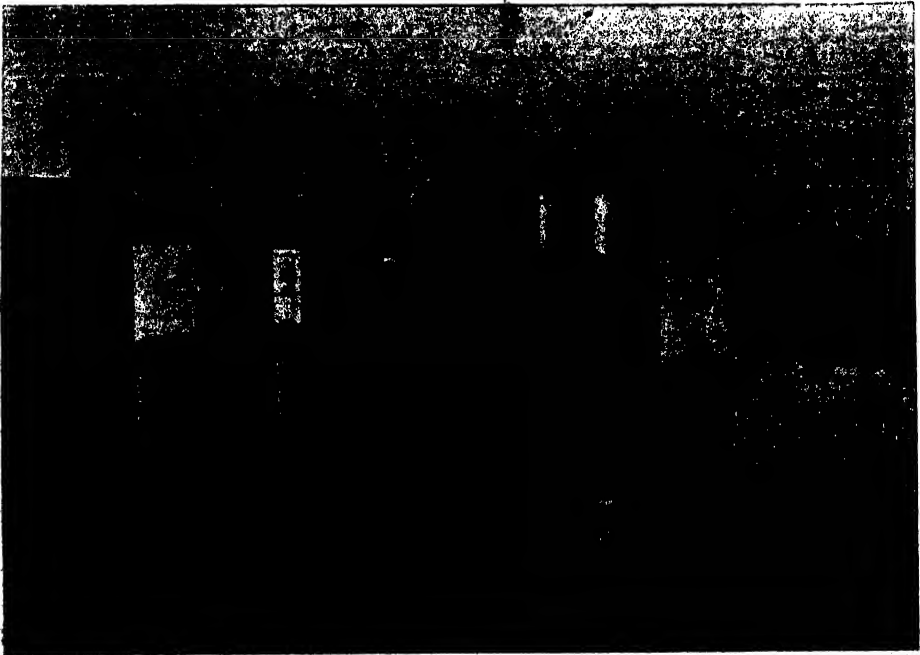
The Fort of Chitorgarh. Ascent 1 mile and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length.



Temple at Chitore erected by Rana Kumbha in 1548 A. D.



The 'Tower of Fame at Chitore, built by Khatan Rani, in 896 A. D.



The Palaces of Rani Padmini and Rani Bhik. Chitore, G.C.



The Temple of Mira Bai and the Palace of Rana Sanga, Chitore.

north-east, the ancient capital of the time before Bappa Raoul and one more modern which has grown up between his accession in 728 A.D. and the evacuation under Akbar in 1568.

The old manor-grange, on whose veranda Bappa Racul, in the eighth century, administered justice, scarcely comports with our modern notions of a palace. In front of it, not far away, is a tower of victory, now crumbling to pieces, and everywhere, the living rock of the original foundation is close at hand. The life of the garrison, within this fortress, must have been strangely like that of a camp.

Long, narrow, like some lean grey lion, crouching for the spring, lies walled Chitore on its craggy hill. And the newly arrived traveller watching it may see it to-night, as the returning escort may have seen it, when Padmini's marriage procession halted for the last time on the homeward way, more than seven centuries ago. Then, as now, the long heavy walls curved lovingly, like the canvas of a tent, about the city.

Little can the 'lotus fair' Padmini have slept that night, the last of the long journey from her father's distant stronghold. Rather must she have gazed on through hour after hour of waking dreamfulness, counting the tale of the turrets and bastions of the fortress that tomorrow she would enter as bride and queen. Within her was the confidence of the Indian wife, who thinks of herself as commencing what is only a new chapter in an old story, as recovering a thread that was held but a while ago, and dropped, at death. Not for the first time were they to take up tomorrow the tale of life together—it was an ancient comradeship of the soul. Did no vision of the future cast its shadow across the path before her, to make Padmini shrink and pause, in the glory of this her great home-coming? Had the bard whispered no word above her cradle of the tragedy of greatness that lay before her? Did she know that as long as winds should wail over Chitore, they would sing her name? That with her would every stone and every building be associated in the world's

memory, till the end of time? To her, what would be, was but the following of the path of Rajput honour. Was it not always said, that in the hour of birth, the

eyes of a boy were set upon a knife, and those of a girl upon a lamp, for the man must leave life by way of the sword, and the woman by that of fire?

A PLEA FOR INSTRUCTION THROUGH VERNACULARS

BY PROF. RAMANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINHA, M.A., B.L., L.T.

THE two denominational Universities for which vigorous efforts are yet in progress start with the idea that the Universities under Government control are not sufficient for the needs of India. Can it be said that the Hindu and the Muhammadan Universities will remove our desideratum? To a certain extent they may. But the fact that the medium of instruction in the two Universities is still to be primarily English, makes only a little difference between them and the existing Universities. The proposed Dacca University is going to be a residential one. It may have as its model the Oxford University minus "its dead weight of the vote of the Convocation." The Hindu University may, in pursuance of the ancient Hindu ideals and following the example of the modern German Universities, aspire after the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. The Mahomedan University may, in its turn, have a policy of its own and look to the peculiar need of the Mahomedans—a wide diffusion of knowledge among the followers of Islam. All these no doubt are moves in the right direction. But they do not obviate the disadvantages of instruction through a language foreign to us.

The Hindu and the Mahomedan Universities have the ambition of granting degrees and so they must be the prototypes, more or less, of the existing Universities. In order that they should have charters from the Government it is necessary that they should not deviate from the beaten track of the Indian Universities. Instruction through the medium of English has come to be recognised as a settled policy of the Government; and it is perhaps indispensable and unalterable at the present stage. It behoves us therefore, to supplement what we get at the Indian

Universities by means of indigenous attempts in the required direction.

It goes without saying that instruction through a foreign language is very tedious. The noted men in the domains of art and science whom India has had the good fortune of calling its own, have been produced in spite of the difficulties in their way. Given a vernacular language as the medium of instruction, there would have been ten times their number, or even more, and there would have been evidence of marked improvement in the calibre of those we already have. Instruction through a language which is not our mother tongue necessitates two processes: First, the learning of the language itself, and second, the learning of the subject. In the case even of the best men the first process takes almost double the time which is ordinarily devoted to the second. All this results in the meagreness of the number of original thinkers and inventors in India. Our energy is wasted in the mastery of a language and even then the language we are so enthusiastic in learning hardly becomes our own. It is an admitted fact that thought presupposes language, it follows that we cannot produce thinking men of a high standard, unless we give prominence to the language in which we usually think and in which only we can think in the best possible way. We may try to think in English and most of us even do that, but we can hardly proceed very far in this direction, and the results of our thought will at most be imperfect and second rate. This applies equally to what we may do in the domains of History, Political Economy or Philosophy on the one hand and Chemistry, Botany or Anatomy on the other.

Thus we see that comparing an average student in India with one in England, America or Japan, the former is at a great disadvantage; and it redounds much to the credit of the former that he aspires after competition with the latter in the face of his difficulties. Can we not do something to remove this sad state of things? I do not propose to make this discourse only theoretical, but I want to give it, so far as possible, a practical turn. And viewing what I have to propose in this light, I am sure we have not much reason to lose heart.

None can gainsay the fact that noble work is being done by the Universities under the control of Government. We should of course, profit by that and do something more. If the existing Universities are passports to Government services or the bar, let us have institutions which should be passports to real and solid qualification for industrial and scientific work. Let the students of such institutions eschew current politics, for, though I may be contradicted, it is my firm belief that participation in political affairs is foreign to the avocation of a student. Institutions like these will multiply in course of time and will be of substantial good to the country; and in order that the best possible results should be achieved in the shortest time, the medium of instruction should be a vernacular.

There are no doubt institutions in India receiving support from the Government, where scientific and industrial education is provided for. But their number is too small. However, their necessity, at the present time, cannot be ignored. The higher branches of training in industry and science cannot but be imparted in English for a long time to come. But the crying want of present-day India is the popularisation of common handicrafts. For these, instruction in a vernacular will be quite sufficient; and this process of instruction will further call forth, in an amazing manner, the national intelligence, which has so long been in an inert and dormant condition.

I shall now discuss the difficulties so often pointed out in connection with making a vernacular the medium of instruction, and shall show that these difficulties are not such as to dishearten us. It is said that

there is a lack of suitable books in even the best vernacular in India. But this assertion ignores the trite fact that books will never be forthcoming unless there is a demand for them. The writers of books must first know that they will have readers, and assuming the demand, the supply is a foregone conclusion. Vernacular books that are written now-a-days have merely the growing desire of educated people for the encouragement of vernaculars to depend upon. The recent regulations of the universities making vernacular composition a compulsory subject, as also the unavoidable necessity of having a vernacular for primary education, have also done a great deal in the direction. But if there are institutions in which *systematic* training is given through vernacular books to an *ever-growing* number of students, the perfunctory and half-hearted manner in which books on scientific subjects are written now-a-days will give place to an earnest exertion in this behalf.

It is beyond my scope to refer here at length to the advantages which a common language for the whole of India will have in its train. Though the recent territorial changes have been welcomed by the people both of Bengal and Behar, they are apt to throw some obstacles in the way of having a national language. However, so long as we are divided in our languages, institutions of the type forecasted above may spring up in several places and give instruction through Hindi, Bengali, or Marathi, to begin with. They will still do untold good.

Then there is the lack of suitable men for the sake of imparting instruction. America seems to be the best training ground for teachers of handicrafts and scientific subjects. There are Indians available who having already returned from America and Japan are quite capable of taking the work in hand; and if the scheme is forwarded and funds are forthcoming we may have many men of such type. Such men training students in India will considerably curtail the expenses incurred in sending Indians to other countries for learning handicrafts. The whole thing depends upon a requisite fund for the purpose, such as that got together for the Hindu University. Institutions having

appliances for training in handicrafts, such as the Carnegie Technical Schools in Pittsburg (Pennsylvania, U. S. A.) will remove a crying want of India.

I have especially referred to scientific and industrial subjects, because of their superior importance in consideration of the present needs of India. Instruction in other subjects can also be given in vernaculars, and though the students who come out after their vernacular training may not have the hall-mark of the present universities, they

will surely be of far more service to themselves as well as to their country than under the present circumstances. American or Japanese diplomas do not carry much weight elsewhere, yet there are those in India who having returned with distinction from America and Japan are doing much to support themselves as also to forward their country's welfare. It is high time that we should realize the comparative hollowness of mere diplomas and degrees, unless some substantial work is done for the country.

TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

AMONG the most significant facts of modern times are the origin and growth of the idea of democracy, and the remarkable, almost phenomenal changes and turn of events to which that idea has given rise. In England, as in the English speaking world generally, the idea of democracy has sprung up with amazing, almost unaccountable suddenness, and has created new and unexpected evolutions, turned the course of events into quite new directions, and with such assurance and confidence as to have made the continuance of the old aristocratic idea of life, of development and of government, to appear almost a thing of the past. When everybody seemed to be thinking that England was Imperialist at heart, and that the idea and object of England was to convert the world into a huge English-speaking, English-governed State, with London as its centre, that country, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, and of her own free will, abandoned the Imperialist idea, swerved round to the idea of nationalism, and showed herself to believe first and foremost in liberty, in the right of free choice, as the fundamental condition of all development. The result is that to-day the more thoughtful people in England, the people who really count and who are destined to determine the future policy of England, are confirmed believers in nationalism, in freedom, in the right of every people to develop along their own lines and in their own way,

and are quite opposed to the old Imperialist idea, and to the method of forcing which that idea necessarily involves.

Now the one word which best typifies and explains this remarkable change in ideas, attitude and policy, is democracy. Imperialism is doomed because aristocracy is doomed, because the idea that a few English Peers and landowners possess all the wisdom of the universe and know just what is good and beneficial for everybody, has been shattered. Aristocracy is doomed and is being superseded by democracy for the simple reason that the rights hitherto possessed only by the privileged few have been discovered by an enlightened populace to be the inalienable rights of all men, of man as man; and it is because of that discovery that Imperialism is also doomed. Democracy means many things, and entails many and even vast changes in personal ideals, the social order, etc.; but its distinguishing feature is that it lays less stress upon the word government, and puts more stress upon the word man. The rank and file of the English people, the growing army of workingmen, have come to realise that what aristocracy stands for is not the highest development of the individual, of man, as such, but primarily the upholding of just those institutions which guarantee the privileged few in all their privileges, and which bring men to punishment for the least show of rebellion against the fixed order of things. That is why the great

body of the English people have latterly come to disbelieve in many English institutions; it is also why they have come to disbelieve in Imperialism. The foundation of Imperialism was the idea that everything English is of Heaven; the downfall of Imperialism is due to the discovery that many things English are not of Heaven but of Hell, and have no right to be perpetuated.

Thus whereas fifty years ago it was the ideal of the majority of Englishmen that the world should be Anglicised, brought under the magic spell of English institutions, law and government, now they believe that more play ought to be given to individuality; that the true and complete development of a people must be through nationality; that only by the way of freedom can the best be evolved, can the ultimate end of all civilisation and development—brotherhood, the spiritual union of all mankind—be attained. Grant freedom, and what is good in any civilisation will be adopted and assimilated; but exercise force, and distrust and resistance will be sure to follow. Then, too, by forcing any law or institution upon a people we can never be quite sure that we are not forcing upon them a huge superstition or a strong prejudice of our own.

This change of attitude towards Imperialism, and towards government generally, on the part of the English workingman, can easily be explained. It is the natural outcome of enlightenment, and could no more have been avoided when once the process of education had begun, than the dispelling of darkness can be avoided on the introduction of light. The Imperialism of the Victorian age was the result of ignorance, of an implicit belief by the people at large in tradition, in the aristocracy—a belief which enabled the latter to "enclose" common lands, literally to plunder their fellow countrymen, to carry out a policy of brigandage unequalled in modern or, for the matter of that, in ancient times; and it only needed to dispel that ignorance in order to destroy the Imperialist idea altogether. Literally crushed and enslaved, the English peasant had been weaned into the belief that as an Englishman he was a superior person, a member of a nation whose function it was to exercise dominion over every other people and was so trained

that what enthusiasm he had left when he had worked sixteen hours on the land, was spent in dreaming of, in shouting and fighting for, the Imperialistic advancement of England, the subjugation of the entire world to English rule, institutions and civilisation.

But since that time great changes in thought have taken place, with the result that to-day the best minds are no longer Imperialistic in outlook but democratic. As an effective policy Imperialism is dead, and is dead for the very reason that workingmen have suddenly become enlightened. The intellectual and social awakening of the English working classes is one of the outstanding facts of the times, an epoch-making event. It is to the enlightenend workingmen of England that South Africa owes her political freedom, her constitutional government to-day.

But it is not simply that the workingmen of England have discovered that to be "governed", especially to be "well" governed, is to be kept in ignorance and to be exploited, that they have abandoned Imperialism; it is because they have discovered that liberty is a law of life, one of the profoundest needs of human nature, and that political activity is a life function, a means of self-expression and a condition of self-development, a right and duty, therefore, of every member of the State. The object of government, it is now being clearly seen, is not simply to preserve order, but to make possible and to encourage the development of those higher social relationships whereby the grand social ideals of the great religious teachers may be realised; to establish, or to seek to establish, a real brotherhood in the earth, and so hasten the time when instead of the desire for wealth, fame and position, the desire for fellowship shall be the chief motive behind all human activity. That being the case it is idle to talk of government by the wise few; for what intelligent men and women want is not bottled wisdom, to be taken like medicine, on trust, and in accordance with a prescription, but a policy they can understand, whose drift they can see, which points to a good they themselves can accept as a worthy end of their activity, as an ideal, as the expression of their finest aspirations. Only when government is

thus conceived of can it be reasonable; for to conceive of government rightly is to recognise that every act of government ought to be an expression of the people's will. Government is a form of human activity which can only be ideal when every adult in the State participates in it; when it is the expression of national ideas and feeling; when it points to a good which the people are consciously aspiring after. And, as we have said, it is because English workingmen are realising this that Imperialism in England is doomed, and that democracy, the belief in self-government, and therefore, as a means to that end, in nationalism, is spreading.

It is because the democratic spirit is spreading, that more sympathy is being shown to-day by those who already possess national independence, towards all those peoples who are struggling for such independence, that the workingmen of England are in full sympathy with the Irish in their demand for Home Rule, and with the patriotic Indians who are seeking to awaken the spirit and to develop the ideal of nationalism in their own great country. The cause of nationalism is bound to prosper in every developing and spiritually alive country, for the road to the fullest social and spiritual development lies through nationalism. Without nationalism there can be no freedom, no adequate opportunity for self-expression, of self-development. That is why, as we have already said, the ideal of democracy carries with it the idea and fact of nationalism, and is fundamentally opposed to the ideal of Imperialism. Thus we claim that democracy, like nationalism, is a great spiritual ideal, for the very reason that it is founded on a great spiritual necessity, on the need of the human soul to develop, to attain the heights of spiritual exaltation it dimly sees and believes in. Indeed we believe that the ideal of democracy is a spiritual ideal, is one of the most powerful forces operating in modern society, and is accomplishing a work the significance and importance of which we are as yet totally incapable of ascertaining.

The tendency in the direction of freedom, towards nationalism, and in many cases towards lesser units even inside the nation, which is at present everywhere manifest, is

an indication that the ideal of democracy is spreading. Nations like Persia, Turkey and China are in the throes of conflict with autocratic government; nations like India and Egypt are struggling for freedom, for the right of self-government, against foreign bureaucratic government; while in America and England there is manifest a tendency in the direction of decentralisation, an effort to increase the power, in the former case of the separate States of the Union, and in the latter case of the separate nations whose combined representatives constitute the British Parliament. Moreover, in England there are not wanting signs that in the near future there will be an increasing demand for a greater measure of local control.

In the history of every nation, immediately after the merging of many tribes to form a nation-state, the centralisation of power, the establishment of law courts, of a police force and of an army, would seem to be inevitable, because with that event—the formation of a nation-state—the blood bond, which had previously been the condition and cause of obedience to law, or custom, is now rendered of none effect, owing, of course, to the introduction of new tribes, who also have their own customs but who recognise no obligations to anyone outside their own tribe. With such a number of tribes thus brought together to form a nation-state, therefore, a strong central government would seem to be necessary in order to enforce a common law, at any rate until such times as the people at large came to recognise the justice of that law, the social, human, spiritual necessity behind it, its indispensability to individual and national progress. But when a people begin to understand the moral and spiritual significance of law, and to accept and practise it without the compulsion of the policeman, then the time has come for the process of devolution to set in, for greater and greater numbers of the people to participate in the work of government. When it is recognised that the real function of government is to make the highest spiritual advancement of a people possible, then has the time come for such a people to participate in the work of government; nay, they cannot any longer then be shut out from such work, for they

are just coming into the knowledge of their own deeper selves, of their spiritual aspirations, of the sacred rights of manhood; and to refuse to men who have developed this consciousness of inner spiritual need, of the right of self-government, is to begin a conflict of the most deadly order, a conflict that can have but one ending.

Thus we contend that Nationalism in India is inevitable, as inevitable as was the English Reform Act of 1832, or the recent Parliament Act. But, of course, as is always the case when advance is made, opposition, even strong and bitter opposition, to the cause of Indian Nationalism, will have to be encountered. Just as in times of great national awakening and upheaval we are sure to meet with many spiritual idealists, large souled patriots, so are we sure to find at least a few materialists, degenerates who are quite ignorant of the spiritual aspirations which are heaving in the breasts of their fellows, and therefore quite incapable of understanding the drift and purpose of what is going on about them. They rebel, as they must inevitably do; for being materialists they cannot understand the meaning of what is taking place, and can conceive of nothing but ruin and calamity, both individual and national, coming out of it all.

But liberty that is granted in response to a spiritual need and appeal, cannot produce evil, and is bound to be a benefit to giver and receiver alike. To grant liberty in response to a spiritual demand, as a condition of development, is to increase love, mutual appreciation, brotherhood, fellowship. Nothing that is spiritual decreases by being shared; but all spiritual things are like love: to give them is to increase them. And it is just because the more intelligent and enlightened people in England recognise that liberty is a spiritual need, a sacred right of manhood, that they are in favour of helping and encouraging the movement towards Nationalism in India, for they also recognise that only by granting liberty to India, can a spiritual, a real and abiding bond of union between that nation and England be established. In other words, it is precisely because England is becoming democratic that she is showing more willingness to assist the

nationalist cause in India; for embedded in the democratic mind is the feeling, the belief, that the fruits of liberty, (when liberty is a spiritual necessity), are bound to be good, to issue in the union of all free and spiritual peoples, to hasten the coming of the Christian ideal of brotherhood, the time when all races and men shall have true and undivided fellowship one with another. It is now an admitted fact that the bond of union between England and her Colonies is all the stronger by reason of the fact that the latter possess almost unlimited powers of self-government. But not only is that bond strong, it is secure; and it is secure for the very reason that it has been forged in the furnace of love, is the outcome of that feeling of brotherhood and kinship with all mankind which is the soul, as well as the ultimate object, of liberty. No one will deny that the feeling of unity between Boer and Briton is stronger to-day than ever it could have been had not the broad and liberal constitution granted by the English government to South Africa been conceded.

Thus I contend that the ideal of democracy is one of the strongest forces in the modern world, that it is essentially a spiritual force and is making for the full and complete union of all mankind in one grand spiritual brotherhood. To an advancing civilisation autocracy and bureaucracy are bound to entail spiritual repression, to produce tyranny; so also is aristocracy, which stands for the spiritual elevation of the few, the divine right of the noble-born to govern the lowly-born. But democracy, which has for its foundation the idea that it is the inalienable and spiritual right of every man to govern himself, and thus to participate in the work of State government in so far as such work is necessary in the interests of the fullest and highest spiritual development of every member of the State, is in the true line of progress. Thus aristocracy is a selective principle, and, consequently, a force of division among men: the producer of privilege, of unreasonable advantage for some, and of an equally unreasonable disadvantage for others: and thus of hatred and war; while democracy is a spiritual and universal principle; the denial of privilege; the recognition that

man is a spiritual and developmental being for whose true advancement liberty is an absolute necessity; thus it is a bond of union between men, the creator of love, brotherhood and fellowship. Says the aristocrat: "Give men what is good for them"; which means, in the last analysis, what is necessary to uphold the present state of things—that condition of society which sees them, the privileged few,

securely established in power and authority. But says the democrat: "Give men liberty, for with liberty they can develop, realise their manhood, find the truth, and attain the highest spiritual well-being." And it is the voice of the democrat that the people are heeding; towards democracy that the whole world is moving.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

CONTEMPORARY CARTOONS



THE PARTITION OF PERSIA.

RUSSIA: shall we divide?

ENGLAND: What's the use? He's already in two, and as usual, my 'half' is the larger portion.

[Mucha. Warsaw.]



THE EUROPEAN GUN-CLUB.

Whenever one of them hits a bird, the rest all claim it.

—Wahre Jacob (Stuttgart).

International Thief. "Omit the third word and I am with you!"

—Amsterdammer.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

A Study of Indian Economics: by Prāmātha Nath Banerjea, M. A., Late Professor of Economics, City College, Calcutta, and Member of the Royal Economic Society, London. Macmillan & Co., 1911, pp. 221.

This is a handbook on Indian Economics in which the author deals with such subjects as the physical and geological features of India, the structure of Indian society (e.g., the joint family, caste system, &c.), production (e.g., agriculture, mining, manufactures), distribution, exchange, (currency and banking), consumption, public finance, &c. The author covers the whole ground, but in the briefest possible manner, giving only the accepted conclusions, or in regard to debatable topics, such as the Permanent Settlement and Protection, summarising the principal arguments advanced on both sides. So far as we have been able to test the exposition is fair and free from bias. The style is simple and attractive. Brief references are made to the speeches and writings of Messrs. Dutt, Digby, Naoroji, Ranade, Gokhale, Wacha and Sir Vithaldas Thackersay. The author is careful to point out that the principles of General Economics must be considerably modified before they can be applied to Indian conditions, that man is largely the master of his environment and is not absolutely dependent on climatic and other conditions, that population in India is not increasing as rapidly as in other civilised countries, that the exploitation of our mines by foreign capitalists permanently impoverishes the country; that the benefit derived by India from industries supported by foreign capital is confined to a certain number of wage-earners in subordinate positions or doing coolie-work, that the much-abused Indian money-lender often keeps the cultivator from starvation (he might have quoted from the *Imperial Gazetteer* in this connection) and that the Indian cultivator is not so conservative as he is often supposed to be. The author also has the courage to point out that in the opinion of many the excess of exports over imports as represented by the Home charges constitutes an annual drain on the resources of India, and the incidence of taxation on income is much higher in India than in England. He questions whether Government is not paying too high a price (over 30 crores annually in military charges) for the peace and security the country enjoys. "Unless and until there is a retrenchment in the Expenditure of the Civil Departments, and a substantial reduction is made in military expenditure, education, sanitation and social reform will continue to languish for want of funds." Finally the author condemns the *laissez-faire* policy of the Government of India in industrial matters, and contrasts it with Germany, the United States, Canada, and Australia, where 'the State does everything in its power to promote national industry.' He points out that the

scheme of Imperial preference will not benefit India, for India wants protection against Great Britain most of all. "The real solution of the problem from the Indian standpoint thus lies in granting India fiscal freedom such as is enjoyed by the self-governing colonies, so that she may arrange her tariff in the way she finds best suited to her own requirements." We will now point out a few defects which have come to our notice. The drain theory is important enough in an exposition of the economic condition of India to have deserved more than a mere line in passing. In treating of cotton the author makes no mention of the previous history of Indian cotton manufactures and does not point out how the greatest industry of India was throttled by unjust legislation. A paragraph is devoted to the excise duty on Indian cotton manufactures, but its effect on the Bombay mills is not described. Railways not only mitigate the severity of famines, as the author says, but they also produce an opposite effect, as admitted by many European writers (e.g., Ramsay MacDonald), by extending the famine-area, owing to the rise of prices in the neighbouring districts which in the pre-railway days would remain unaffected.

The book will prove very suitable as a text book for less advanced students. There is no index.

POL.

History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Dinesh Chandra Sen, B.A. Published by the Calcutta University. Demy 8vo, 10.30+8+xiii pages, cloth bound. With 9 half-tone illustrations, of which 5 are coloured. Price not mentioned.

As no contributions have been made to the subject in a collected and well arranged form, this book, with its imposing appearance and attractive title, is bound to raise very high expectations in the minds of the readers. I am, however, sorry to record that I felt greatly disappointed, when I finished reading this big volume. It is rather a small defect that the volume of the book has grown considerably out of proportion to its substance; for, it is easy to put up with diffuseness, when a book contains information worth acquiring. What is most striking is that the author, who was appointed a Reader to the Calcutta University to lecture on the "History of the Bengali Language" does not disclose in these pages much knowledge of his subject.

The very first sentence the book begins with, runs as follows: "Bengal was a very ancient centre of Aryan settlement in India." It is difficult to say whether this statement is due to want of critical powers or to bias of patriotism. It matters very little with the present Bengali descendants of the Aryans of olden days, whether the settlement of their forefathers in a particular province took place at a very early date or at a time comparatively recent. It will never add to the glory of the Europeans in the colonies, if they

try to establish that their settlements had been made long before the period when they actually took place. The very facts adduced by the author in support of his proposition show that he found it difficult to support what he stated, and so got together some irrelevant facts to make his case appear plausible to the superficial readers. The very first fact adduced to prove the proposition is that the kingdom of *Pragjyotis* was founded in pre-historic times. We may afford to overlook the loose and careless use of the word "prehistoric." How the situation of *Pragjyotis* improves that of *Vanga*, is not easy of comprehension. The second fact cited by the author (p. 3) shows that he was conscious of the hopelessness of his situation. After making an uncritical and careless statement regarding the conquest of Ceylon by one Aryan king of Bengal in the sixth century B. C., the author makes the funny statement that "the citizens of *Champa* in Bengal (!) had already, in a still earlier epoch of history [meaning thereby a time earlier than 543 B. C.], founded a colony in Cochin China, and named it after that famous old town." Prof. Rhys Davids will shudder, if he learns that the author has made him responsible for this awful statement by referring the readers to page 35 of his *Buddhist India*. That the town *Champa* was in *Anga* and not in *Vanga*, has been definitely stated by the learned Professor in the passage to which the author refers his readers. On turning to page 29 of *Buddhist India* itself, the author could have clearly seen that the authority he has relied upon, mentions it in clear terms that the early Buddhist literature does not show that the Aryans of those days had any manner of knowledge in respect of the country of *Vanga*. Prof. Rhys Davids has no doubt mentioned the fact that the Indian colonists in Cochin China named one of the most important settlements after this famous old town *Champa*; but he has not stated and could not state that this settlement took place in the sixth century B. C. The author could have easily learned from Col. Gerini's learned treatise on the *Researches of Ptolemy's Geography* that it was in far later times that a town in Further India got the name *Champa*.

The next argument regarding the antiquity of Aryan settlement in *Vanga* is, that we meet with the name *Vanga* in some old books of our country. This mention in the first place cannot be used in support of the proposition, as long as the chronology of the works referred to has not been established. The author himself has not given us any suggestion as to the time when the aforesaid mention was made. In the second place, the bare mention of *Vanga* as a country shows merely the geographical knowledge of the authors making such mention, but it does not prove that the country was then an abode of Aryan settlers. That in reality *Vanga* was a land in the exclusive possession of some Dravidian tribes till at least the early years of the fourth century B.C., cannot now be seriously disputed. As I cannot set out any detailed account of it here, I refer the readers to my papers on the subject in the *Press*, 1318 and the *Navyabharata*, 1317.

It is perfectly clear that the author did not look up proper authorities, when he made his reckless remarks regarding the antiquity of Aryan culture in *Vanga* in connection with the activities of the Jaina saints. He has not only extended the limits of *Vanga* of old to suit his purpose, but has completely ignored

the fact that the outlying tracts of our modern Western Bengal were inhabited, during the days of the early Jaina saints, by some rude aboriginal tribes. The Jaina tradition that Mahavira roamed about in *Ladha* or *Radha* or *Rarha* country (the eastern part of the *Birbhum* district), is found in the *Avaranga Sutta*. It has been stated there that the people of *Radha* country were rude and inhospitable, and never scrupled to rob a man by killing him in open daylight. The description we get of this country in *Brahmanda* section of the *Bhavisya Purana*, gives us unmistakably the rude character of the tract even in comparatively recent times. The people inhabiting *Rarha* have been described as black in colour, ugly in appearance and highly immoral in social habits. I think no patriot of Bengal will take any delight in tracing his ancestry through an unbroken line of these old *Rarha* people of the days of the old Tirthankaras.

After delineating the history of ancient *Vanga* in this fashion, the author proceeds to trace the origin of the modern Bengali language under the heading—"Bengali, a form of *Paisachi Prakrita*." It is a pity that the author has not got any right notion regarding the old *Magadhi Prakrita*, from which our Bengali language originated. That the *Magadhi Prakrita* was not called *Paisachi*, could have been learnt by the author in the popular works on Sanskrit Rhetoric. The elaborate enumeration of different *Prakrita* dialects in the easily available *Sahityadarpana*, was not even referred to. The *Prakrita* dialect of the *Andhras* in which the *Brihat-katha* was originally composed, was designated as *Paisachi*. The author's supposition that the old Eastern *Prakrita* was called *Paisachi*, because it was a dialect of the Buddhist people, has the merit of being original. It is curious that the lecturer on the history of the Bengali language does not know this very commonly known fact that all the *Prakrita* dialects were the speeches of the Aryan people of India of different provinces, and that the *Magadhi* was the Eastern provincial dialect of our forefathers, and not of some *Pisachas* or devils. If the author had studied the old *Magadhi Prakrita*, he could really have given the readers a genuine history of the origin of our Bengali language; for, this *Magadhi Prakrita* is a rich mine for seekers of philological treasures. Without trying to throw light from this source on the dark places of our modern language and literature, the author merely pronounces his curious opinion, and passes on to other topics.

The statements made by the author that the drama *Mricchakatiika* was written by a Buddhist prince and that it was in accordance with the Buddhist social rules that the Brahman *Charu Datta* payed court to the courtesan *Vasanta Sena*, make it clear beyond any doubt that the author has not only got no idea of the state of society which prevailed during the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., but had never the occasion to read the drama itself. Any edition of the *Mricchakatiika* will reveal to *Dines Babu* that the author was not a Buddhist prince, but was a *brahman* honoured as *Varanasi* and that the famous *Prakara* begins with two benedictory *shloka*s in the name of *Mahadeva* as *Sambhu* and *Mahadeva* as *Nilakantha* in the company of *Gauri*. The remarks of *Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen* in this connection regarding the loose moral rules of the Buddhist society of the olden days, when the *Jataka* books were composed, do not call for serious condition or reputation, since it is known even to school

boys what moral excellence the Buddhist society then attained.

The second chapter of the book begins with an account of some aphorisms and wise sayings of Dak and Khana. It is quite significant that the author has not got the critical eye to observe that Dak and Khana have been mere names under whose shadows the popular adages and clever utterances of many men of different times have been grouped together. Dines Babu was in quest of some pre-Mahomedan Bengali authors and these names lent themselves happily to his purpose, and he fathered upon them all the proverbs and popular sayings of all ages. The test of language was alone sufficient to detect their real character. It may be that the authors of some of the doggerels were Buddhists, but the materials from which the author derives his inference regarding the religious faith of the composers of the popular sayings, do not warrant his conclusion. Clever utterances on matters worldly must relate to matters of social and domestic utility, and as such no one can expect "injunctions for prayer to God" in those sayings. However, it is not possible to criticise all the wrong statements of the author with which the book abounds, since we have thus far only advanced to the second chapter of the book. I can only inform the readers that the philological section has been executed with as much carelessness as has been displayed by the author in the historical section of the book.

The portion of the book dealing merely with the Bengali books from the time of Chandidasa is not without some information worth recording. Though this portion of the book is wanting in brevity and lucidity, it contains a good account of the books of the authors who flourished from the fourteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century A. D.

The book is well got up.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

I. *Aids to General Culture*: by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., Bengal National College, Calcutta. S. K. Lahiri & Co., 1910. Price Rs. 1-12-0.

The series consists of 'books' on the following subjects: (1) Economics, (2) Political Science and International Law, (3) Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Europe, (4) Constitutional History of Modern States and (5) History of English Literature. In the introduction the author says: "It can have no pretence to originality except in the grouping and arrangement of the topics, and in the uniform presentation of them in a tabular form; the whole matter being thrown, not into the form of questions and answers, or of mere summaries of paragraphs—methods generally adapted in cram-books in this country—but into the form of a systematic analysis of ideas and detection of the salient point in the treatises." We are inevitably reminded in this connection of a passage in Mr. Frederick Harrison's *Realities and Ideals*, (pp. 350-57) from which we make the following extract, merely adding by way of explanation that in spite of the nomenclature of Prof. Sarkar's book, it does not appear to us to deserve any other name than that of a cram-book on somewhat improved lines, intended to meet the requirements of students who have no prescribed text-book to go upon:

"The trained examinee... can do with ease what the most learned man of the old school could not do. Gibbon would be plucked in the Modern History

School. Arthur Wellesley would never get into the army. And Burke would have got low marks, through not apportioning his time to the various questions in the paper. I seriously doubt if many of our great scholars, our famous lawyers, historians, and men of science could 'floor' offhand a highclass examination paper. They would not put their knowledge in the sharp, smart, orderly, cocksure style which so much delights the examiner. They would muddle the relation of the *shire-moot* to the *hundred-moot*, or they would forget the point in *Smith vs. Jones*, or they might differ from the examining board as to the exact number of the *Isomeric Amyl Alcohols* now known. All this your trained examinee, well nursed by thorough crammers, has at the tips of his fingers. He... trots out his surface memory in neat little pellets beautifully docketed off with 1, 2, 3, (a) (b) (y), the 'fine elements' of this, the 'seven periods' of this movement... It is a memory deliberately trained to carry a quantity of things with sharp edges, in convenient order, for a very short period of time... Books are going out of fashion; it is only analyses, summaries, and tables which are studied... like any successful speculator, he (the examinee) has a hearty contempt for mere knowledge."

We fear this book will be welcomed only by the "trained examinee," and will be of little use to the general reader.

II. *The Sterling Debt of India*: by M. R. Sundaram Aiyar, B.L., Joint Secretary, Economic Section, South Indian Association, Madras: Printed at the Law Publishing House, 1912. Price 4½ annas.

In this pamphlet the writer discusses the financial, economic and political objections against the raising of sterling loans in England. He approves of the Government of India's policy of raising the money for financing the new Imperial Capital at Delhi not by a special gold loan, but, as far as possible, out of the revenues of India. He has shown that in theory the Government policy is that the money necessary for productive public works should be raised in India, but he points out, by quoting facts and figures, that Government has gone on borrowing recklessly in England for both productive and unproductive purposes, and that this has given rise to a deep rooted impression that India is bled to pay heavy sums to England every year in the shape of interest. He thinks that the National Debt of India is the lightest, and is a friendly critic of the Government. But he quotes Sir John Strachey to prove that railway loans are not always reproductive, as many railways have been constructed for political purposes. "The Government," said Sir John, "had spent at least twice as much as we need have spent on the Railways and they have been constructed on almost uselessly expensive scale under an extravagant and mischievous system." The sterling loans raised during the Mutiny imposed an annual burden of no less than two million pounds in round numbers on the Indian taxpayer and the great and permanent addition to the military expenditure which it involved caused a heavy financial deficit which had to be met by further unproductive borrowing in England. In the case of a silver debt contracted by the Government of India, 'no money leaves the country, the interest of the loans also being paid and spent in the country.' Indian capital is no longer shy, 94 per cent. of the deposits in the Indian Savings Bank

being made by the natives of the country. The remedy is to afford greater facilities for the investment of Indian capital, and to give it a fair chance against British capital. The value of the pamphlet has been enhanced by the statistical tables at the end of every article and the printing and paper are the best to be found in India.

III. King George's Speeches in India: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

This is a complete collection of the speeches delivered by His Majesty in India during his first tour as Prince of Wales and second tour in connection with the Coronation Durbar. There are some nice illustrations, and the volume is sure to prove interesting to his subjects.

IV. Indian Railway Finance: by D. E. Wacha. G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras, 1912. Price 0-4-0.

Mr. Wacha has done a public service by bringing together his contributions to the *Wednesday Review* and publishing them at a cheap price. They aim at presenting, from the Indian point of view, a general survey of the railway policy of the Government of India, and also contain a criticism of the recommendations made by the Indian Railway Committee appointed by Lord Morley in 1907 under the Chairmanship of Sir John Mackay (now Lord Inchcape). Lord Inchcape has again held a secret and informal investigation on the same subject by the direction of Lord Crewe, and this secret "mission" has naturally been the subject of much comment in India. Up to the year 1910, the capital outlay on Indian railways amounted to the colossal figure of 439 crores of rupees, and there was a net loss to the taxpayer of fully forty crores. Mr. Wacha shows that the railway policy of the Government is dominated by a microscopic but influential minority of British traders in search of a safe and profitable investment for their capital, and that India would have been much more benefited by a more liberal education, sanitation and irrigation policy and a more economic railway policy. In his opinion 'the breathless progress of the Railway Rake demands a strong curb' if money is to be found for removing the real needs of India. Rolling stock costing crores of rupees is promptly increased at the bidding of European merchants whenever they complain of shortage of waggons without regard to its nonpaying character while it remains idle, but Indian agitation for improved accommodation for third and inter class passengers, who contribute to the bulk of the passenger traffic, is ignored. Mr. Wacha proceeds to urge that the capital for expenditure on Indian railways should be borrowed in India so that the interest on it may be earned by Indians and the heavy drain of money from India without return may be checked. He also advocates the separation of railway finance from the general finances of the country. India should no longer be the slave of the foreign capitalist. Indian politicians should turn their attention from administrative to economic and financial reforms. The author winds up with an account of the scandalous neglect of all truly Indian interests by the Indian Railway Board, and urges its reform, if not by the appointment of an Indian member on the Board, at any rate by making it a body of men of business experience in touch with Indian and English merchants and trade-interests. In the appendix a summary of railway

statistics showing the net loss to the country up to 1909-10 is given. We recommend the pamphlet to all who take an interest in the economic condition of India and can assure them that they will find much to learn and think about within its pages.

V. Baroda Administration Report, 1910-11: Bombay. Printed at the "Times" Press, 1912. Cloth-bound, pp. 213.

VI. Census of 1911: Baroda State: Summary of Report, with diagrams: by Govindbhai H. Desai, B.A. LL. B., Superintendent of Census Operations, Baroda. Bombay. Printed at the "Times" Press, 1911. Stiff paper cover, pp. 183, index pp. i-vi.

The first thing that strikes the reviewer of these volumes is the remarkable promptitude with which they have been published. The regular force of the State consists of a light field battery, 4 regiments of cavalry, and 5 of infantry, the total actual strength being 4,337 and the irregular force consists of Horse and Foot numbering 3,806. The total cost of the army which is under the command of General Birdwood is nearly 19 lakhs, or one-ninth of the total income of the State. As against this expenditure must be set down the fact that the vast majority of those employed in the army are natives of the State. Special features of the Judicial administration are the conciliation boards which disposed of over eleven thousand cases and village Panchayets, 168 in number, which have the power to dispose of petty civil and criminal cases. Government controls, and in some cases manages, religious and charitable institutions, which own property worth 17½ lakhs. In 1905 an American expert was appointed Economic Adviser, and the Bank of Baroda, started at his instance with a working capital of 80 lakhs of rupees, marks the adoption of a definite programme of industrial development by the State. 1 glass works, 1 brush factory, 1 ornithological farm, the Saraswati Oil Mills, 5 agricultural banks, 4 cotton mills were started. At present there are 86 factories of all kinds in the State. There are 4 district boards, 38 local boards, and 10 municipalities, all under the control of government officials. Some municipalities, e.g., Baroda, Pattan, and Sidhpur, have started waterworks. It cannot be said that these institutions are in any way self-governing, but government grants to the municipalities have been discontinued and they have begun to tax themselves and thus shown a commendable spirit of self-help. The report says: "There can be no rights without corresponding duties and unless the people fully appreciate their own obligations, progress in the cause of self-government is bound to be slow and halting." The total amount spent by His Highness's Government up to date on irrigation is 30½ lakhs. An ambitious City Improvement Scheme has been organised for Baroda with statutory powers. The Government decided to spend nearly 2½ lakhs a year, and the Municipality of Baroda has been asked to contribute one third of this amount, and work has already been commenced. The railway department of the State has in hand a construction programme of over 200 miles of railroad, some of these lines are nearly complete and will shortly be opened for traffic. We learn from the report that the Velan and Beyt harbour schemes have been shelved for the present. The Beyt harbour was surveyed with a view to find out whether it could be converted into a port for the accom-

modation of ocean-going steamers. "The whole question is now in the hands of our consulting engineers, Messrs. Rendel and Robertson, for their opinion." Agriculture, sericulture, entomology, have all received due attention. There are three model farms, and agricultural knowledge is disseminated by a quarterly journal, agricultural associations, shows and exhibitions, honorary correspondents, and demonstration farms, whereas seed is supplied from the State Seed Depots. But the record of progress is not very encouraging. Two other departments which suffer from the same defect are Sanitation and Police, both of which are undermanned and underpaid. As for the police, the report says:—"The sense of duty is still very rudimentary among the general public and without their help the Police are not likely to successfully cope with the difficulties that arise." The State forests yield a revenue of nearly 2 lakhs, Abkari nearly 12 lakhs, tribute from feudatories, realised direct or through the British Government, 6 lakhs, opium 16 lakhs, railways 6 lakhs. The total income is nearly one crore seventy-two lakhs and the total expenditure one crore forty lakhs, leaving a closing balance of thirty-two lakhs at the end of the year. The land revenue alone amounts to one crore thirteen lakhs nearly, and the incidence of taxation per head exceeds five rupees, while in British India it is only two rupees and eleven annas. The late Mr. R. C. Dutt tried his best to moderate the land assessment, and his efforts met with partial success. That the Gaekwar is capable of making generous remissions will appear from the fact that the customs duties, which yielded the State an annual income of 1 lakh 80 thousand rupees, have been abolished root and branch. The Palace expenses amounted to over 20 lakhs, that is to say, rather more than one-eighth of the total income of the State. His Highness and his family returned from England in December 1910, and again set sail for Europe in April 1911. The Maharaja has more than half a dozen palaces in Baroda and British territory, adorned with extensive and costly gardens, but the Gaekwar does not go to Tottenham Court for his furniture, and has a furniture factory at Baroda equipped with the most up-to-date machinery which supplies all his needs.

The imposition of a high rate of taxation on the subjects of his Highness might be justified had the revenues of the State been spent entirely within it, but the costly foreign journeys of the ruler represent something like an annual drain on the exchequer. Foreign travel is of course highly beneficial to our ruling princes, but when it becomes an annual institution, the State suffers financially and morally from the evils of absentee landlordism. His Highness is undoubtedly the most progressive ruler in all India, but it cannot be said that he stints himself in any direction for the sake of his people.

Nowhere is the enlightened character of the Gaekwar's rule more visible than in the legislative and educational programmes of his State. Mr. B. L. Gupta is in charge of the Legislative Department. During the year under report the difficult and ambitious task of the codification of the Hindu Law, was carried through, the Compulsory Education Act was revised and the minimum standard of compulsory education and the compulsory age limit were both raised, and children's courts were established to deal with

1. juvenile offenders. The State spends 14 lakhs or nearly one-twelfth of its revenue on education. The

Education Department controls 2,972 primary schools, 43 Secondary Schools including 5 High English Schools of which 1 is for females, a college which teaches up to the highest degree examinations (though the examination results do not appear to be as satisfactory as might be wished), 2 Training Colleges for male and female teachers. In addition to these, there are some special institutions like the *Kala Bhavan* (school of arts and industries, where there are two Bengali students), music schools, orphanages, 1 Technical School at Naosari, Sanskrit and Urdu Schools, 1 Deaf and Dumb School, Patel Training Schools, Military Schools, the Jail School, Evening Schools for artisans, Industrial Schools and Workshops, a comprehensive system of libraries of which there are 275, and a very fine museum. The State spends seven annas per head on education as against one anna per head in British India. Referring to the boys educated in the four boarding schools for the forest tribes, the report says, "most of them follow their ancestral profession of tillage and are better off for their learning than their ignorant confreres." This ought to dispel the fears of those who think that a mastery of the three R's will cause every cultivator's son to leave the plough. Within the short time that has elapsed since the introduction of free and compulsory primary education no remarkable results could be achieved, but we learn that on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a new building for the male Training College the Gaekwar repeated his unabated faith in the future of free and compulsory education. This healthy optimism augurs well of the experiment, and is in striking contrast to the melancholy forecasts of the official and non-official members who opposed Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill in the Imperial Council.

The State of Baroda consists of the four isolated districts of Baroda, Kadi, Naosari, and Amreli, separated from each other by large tracts of foreign territory. The area is over eight thousand square miles and the population is two millions and thirty-two thousand. There has been an increase of 80,000 persons or 4.1 per cent. during the last decade. The density is 248 per square mile, which, compared with some European countries and some parts of India, is high. The population of the towns has not increased. Naosari is the head quarters of most of the Parsis in Western India, and they number 8000 souls in the district. In the previous decade the population of the State decreased by one-fifth owing to the prevalence of plague and famine. During the present decade the ravages of plague continued and there was a succession of bad harvests. Owing to these and similar causes the net increase of population during the last 40 years was only 1.76 per cent. Dwaraka is an important centre of pilgrimage, and lies within the Gaekwar's territories, yielding 61,000 rupees last year in the shape of pilgrim tax. Nearly 70 per cent. of the people live on agriculture. More than four-fifths of the population are Hindus (24 per cent. being Marathas, the race to which the Gaekwar belongs), and about 8 per cent. are Mahomedans, the rest being Jains, Parsis, aborigines, &c. Half the Hindus are Vaishnavs, the others being Saivas and Saktas. Hindus have increased by nearly 9.7 per cent. and the Moslems by 2.5 per cent. during the decade. The great famine of 1900 yielded the Christian missionaries a plentiful harvest of converts, for the number rose during the decade

from 646 to 7,691 in 1901, but it declined by 488 in the present census. The Arya Samajists are increasing rapidly, thanks to the proselytising zeal of missionaries from the United Provinces, and at present number nearly 600. There are only six Brahmos, immigrants for employment in the State service. Except among a few of the high castes, *Purdah* is not observed in Gujarat. There are over 4000 widows in the State between the age of 1 and 20. The Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1901, the Liberty of Conscience Act (somewhat on the lines of Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's rejected Bill) was also passed about the same time, and the Infant Marriage Prevention Act was passed in 1904. The last Act does not appear to have succeeded in achieving any marvellous results as yet, but there are some adventitious reasons which contributed to the ill-success of this important item of social legislation during the decade. The castes which do not allow remarriage form about 15 per cent. of the population of the State, but such marriages are considered indecorous even among those who allow them when the widows have children and sufficient means of subsistence. We commend this portion of the census report to those who fear that once society permitted widow marriage all restraints would be cast to the winds. In imitation of the evil customs of the higher castes, the low castes of the State, as in the rest of India, look upon enforced widowhood and infant marriage as the hall marks of good birth. Under the head of 'Present day attitude towards widow marriage,' the report says that the treatment of those who have taken part in widow marriages serves rather as a warning than an example to others, and regrets the lack of personal courage on the part of the Indian to do anything which his society or family disapproves. The report might have pointed the moral by referring to the proposed polygamous marriage of Princess Indirajaya, specially as we read that monogamy is the rule and polygamy the exception among his subjects. Kulinism, hypergamy, endogamy, exogamy, prevail just as in Bengal, and unduly restrict the circle of choice. Only ten per cent. of the population (one male in every six and one female in every fifty) are literate. There are seven weekly newspapers in the State, and 23 printing presses. Gujarati is the main language of the State. It is the adopted language of the Parsis. It is spoken by 86.4 per cent. of the total population, including 60 per cent. of the Musalmans. The Gaeikwar has adopted the Devnagri script for all official publications in Gujarati, including the State Gazette. He has also approved of a scheme of imparting higher education through the medium of the vernacular, and a beginning has been made in the Training Colleges in this direction. "Gujarat is pre-eminently a land of castes. In no part of India are the subdivisions so minute as in Gujarat." The report gives a list of as many as thirteen new castes which have already been formed or are in the process of formation. "There are in each village separate wells for these people [the untouchable castes, forming 8 per cent. of the total population of the State and 10 per cent. of the Hindus] and where none exists, they have to wait at a distance from the village wells and take such water as may generously be poured into their vessels from a distance by the people of clean castes." "Social intercourse among persons of different castes may be said to be

practically non-existing." There are soldiers, agriculturists and even day-labourers among Brahmins of the State. The report quotes (p. 140) from Manu and has no difficulty in showing that even in the sacred lawgiver's time Brahmins followed such professions as meat-selling, keeping gambling houses, and carrying dead bodies. The report however adds that the marriageable age is gradually rising, marriages between sub-castes is punished with fines only, and England-returned people are freely readmitted into society on or without the performance of a nominal penance. But there have been no marriages between different castes. The rise of individualism is everywhere apparent. "Domestic service has become very unpopular. It is very easy to secure the services of a clerk or a peon on Rs. 8 or 10, but very difficult to get a cook or servant for the same wages." More Mahomedans are employed in the State service as constables and sepoy than Hindus. Some of the highest appointments are also held by Mahomedans.

Both the reports are excellently printed, but a most conspicuous defect is the want of a good map of Gujarat showing the relative situation of the different districts of the State of Baroda.

VII. *Appeal to the Empire*: by P. Subramania Aiyar, Editor, "African Chronicle." Durban, Natal, 1911.

In this pamphlet the writer gives a connected history of the position of indentured Indian labourers in Natal—how they were induced to emigrate, how they converted the country into a 'garden colony', how after they had done their work they settled down in the country, but by an unjust legislation—Act 17 of 1895—they were compelled either to reintendure, or to pay an annual license of £3 per head in addition to the poll tax of £1, how this tax, imposed alike on males above 16 and females above 13, forced both men and women into slavery or prison and drove the girls into immorality, for the average annual income of an Indian immigrant did not exceed £12 to £15, and the tax pressed heavily on them. The Proclamation of 1843 issued by Her late Majesty under which Natal became an integral part of the British Empire, emphatically declared that "slavery in any shape or under any modification is absolutely unlawful as in every other part of Her Majesty's dominions" and that "there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded upon mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but that the protection of law in letter and substance shall be extended impartially to all alike." Evidently all such high-sounding proclamations are intended for home consumption only. The *Natal Mercury* referring to the Act in question, observes as follows: "The refusal of the Union Government [of South Africa] to consider its repeal, and the manner in which they are now interpreting the law are actions unworthy of a Christian Government, and would be denounced as vile if they were perpetrated by a heathen community; but the attitude of the Union Government is no excuse for the Liberal Government [in England], which comprises so many advocates of peace and humanity, yet has not a single word of protest to make against conduct which no words can sufficiently condemn."

VIII. *Information relating to the Civil Service Examination: For Indian students*: by an I. C. S.

Price annas four. Printed at the Lakshmi Vilas Press, Baroda. To be had of H. M. Desai, Baroda, & others.

This is a very useful little publication and will be highly appreciated by those Indian students who want to go to England to compete for the I. C. S. Examination. It is likely to save them much waste of time and energy. The book furnishes them with most of the information they are likely to require in a short compass, and puts them in the way of gathering further information from proper quarters. We wish other patriotic Indian Civilians would give the country the benefit of their experience, so as to make the task of those who want to follow in their footsteps somewhat easier than hitherto. If the country could have a clear idea of their difficulties in regard to the examination, representations could also be made to the proper authorities for their removal. Copies of this brochure will be supplied free to college libraries and at half-price to other libraries.

IX.—*The Fourth Annual Report of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, Bombay, 1911.*

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, the President of the Society, which has been registered under Act XXI of 1860, truly says that "in elevating the depressed classes we are elevating ourselves." Nor is his excellency Sir George Clarke much wide of the mark when he says: "The cause which we have meant to promote is no less than the conferring of the elementary rights of citizenship upon your fellow human beings who are blamed for no fault of theirs. Until that cause conquers there is nothing worthy to be called an Indian nation." In the Government Schools of Bombay pupils belonging to the depressed classes have to sit separate from other pupils outside or in the verandah of the school-building. Thanks however to the social work done by the Mission, they can now take their seats openly and on relations of equality and mutual respect with the higher castes in public meetings. There are over 22,000 pupils belonging to these classes in the primary schools of the presidency, the number having increased by over 3,000 in 1909 alone. The society is helping indirectly to mould opinion and thus to produce effects which cannot be calculated in figures or embodied in reports. Five schools are maintained by the society, one in Poona and four in Bombay, where literary and industrial education is successfully imparted. At Bombay there is a boarding house attached to the Society's Middle School at Parel. Hinduism on nonsectarian lines, based on 'the meditations of the ancient sages and the passions of the mediæval saints,' ministers to the spiritual needs of the pupils. Propagandist work is not also forgotten. There are nine incorporated branches at Bombay and Poona, and thirteen affiliated centres at such places as Madras, Satara, Amraoti, Indore, Mangalore, &c. The names of His Highness the Gaekwar and the late Miss Clarke, daughter of the Governor of Bombay, occur prominently among the benefactors. The society has been organised on sound lines, and is evidently doing much useful work.

X. *Short Stories* by "Kutshika." Madras, Published by the "Hindu" Office, Mount Road. 1912. 0.6-9.

Madras is not only famous for its printing presses and enterprising firms of publishers, but also for the

large number of educated Indians who can write racy and idiomatic English. These stories are excellently printed and written in a fluent and spirited style. They deal with an aspect of life in educated Indian homes which loudly calls for reform. The object of the writer is to focus the attentions of his readers on the custom of demanding heavy bridegroom price, which often proves ruinous to fathers of marriageable girls, and also on the evil habit of early marriage. The evils of polygamy, which prevails even among University graduates, and enforced widowhood have been vividly described. The failure of some of our social reformers to set an example in their own household, and of educated young men to protest against the exaction of ruinous dowries and the barbarous tyranny of their female relations over their girl wives, furnish the theme of some of the stories. 'Hymen's Obstacle Race' is the most amusing story in the collection, not however without a deeply pathetic side, but 'The Golden Cross' seems to us to be the most perfect in literary finish and displays much psychological acumen. The author knows that the existence of the evils he complains of is admitted, and deplores that no one has the courage of his convictions. The following verses are quoted more than once—

"Grant us the will to fashion as we feel,
Grant us the strength to labour as we know,
Grant us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel,
To strike the blow.
Knowledge we ask not—knowledge 'Thou hast lent,
But, Lord, the will—there lies our bitter need,
Give us to build above the deep intent
The deed, the deed."

We endorse the following remarks from the Introduction contributed by the Editor of the *Hindu*: "The enlightened conscience of the community has to be awakened to a sense of its duties, and it may be hoped that the stories in this book would succeed in an appreciable extent in doing so." We recommend the book which is priced so cheap, to our college students. They will find in it suggestions of practical social reform which some of them may like to carry out in their own lives.

POL.

"*Indian Shipping: A history of the maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times*" by Radhakumud Mukerji M.A., Premchand Roychand scholar, Hemchandra Basu Mallik Professor of Indian History in the National Council of Education, Bengal. (Longmans, 7s. 6d. net).

FIRST NOTICE.

Principal Brajendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., has written the following Introductory Note to this important work:

An Introductory Note.

Prof. Mookerji's monograph on Indian shipping and maritime activity, from the earliest times to the end of the Moghul period, gives a connected and comprehensive survey of a most fascinating topic of Indian history. The character of the work as a learned and up-to-date compilation from the most authoritative sources, indigenous and foreign, must not be allowed to throw into the background the originality and comprehensiveness of the conception. Here, for the first time, fragmentary and scattered records and

evidences are collated and compared in a systematic survey of the entire field; and one broad historical generalization stands out clearly and convincingly, of which all histories of world culture will do well to take note, viz., the central position of India in the orient world, for well-nigh two thousand years, not merely in a social, a moral, a spiritual, or an artistic reference, but also and equally in respect of colonizing and maritime activity, and of commercial and manufacturing interests. A multitude of facts of special significance also come out vividly, and, in several cases, for the first time, in the author's presentation, e.g., the teeming ports and harbours of India, the harbour and other maritime regulations of the Mauryan epoch, the indigenous shipbuilding craft, the Indian classification of vessels and their build, the paramount part played by indigenous Indian shipping in the expansion of Indian commerce and colonization from the shores of Africa and Madagascar to the farthest reaches of Malaysia and the Eastern Archipelago; the auxiliary character of the foreign intermediaries, whether Greek, Arabian, or Chinese; the sources of India's manufacturing supremacy for a thousand years in her advances in applied chemistry, etc. In establishing these positions, the author, besides availing himself of the archaeological (including architectural and numismatic) as well as other historical evidence, has drawn upon hitherto unpublished manuscripts and other obscure sources. But the signal merit of the survey is that these facts of history are throughout accompanied by their political, social or economic interpretation, so that the monograph is not a mere chronicle of facts, but a chapter of un-written culture history, conceived and executed in a philosophical spirit. The author's style combines lucidity with terseness, compresses a large mass of facts into a small compass, and is equal alike to the enumeration of details, and march and sweep of a rapid historical survey.

One characteristic cannot escape the most casual reader of this volume: Prof. Mookerji takes his materials as he finds them, and does not clip and pare them down in the name of historical criticism, or handle them after the accredited methods of speculative chronology. By confining himself to settled landmarks, and traversing his ground by rapid strides, proceeding from epoch to epoch, he is able to avoid the quicksands of Indian chronology. As for the critical methods of sifting evidence, there is a great deal of misconception in the air, and it is best to point out that the methods which are imperative in testing an alleged fact or event are highly unsuitable in a review of the formative forces, agencies, movements, of nation's history as preserved in the store-house of national tradition. To take an example from the so-called higher criticism, to explode the Mosaic authorship is not to explode Moses in culture-history. In fact, whether in Semitic, Chinese, or Indian philology, the destructive (and explosive) criticism of the seventies and eighties of the last century is now itself exploded, and has been followed by a finer and more accurate sense of historic origin and national evolutions. For the rest, it must be recognized that, while accuracy and scientific criticism, in the measure in which they are attainable in the social sciences, must always be essential to a right historical method, a first sketch or mapping of an entire province, the work of scouts, pioneers and conquerors, cannot

usefully employ the methods of a trigonometrical or a cadastral survey.

History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Max Muller.
Published by the Panini Office, Allahabad.

Too well-known to require any introduction. Every Public Library and every Sanskritist and historian ought to have a copy. Price Rs. 6/-

"VAC."

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

Manusamhita, C. ii., with Kulluka's Gloss. Edited by Ramlal Vedantatirtha Vidyaratna, M.A. and published by Messrs. Bhattacharya and Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta. 1911. Price Re. 1-4.

The Calcutta University has prescribed Kulluka's Manvarthamuktavali for the B.A. examination in Sanskrit, but unfortunately no reliable edition of the text was hitherto available. Mr. Ramlal Vedantatirtha felt this want and prepared the present edition from two MSS. and six printed editions. We notice a real improvement of the text in many places. The explanatory notes are remarkably free from errors and they have been judiciously selected. The introduction is concise and full, and contains the results of the latest researches. The index, the 'list of books consulted', and 'the alphabetical' list of quotations that could not be verified, will add greatly to the value of the book. The get up is excellent and the price moderate.

An examination of the various readings which appear at the foot of each page yields the following conclusion:—(1) the six printed editions represent really three different MSS.; thus Professor Bidhubhusan Goswami's edition looks like mere reprint of the Bangabasi edition and need not have been separately mentioned. (2) The much decuded edition of Jivanda is better than those of Vasudeva (Bombay) and Bidhubhusan Goswami (Calcutta).

The present edition came as a pleasant surprise to us. It was a genuine pleasure to turn away from the Notes which pass current under the dignified name of commentary and edition amongst the students of the Calcutta University to Professor Ramlal's edition. The former formed the subject of a notable campaign in the Calcutta University. The authors of these keys—including such well-known men as Pandit Nrisimha Chandra Mukherji, M.A., Babu Janakinath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., F.R.S., and Professor Bidhubhusan Goswami, M.A.—were deprived of their examinations for compiling what the University authoritatively pronounced to be mere cram books or keys, though they usually masqueraded under dignified titles. Upon this, the vast majority of the key-makers realised the gravity of their offence and quickly gave up all connection with the keys. But unfortunately a small minority saw in this only a better opportunity, the prospect of fewer competitors and greater profit. So they persisted in their old trade, now rendered doubly lucrative, and continued to pour forth voluminous keys to the shame of their *Ajma Mater*, and ruin of their students. The registered graduates of the Calcutta University were so much impressed by the scholarship manifested by these gentlemen in these keys which form their sole literary works, that they elected one of them to be a member of the senate! It was in such a time as this that Professor Ramlal Vedantatirtha compiled this really excellent

book. The student community who are never insensible to any higher stimulus would undoubtedly turn to Prof. Ramlal Vedantatirtha's book in preference to its more voluminous rivals.

To turn now to the defects of the book. The present work seems to have been printed in a hurry; and all the blemishes pointed out below are due to this sole cause. No scholar should work in a hurry. Patience is the watchword of all research. (1) The preface ought to have preceded the introduction. (2) The Notes are not entirely free from bad English such as too frequently disfigure the ordinary keys. (3) There are orthographical blunders, and though they have been rigorously corrected by Errata, yet they certainly detract from the merit of a scholarly edition such as the present book. (4) Pandit Ramlal Vedantatirtha is a professor in the Cotton College, Gauhati, and we certainly expect him to consult some Assamese MSS., provided they are available. He should not have contented himself with merely two Bengal MSS.

This book, however, discovers a new method of work to our Sanskrit Professors. If they would follow in Professor Ramlal Vedantatirtha's footsteps, as faithfully as some of them did in the footsteps of the gifted Principal Saradaranjan Roy in the method of Annotation, they will soon remove the well-deserved reproach that Bengali Professors of Sanskrit are uncritical and at best only Key-makers. In conclusion, we wish Professor Ramlal's book all success and hope he would ere long give us an edition of the entire Manvarthamuktavali.

"VAC."

BENGALI.

Jainadharma. A Bengali tract in seven pages on Jainism, published by Kumar Devendraprasad Jaina of the Bangiya Sarvadharmaparishad, Nirvana Kunja Bhadaini, Benares City, for free distribution.

It is the Bengali translation of a Mahrati lecture by Balgangadhar Tilak. It shows that Jainism is a part of Hinduism and that the doctrine of *ahimsa* अहिंसा is derived from the Jains, and not from the Bauddhas as ordinarily supposed. Notwithstanding its bad language, it will amply repay perusal.

"VAC."

HINDI.

Prachin Bharatvasion ka Videsh Jatra and Vaideshik Vyapar, by Pandita Udaynarayan Vajpeyi. Printed by the Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad and published by the Hindigranth-Prakashamandali, Aurya, Etawah. Crown 8vo. pages 71+2. Price annas 8.

The Hindi-grantha-prasarak-mandali has embarked upon the laudable endeavour of writing Hindi books on subjects hitherto little attended to in the Hindi literature, except what one saw in the course of isolated articles in Hindi periodicals. The reviews published by the Association on some of the best known Hindi poets of the Musalman period and written by those especially competent to handle them, the Misra brothers, have been deservedly appreciated by the more advanced Hindi readers. Before us now lies a book evincing considerable research; and though a few of the facts mentioned in the book

require more proofs than such as have been advanced by the author, we still feel bound to pay tribute to the amount of pains taken in collecting the necessary materials, which have been got together from multifarious sources. The writer strives to prove that there are statements in the ancient writings of India, e.g., the Vedas and the Valmikiya Ramayana, which go to prove that sea-voyages were common for the people of India. He fortifies his remarks by means of quotations from the writings of foreign authors. The writer starts the theory that in the Buddhistic period, Bauddha Bhikshus went over even to America and preached their religion to the people of Alaska, Mexico, Guatimala, Peru, and others. There are plausible proofs from philological and other sources in support of this, as also of the statement that the Hindus found sovereignties in Western Asia. Some space is also given to the well-known fact of the colonisation of Bali and Lambak in the East Indies, and reference is made to the emigration of the ancient Hindus to Sarawak in Borneo. The commercial relations of the Hindus with the nations in the different parts of the world are dealt with elaborately and several chapters are devoted to them. The writer states in one place that there was a time when the Hindus exchanged silk, weight for weight, with gold. The book constitutes a strong plea in favour of sea-voyages and will, we hope, serve to demolish many of the prejudices against them. The plan of the book is novel and everything mentioned is discussed on scientific lines, efforts being made to prove the statements conclusively. The language is popular and the get-up of the book is nice. The proofs seem to have been passed with more care than we ordinarily find in the case of Hindi books.

Hindi Meghduta by Pandita Lakshmidhar Vajpeyi. Printed and Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. Demy 8vo. pp. 60+5. Price as. 6.

There have been other metrical translations of the Sanskrit Shakspeare's Meghduta, but the one under review is still valuable for being in Khariboli. The author has been fairly successful in preserving the spirit of the original in the face of the obvious difficulties. There is a preponderance of difficult Sanskrit words, which in some instances could have been avoided. However, their meanings have been given in simple Hindi in the foot-note for the benefit of the general reader. There is a portrait of the author in the frontispiece and there are besides two tri-coloured blocks, of the *Faksha* and the *Fakshini*. The author has also subjoined a summary of the story in prose. The get-up of the book is very nice, the printing being effected on art paper. The author deserves encouragement.

Karyya Vivarna, part II of Pratham-Hindi-Sakitya-Sammilan, published by the Reception Committee of the Sammilan and printed by the Indian Press, Allahabad. Crown quarto, pp. 144. Price as. 12.

This book has been lying on our table for a pretty long time. It contains 16 prose theses and starts with 6 poems on different subjects connected with the Hindi language. These essays and poems were read at the first Hindi Sammilan held in October, 1810. What strikes one in reading the essays is the fact that each one has been treated by the authority best qualified to deal with it. There are two essays

which constitute the product of much research, both being on the modern Devanagiri Script. These have been illustrated and the theories propounded therein have been sought to be proved with much ingenuity. The short essay on the history of Hindi Literature by the Misra Brothers reveals many new facts. The one headed "Hindi in the Moslem regime" proves by means of facts and figures that the Hindi language was patronised by most of the Musalman rulers. The Rev. G. J. Danne of the Bankipore Baptist Mission comes with his contribution on the assistance given by the Christian Missions in the cause of the Hindi Literature. The hope of the ex-Justice Srijut Sarada Charan Mitra in his thesis headed "National language and National Script," that Hindi may at one time be the national language of the whole of India must be shared by every right thinking Indian: and though there are difficulties in the way, they are not altogether insurmountable. Efforts made in this direction will be well repaid by the great ease and facility with which the efforts for the advancement of the nation, will be attended as a consequence of it. The price of the book is not much, considering the intrinsic worth of its contents.

Kusum-Sangrah by Shrimati Bangamahila. Printed by the Indian Press, Allahabad and edited by Pandit Ramchandra Shukl. Pp. 250. Price Rupee one, annas four.

Hindi readers are not unfamiliar with the writings of Shreemati Bangamahila, which have appeared occasionally in periodicals like the *Sarasvati*, *Sama-lochana*, *Bhartendu*, etc. *Kusum-Sangrah* contains some of these. There is a variety of subjects which have been discussed in the book, but most of them are primarily suited for the perusal of girls. The book will form an admirable prize-book in girls' schools. At least eight out of the ten stories in the book particularly concern themselves with some phase or other of female character. Some of these stories are pretty long, and besides these, there are six essays, two of which give very practical hints on domestic economy and female accomplishments. Further, there are accounts of the Todas of the Nilgiri Mountains and the wild tribes of the Andamans. Some very curious habits and customs of these tribes are referred to. The book is wound up with two small biographies, one of which being that of Bhagavati Devi, mother of Vidyasagar, is very elevating. What we especially note is that the writings are calculated to appeal in a simple but forcible manner to female instincts and produce typical Indian women. The language reflects much credit on the authoress, and though the book has been revised by the Editor, we cannot refrain from noting in the style of the writings, features which tell

us that the authoress writes Hindi naturally and spontaneously. There are in some places very apt uses of Hindi proverbs and idioms. We repeat that the book will form a nice and useful present to females. It is no less interesting to the general reader.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Murakhraj and his two brothers, published by the International Printing Press, Phoenix, Natal, South Africa. Paper bound, pp. 71.

This is a translation of one of Tolstoy's stories. The language at times is incorrect and a mere reproduction of foreign phrases, without any attempt to clothe them into Gujarati idiom, and hence, crude. But on the whole the interest of the story is well kept. It depicts the fruitless efforts of Satan to wean away a very simple but honest noodle of a peasant from the paths of rectitude and affection for his brothers and family.

Jaina Kanya Pravesh; compiled and published by Mohanlal Dalchand Desai, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Bombay. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board, pp. 191, (1912). Price Rs. 0-6-0.

The Jaina Conference has laid down a standard of moral education for schools, in this part of India, and this compilation is an attempt to conform to that standard. The poems collected are from the pen of various Gujarati Jaina poets, and they have been fully and well annotated. A very short but instructive introduction, and an index of names of the poets and the first lines of the poems are the special features of the book. Though primarily meant for Jainas, its perusal is likely to benefit all. To a lay or non-Jaina mind, it gives information on various points. Some of the devotional songs which have become like household words in this important community are of great poetical power, and a collection like this is sure to fulfil its object.

1. *Shri Buddha Charitra*. Cloth bound, pp., 152. Price Rs. 0-8-0.
2. *Shri Buddhopadesh*. Paper bound, pp. 98. Price Rs. 0-6-0. Both written by Manilal Nathubhai Doshi, B.A., of Ahmedabad (1912).

Both these compilations, as their names imply, relate to Buddha. At all times his life and teachings are instructive, and the more widely they become known the greater the good they would do to us all. As a effort in this direction, we welcome these publications which on account of the easy treatment of the subject will go a great way to make it popular.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Engineering Education.

In the whole of India and Burma, with their population of 315 millions, there are not even half a dozen Engineering Colleges,

and of these Roorki College is not open to all pure natives of India irrespective of their place of birth and race. This quite inadequate provision for Engineering

education is now proposed, not to be increased but to be reduced, by the abolition of Shibpore College. It would seem therefore that all those who might like to be engineers would not be able to find in India facilities for receiving the education required. We would draw the attention of all such to the article on Engineering Education in America published in this number. It will be seen therein that in America in many institutions engineering education can be had at a total cost of Rs. 100 per month and even less. Education at Roorkee is said to cost Rs. 100 per head per mensem.

Abolition of the Shibpore Engineering College.

At the annual meeting of the central council of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education held on April 20th last it was resolved

"That in the opinion of this Council, it is undesirable that the Shibpore Civil Engineering College should be abolished."

The mover of the resolution, Rai Bahadur Krishna Chandra Benerjee, who is a well known Engineer, made a most convincing speech. As this question has not received the attention which its importance demands, we give below almost the whole of his speech, particularly as it is free from verbiage.

The abolition of the College has been foreshadowed in the Government Resolution No. 302 dated 20th January, 1912, in which the main points raised were these :—

1. Whether a technological Institute and a Mining Institute are required to be established or not.

2. That as only one appointment in the Superior grade of service in the Public Works Dept. is made annually from the students of the Civil Engineering College at Shibpore, whether it is advisable to maintain such an expensive College as the one at Shibpore for the recruitment of only one officer for the Bengal P. W. D.

3. That as most of the passed students join the subordinate rank in the Public Works Department with the inevitable result of creating a class of dissatisfied subordinates, whether it is not advisable to expand the Behar School of Engineering for the training of subordinates for the Public Works Department.

Out of these points only 2 and 3 which relate to the Resolution I have the honour to move may be discussed together. While admitting that of late only one appointment is made every year in Bengal to the superior grade of service in the P. W. Department, we cannot accept the view that the Civil Engineering College at Shibpore is solely maintained for the purpose of recruitment of officers, for the Public Works Department. It is also not correct to say that most

of the students who pass out of the College join the subordinate rank in P. W. Department. The facts and figures which I am going to place before you presently will sufficiently belie these assumptions. Out of 270 students who passed out of the Shibpore College between 1864 and 1906, 62 were appointed in the Superior grade of the P. W. Dept., 74 were private professional practitioners, or found employment on Railways, under private firms, and the Education Department, 53 were appointed under District Boards and Municipalities, and only 81 were in the Subordinate grade. From this it is manifest that only 30 p. c. of the successful students entered the subordinate service of the P. W. Dept., while more than two-thirds were employed on works which required as high a standard of training as that of the officers of the P. W. Department.

I might be permitted to mention here a fact that a large number of Bengali students finding the course of training in the C. E. College at Poona of shorter duration, passed out from that College. Some 65 Bengali students came out from Poona between the years 1873 and 1906, and 57 Bengali students passed out from Roorkee up to the year 1898, when Roorkee was closed to the students not domiciled in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Of these 122 students, only 18 obtained guaranteed appointments in the superior grades in other provinces, while the rest of them returned to their own Province. Thus there are at present 120 Bengali Civil Engineers outside the permanent establishment of the P. W. Department as the following list will show :—

District Engineers out of 46 District in the old Province of Bengal	31
Assistant District Engineers	2
Calcutta Corporation and other Municipalities	10
Port Commissioners	5
Raj Estates	8
Private firms	32
Private Engineers practising in Calcutta and outside	22
B. N. Ry.	3
E. B. S. Ry. (temporary staff)	5
Factories	2
Total	120

It is thus obvious that besides Govt. service there are other openings in Bengal for men who have adopted Civil Engineering as their profession.

An officer holding a very responsible post under Govt. was heard by me to say that of late very few students availed themselves of the C. E. College at Shibpore, so much so that for the last 3 or 4 years the percentage of passes has been very low. The Principal of the Shibpore Engineering College in his Annual Report for 1909-10, page 307, says, however, "In my last report I dealt with the serious nature of the situation that this College now finds itself in, unable to expand at Shibpore and with insufficient accommodation for the increasing numbers now attracted to the College." This proves beyond doubt that the authorities in charge of the College do not hold the views expressed above. The same report shows that there were 108 applications for admission, and only 30 could be asked to join. On the face of these hard facts it is indeed a calumny to say that Bengali students have little or no aptitude for Civil Engineering as a

profession. If the percentage of passes has been low, the cause must be sought for elsewhere.

I need not here take up your time in explaining to you the reasons for the low percentage, referred to above and it is met that Government should enquire into the cause of this falling off in the number of passes. I dare say many people who are in a position to know the actual facts of the case could give some cogent reasons for this phase of the case, if they are invited to express their opinion on this point.

I am sure many of you are personally cognisant of the fact that there is at present a great and growing demand in the Province for the services of trained Engineers. The Zamindars in Bengal are waking up to the fact that there is much room for improvement in their Zamindari and services of men with experience and knowledge of Sanitary and Agricultural Engineering are evidently in great demand now, and would be so in the years to come.

Schemes of Light Railways for the improvement of interdistrict communication are being taken up by several District Boards and the demand for services of qualified Indian Engineers with local experience and with a knowledge of the manners and customs of the people is on the increase. One of the Light Railways of the Province not many miles from Calcutta is under the sole management of an eminent Bengali Engineer, who while labouring under exceptional difficulties, has effected considerable improvements on his line, which has extorted admiration even from the Government Consulting Engineers for the highly efficient way in which he has discharged his duties as manager and engineer of the Line.

Capitalists in Calcutta and the mufassil are now appreciating the advantage of employing trained Engineers and Architects for the construction of buildings for residential and business purposes, for electric installations, etc. Municipalities are carrying out projects of water supply, drainage, etc., so that malarious towns are being converted into health resorts and swamps are being reclaimed and converted into flourishing gardens. It would thus be a highly retrograde policy, if Government were induced to lower the standard of qualification of the Civil Engineering branch of the Shibpur College. The demand, as has already been pointed out, is on the increase and the increasing number of students going abroad proves beyond doubt that Bengal requires more trained Engineers than can be supplied by the local College. Roorki has already closed its doors to the Bengal students, and the authorities at Poona have also restricted the number of students to be admitted from Bengal. Even as proposed in the Government Resolution, if facilities be given for Bengali students to enter the Roorki College and get themselves trained there, you can well imagine that only a few students could avail themselves of the privilege, as they are as a rule not very opulent and can hardly afford to go to Roorki and prosecute their studies in that college. Such a policy cannot satisfy the growing demands of a Presidency which has for its Capital the second City of the British Empire. It is thus evident that the expansion of the Behar School of Engineering will not help the people of the Bengal Presidency in any way.

As already mentioned before that up to 1906 only 81 students entered the subordinate rank of the P. W. Dept. after qualifying themselves as Engineers,

and the Government Resolution quoted above points out that there is a considerable amount of disappointment and discontent among them by reason of the fact that only one student is at present admitted annually to the superior grade of the P. W. Department in Bengal. This dissatisfaction is not a special characteristic of the Bengali student alone, but is shared alike by the students of Poona, Madras and even of Roorki, inasmuch as it is not possible for all the successful students to enter the superior grades of Government service. It is a natural corollary to the system of appointing men by competitive examination.

If the opinion expressed in the Government Resolution be given effect to, then, to be consistent, all the Civil Engineering Colleges in India should be abolished. The proposal of depriving only the premier Presidency of India of its Civil Engineering College while retaining those in the other Presidencies is therefore an absurd one, and cannot be seriously entertained.

As far as we have been able to ascertain, the people of the Presidency desire a considerable expansion of the Shibpur Engineering College and not its abolition. In the opinion of the Council it is therefore highly undesirable to abolish the College and in this the Council is convinced that it voices the emphatic expression of opinion of the majority of the people of the Bengal Presidency.

The duration of Viceregal assurances.

Our Viceroy has assured us that he will not allow anything to be done in connection with the proposed Dacca University which may in any way have the effect of an educational partition. The suspicion with which the people look upon the scheme in spite of such an emphatic declaration by the highest authority in the land may be regarded by some as sheer perversity on our part. But what lends justification to our fears is the way in which the most solemn declarations of administrative policy are forgotten, even reversed, soon after their authors leave the shores of India. The fate of the Shibpur Engineering College, for instance, is now very uncertain. But here is what Lord Curzon said of it in his celebrated resolution on Indian Educational Policy in 1904:—

"Technical education in India has hitherto been mainly directed to the higher forms of instruction required to train men for Government service as engineers, mechanicians, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers, or teachers in schools, and for employment in railway workshops, cotton mills and mines. The institutions which have been established for these purposes, such as the Engineering Colleges at...Shibpur...have done and are doing valuable work, and their maintenance and further development are matters of great importance."

Eight years after this was written, the

abolition, and not the further development, of the Engineering College at Shibpur, seems to have become a matter of even greater importance, in spite of the unanimous protests of the people of the country.

Perjury in England and India.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in Chapter II, Part III of his book on the *Awakening of India*, says that 'bearing false witness' is a grave defect of the Indian character. "This," he adds, "is one of the most depressing experiences of the friends of the Indian people, and is responsible for destroying in many a man the sympathy with which he began his official career. It cannot be condoned...." If this defect is so serious as to forfeit the sympathy of English friends, is not the state of things in England sufficiently grave to lose it the sympathy of the civilised world? For here is what His Honour Judge Edge, of the Clerkenwell County Court, said in a judgment delivered on the 15th December, 1911:—

"The increase of perjury in the county courts is so alarming that public attention ought to be directed to it. It is a pressing demand. I am saying it as a retiring judge, being on the Bench for 23 years, that it is almost impossible to do justice between the parties owing to the prevalence of false swearing. *It is really shocking.* It has been a matter which has placed a very great anxiety upon judges who have to try cases and endeavour to do what is right and just between the parties. False swearing is increasing in a way that I think the legislature ought to pay attention to at once. I do not think any one would oppose that greater powers should be placed in the hands of judges for checking perjury."

Mr. Macdonald represents the working classes, who sell their votes to preliminary candidates in return for a free drink at the nearest public house. And yet Mr. Macdonald says in the paragraph immediately preceding that from which the above quotation has been made, that "The West must ask no excuses for its own bad habits which it is not prepared to give to the East for its bad habits."

The Coal Strike.

The coal strike in Great Britain, which is now over, shows that peace hath her victories no less renowned than war, that these victories can be won by the "common people," that they do not necessarily

involve bloodshed and that the only weapons they require are organisation in view of the accomplishment of a common object steadfastly adhered to.

Another Indian Professor in an American University.

In our last number we recorded the appointment of an Indian to a chair in an American University. In this we are able to report another. Mr. Har Dayal has been appointed Professor of Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. *The Daily Palo Alto*, the organ of that University, writes in its issue of 1st March last:—

Har Dayal Chosen Professor in Sanskrit Will give Course.

Har Dayal, the Hindu student, has been appointed by the board of trustees as lecturer on Indian Philosophy at Stanford University, and he will meet with his classes next week. The courses will be in the regular curriculum and credit for graduation will be given for this semester's work.

A course in Sanskrit is to be given by Dayal and he is also to give descriptive and historical lectures on the Philosophies of India. All interested in taking either of the courses are requested to meet in room 460 on Tuesday, March 5, at 2-30 p.m. Mr. Dayal will be present to meet the students. It has not yet been decided whether they will be two or three hour courses.

First Hindu Professor in U. S.

The engagement by the trustees of Mr. Dayal is an innovation in American college circles, as no other Hindu lecturer is known to be engaged in the institutions of the United States. The students who take the new courses will doubtless receive much benefit by receiving their knowledge of the subject practically first hand.

Mr. Har Dayal is a brilliant graduate of the Punjab University and studied for some time at Oxford. He was asked to deliver two lectures on Indian philosophy in January last, and the appointment has followed after a short time.

Stanford University.

Stanford University is one of the fourteen great American Universities. It was founded by a millionaire with an endowment of several million dollars. It is the richest university in the world as regards endowment. But there are no opportunities for self-support there, and the University charges fees. Board and lodging cost at least Rs. 75 per mensem. The fees and laboratory charges are extra. Fees are

Rs. 90 per annum. Laboratory charges vary according to the subject. If Indian students wish to go there they must have means of their own; and they must be graduates of some Indian University. For this University has a strict test for admission, as it has a higher social and academic standing than some other universities. Only graduates of Indian Universities can profitably study here. This University is noted for the excellence of its departments of science, engineering and medicine. It does not attach so much importance to mere literary studies. But the above three subjects are taught very efficiently. The professors are men of world-wide reputation.

The colonization of Kashmir.

It is said that the removal of the capital to Delhi will facilitate the colonization of Kashmir. But nobody yet knows whether the Government of India have any such project in view, though from the following extract from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 16, it does not seem improbable:—

"Economically, again, the climatic conditions of the country are important; for it is here that European colonization is to succeed, if it succeeds anywhere in India. The English race has never yet taken root in India, but it seems possible that with more facilities for occupation Kashmir might become a white man's country."

If Government really intend to make Kashmir a British colony, we hope ample safeguards will be provided for preventing the evils from which the indigenous population of European colonies have suffered in former and recent times.

Mr. Amir Ali and the Turkish Revolution.

We find the following passage in E. F. Knight's "The Awakening of Turkey" (p. 67) regarding Mr. Amir Ali's connection with the Young Turk movement:—

"It will be remembered that the Sheikh-ul-Islams, as representative of the *mollahs* and the interpreters of the Koran in Turkey, gave the young Turk movement the sanction of the faith, rebuked the fanatics who had preached against reform as being irreligious, and compelled them to stay their mischievous vapourings. Had it not been for this support the revolution would have been impossible. But it may not be generally known that the theological arguments which convinced the Sheikh-ul-Islam that this was the right attitude to take were drawn up for him by a faithful subject of Edward VII, Ameer Ali, ex-judge of

the High Court in India, and a learned exponent of Moslem thought and tradition."

The U. P. Conferences.

In the United Provinces in addition to the political and social conferences, an industrial conference was also held, thus setting an example for Bengal to follow. The political conference was not much of a success. The two others were successful. The success of the industrial conference was due to a great extent to the co-operation of the European manufacturers and merchants of Cawnpore. The speech of the President, Mr. A. H. Silver, was very telling. Speaking on the cotton excise duties he said:—

First of all we may reasonably ask that even if active help cannot always be given, we should at least not meet with actual hindering of our industries at the hands of Government. And yet how otherwise can we regard the imposition of the excise duty levied by Government on the output of all cotton cloth woven on power looms in this country? The imposition of this duty cries shame upon those who were responsible for it, and we have every reason for saying that it was forced upon India at the dictates of a jealous body of manufacturers in Lancashire, against the advice of all who were qualified to judge.

No matter whether the Indian manufacturer makes a profit or a loss he has to pay to Government a levy of 3½% upon the value of every yard of cloth he turns off his power looms. Think upon the iniquity of it—the State says to the manufacturer, 'Unless you agree to pay me a certain sum of money upon every piece of cloth you make I refuse to allow you to make cotton goods at all.' Thus is the greatest industry of the country throttled. How can we expect capital to flow into industrial channels when we are faced with the knowledge that whenever an industry has proved able to hold its own against foreign competition it is liable to be penalised by the imposition of an excise duty at the bidding of influential manufacturers in England controlling votes in the House of Commons? This cotton excise duty is nothing more or less than a protective duty in favour of Lancashire, for be it remembered that while the Lancashire manufacturer pays an import duty at the gates of India only upon the quantity of cloth he actually sells to India and upon nothing else, the unfortunate Indian manufacturer besides paying the excise duty of 3½ per cent. upon all the goods he makes (whether they be sold or not) also pays an import duty usually of 5½ per cent. upon many necessities of his trade which must be imported, including oils, dyes, driving ropes and on such items of machinery parts as the customs authorities may be pleased to declare as capable of being used for some purpose other than that for which they have obviously been imported. Now it must be clearly borne in mind that the only argument ever used in support of this levy is that it is necessary in order that India may not have an advantage over Lancashire in the manufacture of cotton goods for sale in India. I will not discuss the justice of this claim—many of you will, I know, deny that there is any justice in it. But in the first place

I hold that the actual duty paid by the Indian manufacturer exceeds that paid by the Lancashire manufacturer for the reasons I have just stated, while in the second place I state with all the emphasis at my command that there is no real competition between England and India in these goods.

On the question of the unfair railway tariffs, which would seem to have been meant to prevent the growth of industries in India, Mr. Silver said :—

The third respect in which we may, I think, fairly ask for Government co-operation is the revision of the railway tariffs with due regard to the possibilities of Indian industrial expansion, and this I regard as the most important of all. Have you ever realised that our railway tariffs are framed almost solely with the view of aiding the exporter of raw produce? Yet if one studies the complicated mass of printed matter designated 'Railway goods Tariffs' it will be found that practically all the special rates are port rates, that is, rates for carrying the produce from our rich valleys and plains in the interior to the sea-board, there to be exported and worked up by the industries of other lands. I am not contending that we are now, perhaps we never shall be, able to work up all produce ourselves into the form in which it is finally marketed, but we can at least make a beginning given favourable conditions, and it is the railway tariff in many instances which prevents our effecting the conversion and reaping the resultant profit ourselves, to say nothing of the wages paid to our workers engaged in the processes.

The following instances occur to me :—

On raw cotton the railway freight from Cawnpore to Bombay is Rs. 0-15-11 per maund or '22 pie per maund per mile. On the yarn made from that cotton as well as on piece goods the sum charged for the same journey is Rs. 1-13-1 per maund or '41 pie per maund per mile. The difference between these rates is as nearly as possible '2 pie per lb., a very big item when dealing with a commodity like cotton yarn.

Taking grain as an example, we find that it is carried from Delhi to Howrah, a distance of 903 miles, at Rs. 0-7-6 per maund or '09 pie per maund per mile. Supposing we have a flour mill at Chunar situated just half way between Delhi and Howrah—to be exact 465 miles from Delhi; if it were carried to that point on the same basis of rate, the charge would be Rs. 0-3-6 per maund, but the rate actually charged is Rs. 0-6-3 per maund or very nearly double. Put in another form, the railway gets Rs. 0-6-3 per maund for carrying the grain 465 miles to Chunar, but they will take it another 439 miles for you to Howrah for an additional charge of Rs. 0-1-3 per maund. But you need not consider the possibility of establishing a flour mill at Chunar, or any other place similarly situated, for while the grain from Delhi is taken past your door to Howrah for an inclusive charge of Rs. 0-7-6 per maund you have first of all to pay Rs. 0-6-3 per maund for bringing the grain to your mill and a further 6 annas per maund to carry the flour to Howrah. It will be understood that I am merely illustrating the vicious principle which underlies the framing of our railway rates, and although Chunar may not possibly be a happy selection for my illustration it brings out the

point I wish to establish and owners of flour mills can give the railways varied examples of the hardship they suffer in this direction if promised sympathetic consideration.

A third example is the differentiation made between raw hides and tanned leather. The railway will carry raw hides from Delhi or Cawnpore to Howrah at Rs. 0-7-6 or Rs. 0-5-3 per maund respectively equal to '09 pie per maund per mile. But to bring hides from Delhi to Cawnpore, a distance of 271 miles only, one has to pay Rs. 0-5-8 per maund or '25 pies per maund per mile. Think of the absurdity of it—Rs. 0-5-3 to carry the hides over 633 miles between Cawnpore and Howrah, but Rs. 0-5-8 per maund to carry the same hides over 271 miles between Delhi and Cawnpore. So as to make it impossible that the leather should be tanned in this country and afford employment to our workpeople, the rate charged for leather, common or rough, in bales from Cawnpore to Howrah is Re. 1 per maund. It costs therefore Rs. 0-5-3 per maund to take raw hides from here to Howrah, but Re. 1 per maund to take the tanned leather over the same distance. These are but mere samples of the anomalies I have picked out from the tariff in the course of the last few hours. I have no doubt many more glaring examples would be brought to light if enquiry were made.

The Chittagong Conference.

From the accounts published in the papers and from what we have heard from



Mr. A. Rasul, President of the Bengal Provincial Conference, Chittagong.

friends who attended both the political and social conferences held in Chittagong it is clear that they evoked great enthusiasm and were so far very successful. What we have generally failed in is keeping up and utilising this enthusiasm throughout the year. We find that there is great public interest in questions like sanitation, educational bifurcation in Bengal, Council



Mr. Jaminikanta Sen, the Secretary, the Bengal Provincial Conference, Chittagong.

regulations, technical education, the Shib-pore Engineering College, the inclusion of all Bengali-speaking districts and areas in the Bengal Presidency, education of women, the remarriage of widows, the training of widows as teachers, &c. This interest should be kept up by holding meetings, publishing pamphlets, &c., and chiefly by practical work in matters which are entirely in our hands. We know there was a proposal to publish a pamphlet on the proposed educational bifurcation in Bengal, a gentleman promised to pay the cost and parts of the pamphlet were edited and



Mr. Jatramohan Sen, President of the Reception Committee, the Bengal Provincial Conference, Chittagong.

made ready for the press. But for some mysterious reason or other, the matter ended in smoke.

The Kayastha Conference at Fyzabad.

At Fyzabad the Kayastha Conference was this year presided over by Babu Sarada Charan Mitra, a Bengali Kayastha. There was also a movement set on foot to promote interdining and intermarriage between Hindustani and Bengali Kayasthas. These are hopeful signs of the times. No doubt, besides the prejudices of backward persons, the greatest difficulty in the way of Kayastha intermarriage is the difference in the mother tongue of the two sections. There are some social differences too. For instance, Babu Iswar Saran, a Hindustani Kayastha leader, says that in many a Hindustani Kayastha family, grown-up daughters do not appear before their fathers, nor grown-up sisters before their elder brothers. This unhealthy state of things does not obtain in Bengal. Again, drinking, as an every-day practice, and as a recognised

social institution on ceremonial occasions like marriage (prevailing among both men and women), has never obtained among Bengali Kayasthas, which can scarcely be said of Behari and Hindustani Kayasthas, in spite of the Kayastha Temperance movement. We do not, of course, mean to say that there are no drinkers or drunkards among Bengali Kayasthas. We are speaking of it only as a recognised social practice. There are other differences which can not be discussed in these columns. We shall be glad if the proposal of inter-marriage leads to an obliteration of these differences by a process of levelling up.

Pandits in Conference.

In thought activity in the field of social and political reform, Madras has been of late occupying a leading place among the provinces of India. But even for Madras to bring together orthodox Pandits in a Conference for discussing the marriageable age of girls or the permissibility of sea-voyages is a forward move. The first attempts may end in failure, but there is no doubt that, as in the case of other earnest endeavours, they will ultimately prove stepping-stones to success.

Other Conferences.

Last month has witnessed the Hindu Education Conference, the Sikh Conference and other Conferences. We have no space to notice the proceedings of any in detail. We are glad to find, however, that all communities now understand that education, both for boys and girls, for the upper ten as well as the lower ten thousand, lies at the root of all progress.

A separate Province for Andhras.

Owing to the new names given in some cases to provinces by the Musalman and British rulers of India we are sometimes apt to forget the individuality of old provinces and language-areas. For this reason it is perhaps necessary to explain to many of those who have read only the Geography of Modern India that Andhra-Desha is the Telugu-speaking province which lies to the south of Orissa.

Our Andhra brethren wish to have a separate province for themselves. The

Desabhimani of Guntur, a tri-weekly organ of theirs, writes thus on this subject :—

An esteemed publicist writes to us that an agitation to secure a separate province for the Andhras is ill-advised and harmful to our best interests and that this is a retrograde step conflicting with the formation of an Indian nationality. We respectfully submit that this agitation is in consonance with the views expressed in the memorable Despatch of Lord Hardinge to the Secretary of State. The future Indian nation will be composed of various races speaking different languages and progressing according to different traditions but to reach a similar goal. A strong Indian nationality must consist of strong and efficient units. Unless the different races composing the Indian nationality are in themselves self-constituted and efficient, the Indian nation as a whole cannot be an efficient nationality. The different members of the nationality with unequal degrees of development will form a weak nationality unable to have uniform progress. We fully realise the higher ideal of the formation of the Indian nation, but before it is an accomplished fact, the separate races must be strong and efficient units able to contribute a large share to Indian nationalism. This agitation is not peculiar to us but advocated by the best representatives of different races in India. A common language is the greatest bond of union and as such, the Beharis, the Bengalis, the Mahrattas and the Uriyas all desire a separate province, wherein they can progress with a strong individuality of their own. Thus each province will be a self-constituted unit controlled by the central authority. The Government have fully recognised this principle and we are firmly of the opinion that the Andhras cannot have any appreciable improvement and cannot contribute to any large extent to the ideal of Indian nationality unless they have a separate province of their own. The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha in his presidential speech at the sixth United Provinces Conference said, "In view of the scheme of provincial autonomy to which I shall presently refer, it is absolutely necessary that so far as may be, each province should comprise a more or less homogenous population speaking preferably one language." We are of the same opinion and it remains to be seen how the Andhra country receives the scheme.

There is much truth in what the *Desabhimani* says.

Influence of the West on the East.

Mr. Sidney Low in "The Fortnightly Review" writes thus on this subject :

"If we are to impress the East it must be rather by our public than our private morality. We should like to be able to show that the European nations as a whole, in their collective action towards those of the Orient, are inspired by lofty motives and are actuated by the regard for altruism, justice, and legality which are among the elements of Christian civilisation. It must be admitted that from this point of view our missionaries will find a good deal to explain away. The conduct of the most Christian powers during the past few years has borne a striking resemblance to that of robber bands descending upon an unarmed

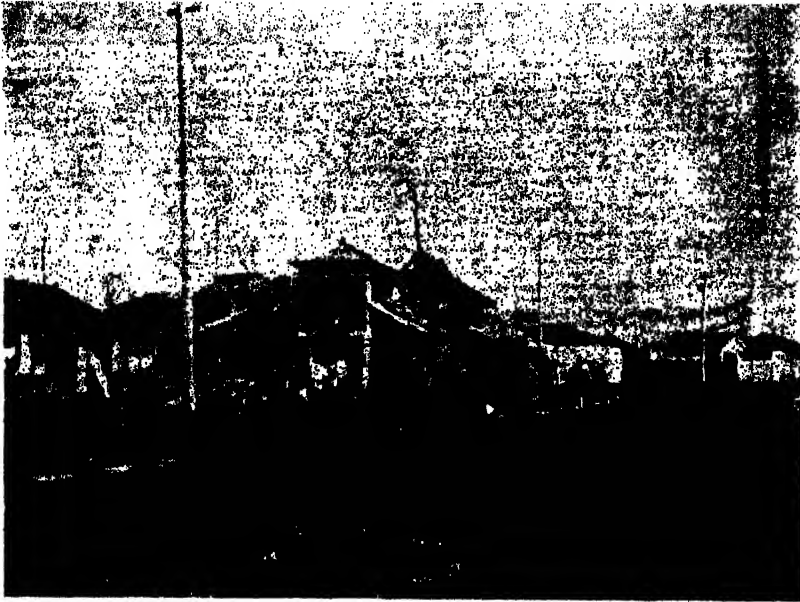
and helpless population of peasants. So far from respecting the rights of other nations, they have exhibited the most complete and cynical disregard for them. They have, in fact, asserted the claim of the strong to prey upon the weak, and the utter impotence of all ethical considerations in the face of armed force, with a crude nakedness which few Eastern military conquerors could well have surpassed."

The Japanese Pariah.

Many of us know that Japan had a caste system somewhat like that which prevails in India. It had a class of social outcasts known as *Eta*, whose standing was similar to that of the Pariahs of Madras. Some of us would emulate the example of Japan in

naturally their lives were miserable to a degree. Not until the inauguration of a more humane government under the auspices of his benign and Imperial Majesty, the present Emperor, were their disabilities removed and the *Eta* given a chance to rise. The emancipation of the *Eta* took place in 1871 when the social ban was removed and they were accorded the rights and privileges of ordinary citizens. The name, *Eta*, was then supposed to fall into disuse, but in the blood of the Japanese there exists a spirit of natural aversion to any one of *Eta* origin, though it must be admitted that on the whole the people of this low extraction have proved worthy of the rights bestowed upon them and have been received by the average citizen with much more welcome than might have been expected.

The origin of this singular caste is one of the most interesting questions of sociological history. Their



AN ETA VILLAGE.

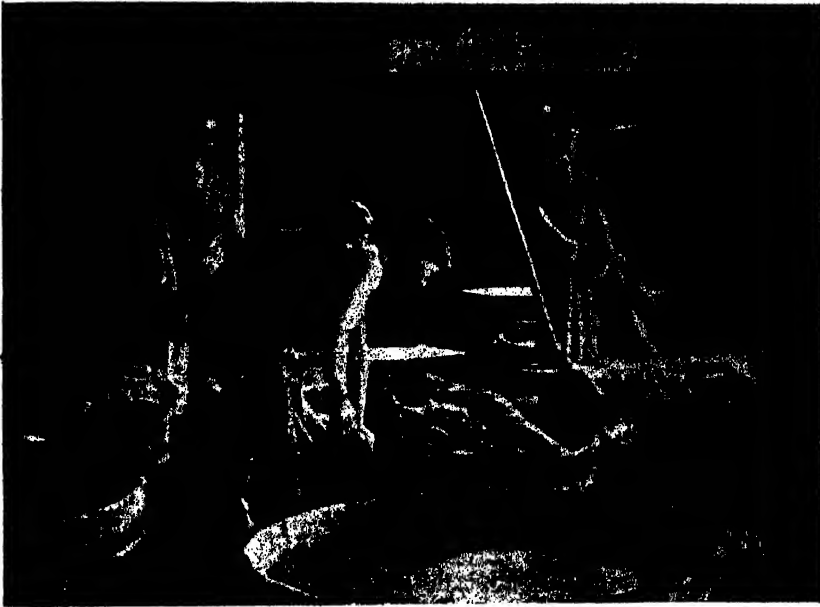
everything else, but remain wedded to our present social system. The following paragraphs taken from an article in the *Japan Magazine* may have some lessons for us :

From remotest times there has existed in Japan a class of people known as *Eta*, or social outcasts, who were regarded with utter contempt by the ordinary citizen, completely ostracised by society and even forbidden by law to participate in the ordinary avocations of life. So wide was the gulf separating the *Eta* and the ordinary subject of Japan that no one was permitted to borrow from them, nor even to offer one of them fire enough to light a pipe. Occupying a position of extreme social isolation they were more to be pitied than the Jew in the Europe of the Middle Ages, and

existence seems to have arisen from a variety of causes, closely related and more or less complicated.

It is most probable that the earliest *Eta* were the prisoners taken in war, as in ancient Japan all such were at once reduced to slavery.

The isolation visited on these unfortunate prisoners and their descendants received further emphasis on the introduction of Buddhism, which forbade the taking of life; for the *Eta* were the butchers and masters of slaughter houses in the Japanese system of civilization. The Japanese had always been great meat eaters, and nothing bears more evident witness to the influence of early Japanese Buddhism than the degree to which this ingrained custom was reversed and the *Eta* still further despised as a destroyer of life. Perhaps the influence of this phase of the new religion was enhanced by the already existing intense



ETA TANNING HIDES.



IN THE ETA TANNERY.

abhorrence of a dead body and everything connected with it, that prevailed among the Japanese, contact with a corpse being sufficient to render the individual cere-

monially unclean, and the house where death occurred being usually destroyed. At any rate it required but little encouragement to bring the *Eta* into yet greater



ETA MINDING SWINE.

contempt, as a polluted class in the eyes of the commonalty.

As a mode of making a living the *Eta* were permitted a monopoly of butchering animals, tanning hides and digging graves. Some of them also worked at making leather sandals, work in leather, the skin of a dead beast, being held in disgust by the common people. Later, in the Tokugawa period, *Eta* were employed as detectives and prison warders, as well as in taking away the bodies of executed criminals. It is said that even to-day such work is usually undertaken by the descendants of the *Eta* class. Some of the Pariahs became itinerant performers, such as the jugglers still to be seen going about the streets of Japanese towns and cities, and some of the less fortunate of their females became street beggars, playing a *samisen* from door to door. The houses of the *Eta* villages were of the most primitive kind, mere straw huts seldom more than ten or twelve feet square, with floors of mud covered with coarse straw or rushes.

In the days of the Tokugawa regime measures against the *Eta* were most severe. To such an extreme did this aversion run that any one found harbouring or employing an *Eta* was imprisoned for fifty days.

After their emancipation naturally a great change at once took place in their circumstances. With the opening of national schools the children of the Pariah were allowed to mingle with those of the ordinary citizen in lessons and at play. Education has had such a marked effect upon them that now members of the former *Eta* class are not infrequently members of the

Imperial Diet. At the time of their elevation to the rank of citizenship there were not more than, perhaps, 400,000 altogether in the Empire; and these have now become so mixed by intermarriage that it would be very difficult to say who is of *Eta* extraction and who not. But the high class families of Japan have been and are somewhat jealous as to purity of blood, and these, as well as the people of the rural villages, have not yet entirely lost their old prejudices against anything associated with the once despised *Eta*. In Kobe it used to be said by some that only those of *Eta* origin ever became servants to foreigners; and this had the effect of deterring to a large extent the best class of Japanese servants from entering the employ of foreign residents in that district. In the average Japanese community, however, one never hears any distinction made between those of *Eta* ancestry and others, which shows how universally their emancipation has been received by the nation.

On the Chinese Revolution.

The Chinese Revolution has led the *Christian Register* of Boston to indulge in the following and other similar observations:—

The uprising of one quarter of the human race in the Far East, the sudden abolition of a tyranny that has lasted for three hundred years, the establishment of a republican form of government, and a contest between the two foremost citizens of the nation to escape the presidency and to make the other man the ruler of three hundred and fifty million people,—these and other events of a similar character in China have given to Occidental nations a shock of surprise,

unparalleled in modern times. At last our self-complacent dream of superiority has been shattered by the exhibition of mental sagacity, moral power, and admirable self-control in a nation that was supposed to be fettered and shackled by superstition, formalism, and a tyrannical ruling class.

It has often been said of Americans that no one ever refused a nomination to the presidency; and it has been taken for granted that "the great refusal" was beyond the power of any American citizen; but out there in a pagan land we see the astonishing spectacle of a Christian, elected to the first office in the gift of his country, asking that another man be put in his place, while this second non-candidating official protests that he does not want the office and is incapable of doing justice to its duties and responsibilities. For American politicians and candidates this is an astonishing state of affairs and raises a doubt as to our absolute infallibility as promoters of public welfare and students of the principles of statesmanship. As a salve to our self-respect we may say that the East misjudges the West as much and in the same way that the West misjudges the East; but that, after all, is only a hint of the mighty task before us in demolishing these walls of ignorance and superstition.

Chinese Political Philosophy and the Chinese Revolution.

Count Okuma's article on "The Chinese Revolution" in the February number of *The Japan Magazine* enables us to understand the genesis of the Chinese Revolution much better than any recent magazine article that we have seen. It was written before the revolution had culminated in a republic. It is remarkable that Count Okuma had foreseen this as a probable result.

The Count says:—

The history of China has been more or less marked by revolutionary movements, but the present revolution is wholly different in character from any that preceded it. Former revolutionary outbreaks were mainly in connection with a change of ruler; but the revolution now going on has to do not only with a change in the ruling power, but with a radical reformation in the political organization and laws of the Empire. In this respect, therefore, it is on a line with the revolutions that have taken place in Europe.

Indeed the essential genius of Chinese politics is much like that prevailing in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. The divine right of kings, the belief that the ruler was appointed by heaven and exercised an absolute power, was everywhere taken for granted. So in China to-day faith in the divine right of the ruler finds almost universal credence. The sovereign is invested by God with the power to rule and exercise jurisdiction over the people; and the will of Heaven is that the ruler should promote good government and the general happiness of the nation. Only the ruler who successfully fulfils this mission is Heaven-sent; those who fail in this achievement are against the will of Heaven. The Chinese are convinced

that the present dynasty has not fulfilled the will of Heaven; hence the present revolution. The ruler must be removed and replaced by one sent of Heaven. Historians admit that such revolutions have taken place at least twenty-one times in China, resulting in as many legitimate changes of dynasty. In addition there have been various usurpations of power, exercising a limited sway, and if these partial revolutions should be reckoned, we must enumerate the revolutions of China as some thirty altogether.

How these revolutions occurred is a question very interesting to pursue. Their causes may be inferred from the forms they assumed, and these can be roughly divided into three. The first is, that phase of revolution in which we find the ancient political philosophy of China fighting for expression, but it is difficult, viewing it from so remote a time, to say how far the idea was made effective. The underlying idea was that, 'to be a sovereign is no matter of selfish concern; it is a divine command to lead the people to peace and to exercise a wise rule over them.' This theory of monarchy originated with one Gyo whose son was afterwards disinherited because he failed to live up to the ideal of his father; while the son of Shim, the latter being another upholder of the *Zenjo* idea, as it was called, also lost his throne through incapacity, when the power passed to a sage named Yiu. The principle that the wisest should always rule is also the central thought of the Chinese classics.

The second form in which Chinese revolutions have appeared is what is called *Hobatsu*, or the theory that the sovereign may be dethroned, by violence if necessary, and another permitted to take the place of the deposed ruler. It was by this means that Yio came to the throne of China; but after securing the reigns of government he developed another theory to the effect that imperial succession should be by inheritance, as too many changes of dynasty were not good for the nation. But he held nevertheless, to the idea that the principle of having a wise and able ruler should not be departed from. His advice was accepted for a time, but as a state of stagnation set in, the government degenerated. The country came under the wealthy classes, who, with the ruling power, lived in extravagance and luxury and were overbearing in their attitude to the people. Once the confidence of the nation was lost, revolution again began, and the ruler was deposed by violence, according to the principle of *hobatsu*...

Now it seems to me this is a far more advanced idea than that of the divine right of kings, which prevailed in the Europe of Mediæval times; for in Europe the ruler was freely permitted to exercise despotic and even tyrannical power almost without limitation. In China this has never been so; and at no time in the history of the nation, has the idea of a Heaven-sent ruler been more alive than it is to-day.

The third form of the revolution appearing in Chinese history has been called *Soran*, or the doctrine of Commotion; which means a disturbance arising among citizens on account of the Government permitting barbarians by force of arms to usurp the throne of Empire. The ancestors of the Kang dynasty at first appealed to the principle of *hobatsu* in justification of their claims, but later they based their claims on the doctrine of *Soran*, or the necessity of a *commotion* to check foreign influence. Chinese history has

numerous examples of riotous behaviour becoming wide-spread and leading to revolution, owing to the incursions made by barbarians in ancient times, and later by foreigners.

As to the present revolution going on in China it appears to go further than any that have gone before; for according to the claims put forward by the revolutionists the present dynasty which has held sway for more than 250 years, must be abolished, without any clear notion of what is to take its place. It seems to me that the fall of the Manchu dynasty is only a question of days; and then what will be the fate of that vast Empire comprising one-fourth of the population of the globe?...Such has been China's past; and such very probably will be China's future. Thus far prophecy is not so difficult; but whether the new regime will be in the form of a republic or a monarchy is the question of the hour, and the one most uncertain of solution. In more remote times, perhaps, one might have thought probable the meteoric rise of some heroic figure capable of turning the tide of events, placing himself upon the throne, establishing a new dynasty and bringing peace. Even now this must come, or the result will be a republic. At present the main danger lies in the tendency to disintegration.... And to-day we see many provinces declaring their independence like the petty states of feudal days. But as in the past the provinces claiming independence have always been finally brought into subjection to the ruling power, so it probably will be in the future: for the Chinese seem to be as amenable to centrifugal as to centripetal power. Nevertheless self-government exists always more or less in the various provinces of the great Empire; because in proportion to the slackness and inefficiency of the central government, the provinces are obliged to attend to their own affairs. There is little doubt but the provinces would side with the revolutionaries if the revolution showed ample proof of finally being successful. The use of the ideographs in writing, too, has a powerful influence in binding the Empire together, no matter what form the government may ultimately assume. All Chinese use these characters, and it is through them that ideas become common among the educated and ruling classes. This is what has made the Chinese Empire so united as to the fundamental principles of morality; and tends to predispose the people to united effort in times of crisis and emergency.

Those who are agitating for one uniform script throughout India will find this a good argument in their favour.

It is no doubt the influence of foreign ideas that has caused the present revolution in China to assume so different an aspect from its predecessors. This revolution partakes somewhat of the *senjo*, and also of the *kobatsu* tendency, but in its hatred of the Manchu we see the outcropping of the *sozan* idea; but in the demand for a republic and for a new form of government and new laws, there is something so fundamentally different from the past, that it can be ascribed only to the influence of foreign education and the progress of modern civilization among the people. The Chinese are awakening to a sense of their backwardness in comparison with western countries, and are beginning to feel keenly the necessity of reformation to save the state. This dissatisfaction with them-

selves, has, among a proud people like the Chinese, been rendered more acute by the rise of Japan to the position of a first-class power; and Japan's brilliant exploits in the war with China and later with Russia, has excited a spirit of emulation among the Chinese that only a thorough reform of government and revision of law can satisfy.

The Gaekwar at the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad.

Speaking at the recent session of the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad held at Baroda H. H. the Gaekwar said that "to preserve the records of the past, to reconstruct with careful hand the literature of a bygone age, is but one of the many activities a literary society may have, although such has been almost the main aim of those started in America and with a few exceptions, those in Europe as well. If a country has an honourable past, as India has had, it behoves its scholars of today to see that she has an equally honourable present. If a country declines in its art, in its industry, in its mental and physical vigor or in its literature, that country is discredited. It ill becomes our dignity, as an association, to record the deeds others have done, yet admitting that we may not do the like ourselves, but only preserve the thoughts of those that have passed away before us, and not contribute our share to the literary productions of the world. We are the present actors in the arena: the battle-axe has passed from other hands to ours. In our veins flows the blood of those we venerate. In our brain resides the soul that prompted our fathers to deeds of righteousness and words of wisdom; let not our children say of us that in our veins that blood turned to water, and that under our care that soul lost itself in slothful ease." He therefore urged upon his hearers the duty of studying the contemporary life of our people, of discovering means to improve it and of co-operation for certain common ends to be attained. The two things that in his opinion were needed for this co-operation were a common script for the different languages spoken in India and a common language that shall tie us together into one compact union of ideas and aims. He also urged that by means of translations into our vernaculars "the best thoughts of other nations should be made ours; not through the dead languages of ancient days,

but in our own living language of the present; not through the old languages of the chilly North, but in our own warm tongue which we drank in with our mother's milk."

He announced that he was organising a State-department for the translation of good European books into Gujarati or other vernaculars and their subsequent publication, and he was setting apart the sum of two lakhs of rupees, from the Khangi Department, the interest of which would be used for carrying on this work.

Paris University.

The Calcutta University is said to be unwieldy, because it has a large number of students in colleges affiliated to it and situated over a wide tract of country. But Paris University can boast of a much larger number of students, all dwelling in one city; and yet, to judge by certain figures given by the "Debats", it is the most attractive intellectual centre of the world. "The last report states that in round numbers, out of 18,000 students there are 3,500 foreigners, whose total has tripled in the last ten years. The most popular faculty is that of Letters, which boasts about 1,300 non-French students, more than half of whom are girls. The first place is taken by Russia, with 512, but almost every country on the face of the globe is represented. And these are not mere amateurs, but serious workers, as is proved by the fact that thirteen foreigners took the degree of Doctor of University and that of Doctor-es-lettres, not to speak of lesser distinctions."

Intellectual Life and Residential Universities.

Many persons in India seem to think and would have us believe that in order that Universities may be the creators of new knowledge and promoters of an intellectual atmosphere, they must be residential. But with the newer Universities in the United Kingdom, residence is not the rule, nor is it the rule with the Paris University or the German Universities. We, therefore, endorse the following observations of the *Educational Review* of Madras on Lord Hardinge's recent Convocation address.

While agreeing with the Chancellor in saying that the Indian Universities ought to become like the

Universities of the West the nurseries and workshops of intellectual life, we cannot emphasise to the same extent the value of a residential system. The German Universities are the chief centres wherein new knowledge is being created at the present day, but there is no residential system connected with them. Whereas in Oxford and Cambridge which are residential Universities the output of original work is comparatively small. Original work is a product of an atmosphere of *Lernfreiheit* and *Lehrfreiheit* and not of the cramped atmosphere of an examination-ridden system.

The Bombay Social Conference.

The social reformers of Bombay have set an example which ought to be followed all over India, in that they have held their Conference quite apart from the political Conference. Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, who presided over the Ladies' Conference held in connection with the social conference, was quite right when she said: "The Social Conference has now become a separate movement; and as such it held its first session in Bombay last week. This is just what we desire, for our past experience is that whenever the Social Conference is held in connection with the Provincial Conference the minds of the people are so much absorbed in the discussion of political questions that very little attention is paid to the subjects of social reform that are brought forward".

Mrs. Annie Besant on Violence.

Emerson says that consistency is the bugbear of fools. The latest illustration of this adage is to be found in Mrs. Besant's pronouncement on the violence used by Suffragettes in England. She has often denounced the violence used by the "anarchists" of Bengal, and posed as the saviour of India from rebellion and anarchism. But in a recent issue of *The Times* she justifies Suffragette violence, asking, "To what else have politicians ever yielded?" She adds:—

"There would be no Home Rule Bill if landlords had not been shot and cattle maimed. No Reform Bill of 1832 without riot and bloodshed. No later Reform Bill if Hyde Park railings had not gone down. It is all abominable, but it is true. Violence is the recognised way in England of gaining political reforms."

We do not think, therefore, that Mrs. Besant is reliable guide in politics.

Gujarat Famine Relief.

We have received and forwarded to Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society for famine relief in Gujarat, Rs. 16 collected from the students of the Government High school, Tumkur, Mysore, at the instance of Master M. V. Krishnappa, a pupil of the fifth form. We hope other students will follow this noble example.

The Solidarity of Indian and European Interests.

The Empire thinks that the removal of the capital to Delhi will produce some beneficial results which the Government did not have in view, one of them being "to increase the solidarity of Indian and European interests and not to accentuate their differences. The moment Europeans begin to take a real interest in the political life of the Presidency, they will begin to sympathise with the grievances and aspirations of their Indian fellow citizens. Hitherto they have been content to rely upon the identity which is supposed to exist between the interests of the European mercantile community and the governing classes. Their social intercourse with the ruling classes has masked from them the antagonism that inevitably arises between an oligarchy and a subject state. The result has been that they have looked upon the various agitations that are springing up in the Indian body politic as purely factitious if not insidiously disloyal. They will soon find out that this is not the case. The moment they begin to take themselves seriously as a political factor they will make acquaintance with the iron hand that the velvet glove has hitherto concealed from them. They will find themselves criticizing the Government in a spirit not dissimilar to that displayed by the most outspoken of the Indian associations, and when they discover what small effect the first representation has upon the powers that be, they will begin to meditate upon other ways and means of showing that they are in earnest. One of the most efficacious of these will be undoubtedly the joining of hands with Indian associations for the accomplishment of aims which are held in common. Such a combination would prove practically irresistible. One demonstration of the possibilities of combination would cement Indian and

European interests to an extent which even social intercourse has hitherto failed to do. We have no hesitation in saying that one of the most valuable results of the "forward" movement of the Anglo-Indian Defence Associations is likely to be the establishment, along certain lines, of a solidarity of interest between Indians and Europeans in the Presidency of Bengal."

We will not take the risk of prophesying. We shall rejoice if *The Empire* proves a true prophet.

The duty that Anglo-Indians owe to India.

The Empire discourses on the duty which the Anglo-Indian community owes to India. Our contemporary observes:—

"Apart from all this it is a good thing, on general principles, that the European community should rouse itself and begin to take a living interest in the commonweal. It is its duty. Even if it does not contemplate a life-long residence in this country, the individuals of which it is composed spend here the best years of their lives. How can they reconcile it to their consciences to take all that India can offer them in the shape of money, prestige, occupation and recreation, and give back nothing in the way of service? Business and sport—these are the two things that the average Anglo-Indian lives for. So far as all public questions are concerned he grudges the time and interest which a proper consideration of them would involve. By his supineness on public questions he has played into the hands, now of his Indian fellow citizens, who are keener on these matters than he is, now of the Government, which has exploited him for its own purposes, and has in a matter of the highest importance to his interests, left him suddenly and shabbily in the lurch. It is his own fault, and it is an excellent thing that he realizes it. If the movement which is now being inaugurated had been started a dozen years ago it is extremely doubtful whether the Government of India would have ventured upon the course to which it actually stands committed."

Chemical Research in Bengal.

Those who are interested in the progress of science in India will learn with pleasure

that papers embodying original investigations by our countrymen have been appearing almost every month in the journals of the London Chemical Society. The number for August, 1911, contained three pieces of research by Dr. P. C. Ray and his pupils and co-workers, Messrs. Hemendra Kumar Sen, Jitendra Nath Rakshit, and Rasik Lal Dutt. The latest number of the journal contains two important papers: one by Mr. Rasik Lal Dutt and the other by Dr. Ray and Mr. Rakshit. The annual Report on the Progress of Chemistry for 1911 recently published, refers to Dr. Ray's "long and painstaking researches on the nitrites," as well as to the contributions of some of his past and present pupils, among them being Messrs. Panchanan Neogi, B. B. Adhikari, H. K. Sen and B. B. Dey.

Delegates of the Calcutta University.

The Conference of the Universities of the Empire will commence its sessions in the beginning of July under the presidency of such distinguished men as Lord Rosebery, Lord Haldane and others. Dr. P. C. Ray, the distinguished Bengali Chemist, and Babu Deba Prasad Sarbadhikary, the University representative in the Bengal Council, will attend this Conference as delegates of the Calcutta University. We wish them *bon voyage*. Dr. Ray will also participate in the celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Royal Society, as a delegate of our University, which has certainly made a worthy choice. The Royal Society is one of the greatest scientific societies in the world and it is an honour indeed to be invited to send a delegate to its 250th anniversary celebrations. It is a piece of good fortune that our University was not obliged to choose as its delegate some highly paid mediocrity, but had at hand a scientific discoverer and author of the standing of Dr. Ray.

India not the only sinner.

At the recent All-India Sanitary Conference the question of village sanitation was raised by Captain Justice, the Officiating Sanitary Commissioner in the Madras Presidency, who dwelt on the scanty progress achieved in the improvement of the sanitary condition in villages in the last half-century. According to the returns

quoted by Captain Justice, there were during 1910, only 595 towns and villages in the Presidency which could boast any system of conservancy. The remaining 42,207 were without conservancy arrangements of any kind. Captain Justice ascribed this state of things to lack of funds, the want of trained sanitation, and the failure of the people to co-operate so as to render the measures adopted more successful. The Captain was of opinion that "the apathy of the people, is a stumbling block to all progress." On this *The Statesman* observes:—

"Doubtless it is true, in a sense, that the apathy of the people, is a stumbling-block to all progress." But this proposition is not a fair presentation of the facts unless it is qualified. In the first place, it conveys the impression that the masses in India are peculiar in their indifference to sanitation. Now, this is not true, as anyone acquainted with village or town life in European countries can testify. The people everywhere are neglectful of hygiene, because they are ignorant alike of its principles and its value."

We hope, with the spread of education, particularly on matters hygienic, the apathy of our people will disappear. But we should not forget that our poverty is also a very great stumbling-block to all progress.

Teaching Universities and Teaching Colleges.

Some people have an amazing capacity for self-deception. They seem to think that as soon as you call an institution a "teaching university" instead of calling it a "teaching college" (for we presume there are colleges which do little teaching though they realise the full tuition fee), you are within sight of the educational salvation of India. Take a concrete instance. It is said that the Dacca Government College is to be made a teaching university. Now, it is certain that its present European staff will be among the university professors. If they are good teachers now, the name "university professors" will not make them better. If they are not good teachers, that name will not make them good. It is not the names that signify, but men and methods. It may be contended that in future they will adopt better methods. But who prevents them from adopting these

methods now? It may be said that better and more professors will be appointed in future, when the institution has become a University. But why cannot they be appointed, so long as the thing continues to be called a college?

The late Mr. Langat Singh.

In Mr. Langat Singh Behar loses a son of whom all India may be justly proud. He began life as a Railway pointsman, lost a leg in a railway accident, took to the business of a contractor and by his honesty and business capacity became a wealthy man. He made good use of his riches. He was the founder of the Bhumihar Brahman College at Mozaffarpur, to which he gave a princely endowment. His other benefactions were also large. Latterly he had been actively exerting himself to make the Hindu University movement a success.

The Wreck of the "Titanic."

The wreck of the "Titanic" in which more than 1500 persons lost their lives is the greatest disaster of its kind on record. The details, so far as they are available, have appeared in the papers and need not be repeated. But some passages from the accounts furnished by survivors deserve prominent insertion.

The transfer of passengers from the "Titanic" to the "Carpathia" was a most pitiable sight. Ropes were tied round the waists of adults, and children and babies were placed in bags and hoisted on to the deck. Some boats were not half full while others were crowded. Some passengers were in evening dress and others in their night clothes and wrapped in blankets.

"Not a Sob was Heard."

All were hurried to the saloon where a hot breakfast was prepared. The rescued passengers had been in boats for from four to five hours in a most biting cold wind. There was no demonstration. The passenger says not a sob was heard. All seemed stunned by the shock of their experiences. Divine service was held after breakfast.

Women to Go First.

The Captain who was on the Bridge summoned all to don life-preservers and

ordered the boats to be lowered, the first boat containing mostly males, as they were the first to reach the deck. When the rush of women and children began, the rule that women should go first was strictly observed.

"Nearer My God To Thee."

The officers drew out their revolvers but in most cases they were not used. As the last boats drew away, the ship's band gathered in the saloon near the end and played "Nearer my God to Thee."

Confronted with Disaster.

"We all worked slowly up the life-belts over our clothing. Even then we only presumed this was a wise precaution the Captain was taking and thought we should shortly retire to bed. There was total absence of panic, possibly owing to the exceedingly calm night and absence of any signs of an accident. The ship was absolutely still and except for a gentle tilt downwards which I don't think one person in ten would have noticed, there were no signs of the approaching disaster.

Pathetic Scenes.

But a few moments saw the covers lifted from the boats, the crews standing by ready to lower. Then we realised there was something serious. People were now pouring up. Presently came the order:—"All men stand back from the boats, all ladies retire to the next deck below." The men stood back in absolute silence leaning on the railings or packing. The deck boats were swung out and lowered to the deck below where the ladies got in quietly except some who refused to leave their husbands.

Wives Torn from Husbands.

Some, however, were torn from their husbands and pushed into boats. All the time there was no trace of disorder or of rush for boats. There was no hysterical sobbing among the women. It was extraordinary how self-controlled everyone was, even when they realised that they might presently be in the sea with life-belts for their only support. When the boats containing the women and children had disappeared into darkness, word was given to the men to enter the boats. This was effected quietly.

Painful Parting Scenes.

Scenes of partings when wives were forced to enter the boats were terribly painful. Some refused to leave their husbands and perished with them.

Conduct of Officers.

All agree that the conduct of officers and crew was admirable.

A Half-Demented Passenger.

Reports of suicides emanated apparently from a half-demented passenger who was one of the first to land.

The Captain's Fate.

A passenger named George Braden says he saw the Captain as he sank standing alone. A wave knocked him down but he regained his feet, then another wave came and he disappeared.

Mr. Stead.

Hitherto the only reference to Mr. W. T. Stead, the most distinguished soul who perished on the *Titanic*, is by a Yorkshireman named Barkworth who saw him on deck shortly after the vessel struck. Others report that they did not see him among the men who were watching the loading of boats. As there was no alarm he may have returned to his State-room. Others tell us that he was one of the most active in helping the women and children off the steamer.

Some survivors report that Mr. W. T. Stead came to the door of his State-room but went back to bed.

His heroic end.

According to Mr. Seward, Mr. Stead was one of the few on deck when the "*Titanic*" struck. He preserved a beautiful composure. "No one," said Mr. Seward, "would know Mr. Stead's end except that he faced death with philosophic resignation."

"Did not see Mr. Stead again."

A steward, named Cunningham, described calling Mr. W. T. Stead. He asked him to show how to put on a life-belt. Cunn-

ham put the life-belt on Mr. Stead whom he did not see again.

Calm Courage of Colonel Astor.

Passengers praise enthusiastically the calm courage of Colonel Astor and Major Butt, Mr. Taft's aide-de-camp. Both helped and cheered the women, Astor personally helping a young bride who was in delicate health into one of the last boats.

A Lady's Mishap.

Mrs. Churchill Candee, of Washington, had both legs broken getting into a lifeboat. She declares that most of the men saved were picked up in water into which they had plunged after the lifeboats were launched.

The Discipline was splendid.

When the boats were being lowered, Major Peuchen continued, *the discipline was splendid*, but he was surprised that more sailors were not at their posts. About one hundred stokers came up crowding the deck but an officer drove them back like sheep.

No Discrimination in Rescue Work.

They made no discrimination regarding the class of women put into the boats. If some boats were not fully loaded, it was because they could not find people willing to go. They did not seem to care about getting into the boats. No effort was made by the officers or crew either to restrain or direct passengers. He saw women on deck but they did not respond to the calls and he had no time to drag them in.

Full List of Saved.

Mr. Buxton, in reply to Mr. Chioza Money, has issued a return showing that on the "*Titanic*" in the first class were 172 men, of whom 59 were saved, 144 women, of whom 139 were saved, and five children all of whom were saved; in the second class 160 men of whom 13 were saved, 93 women, of whom 78 were saved, and 24 children, all of whom were saved. In the third class 454 men, of whom 55 were saved, 179 women of whom 98 were saved, and 76 children, of whom 23 were saved. The crew consisted of 975 men, of whom 189 were saved, and 23 women, of whom 21 were saved.

All poor women and children saved.
 Wife resisting being parted from Husband.
 70 widows in "Carpathia."

Wireless operator's marvellous Devotion.

A feature of the *Titanic* disaster is that a number of rich persons were drowned while so far as is known, all poor women and children were saved.

The millionaires, Mr. Widner and Mr. Harris, died bravely after putting their wives into boats. Mr. Isidor Straus and his wife perished together, the wife successfully resisting being parted from her husband.

Mr. Howard Case valiantly assisted Major But to get the women into boat.

Mrs. Edgar Meyer, of New York, praised everyone on the *Titanic*. Her husband threw her into a lifeboat, reminding her of their child at home. She says there were about 70 of us widows on board the *Carpathia*.

The *Titanic's* Assistant Wireless Operator, named Mr. Bride, testifies to the marvellous devotion of his dead chief Mr. Phillips, who continued working with the cabin awash for a quarter of an hour after the Captain said:—"You have done your duty. Save yourself."

No Cowardice on "Titanic."

Colonel Gracie's Account.

"No more Women to go"

A Canadian sculptor, named Mr. Cheveret, declares that there was absolutely no cowardice on the *Titanic*. "I take off my hat to English seamen who went down with their ship. Those manning boats were most difficult to force into the boats."

Colonel Gracie, who went down with the ship but was subsequently rescued from a raft, says he felt as if he were being propelled by explosions to the surface. Bodies were all round the raft, which was soon full and waterlogged. They were compelled to refuse to receive any others. Many of the latter went to their death, saying "Good luck—God bless you."

Questioned by the Senate's Committee as to the circumstances in which he left the *Titanic* Mr. Ismay replied almost in a whisper that one of the boats was being filled when Officers called out to know if there were any more women to go. "There were

none," he said, "and there were no passengers on the deck, so as the boat was being lowered I got in."

Heroic Act of Captain Smith.

Those survivors who were still on board the *Titanic* when she sank agree that Captain Smith acted most heroically to the end. Just before he was washed off his feet he megaphoned to the crowd to be British. Later he was seen helping the strugglers in the water, and other Officers and members of the crew nobly seconded his example.

Splendid Conduct of the Stringmen.

All accounts testify to the splendid conduct of the string band which almost until the last played cheerful ragtime selections finishing with "Nearer my God to Thee."

With tears in our eyes, with the rest of the admiring world, we bow to the British sea-men and British and American passengers who behaved with such exemplary coolness, courage and self-sacrificing devotion. We bow to the women who did not and could not be forced to leave their husbands but perished with them. For ever will they be adored as true *satis*.

The sinking of the *Titanic* is a most terrible calamity, but it has shown the world that the British people and Western races generally occupy a dominant place in the world not by mere brute force or superior scientific weapons of destruction, but also by calm courage in facing certain death, by self-sacrifice, by discipline and by chivalry, which last has certainly a real existence, not a mere verbal one. The rich, the strong, the famous could have saved themselves, but preference was given to the poor, the weak (including women and children), and the obscure. Mr. Astor and other millionaires have shown that they were more opulent in the wealth of a noble soul than in worldly riches. The world must mourn their loss, being poorer in spiritual wealth by their death. It will mourn the death of Mr. W. T. Stead, the fighter, the worker, the hero, the friend and advocate of the weak and the oppressed all over the world, the promoter of peace and the foremost journalist of his day. He died as he had lived, unruffled and without fear. It

will enshrine in its heart the sacred memory of the wives whose love was stronger than death. Nor will mankind forget to do homage to the many obscure and, in many cases nameless, heroes, whose conduct relieves the tragic gloom of a great disaster and makes us proud of our common humanity.

The Discovery of the South Pole.

Just as men in their youth love danger and adventure for their own sake so do nations full of youthful vitality. This partly explains the origin of the many North and South Polar Expeditions. One

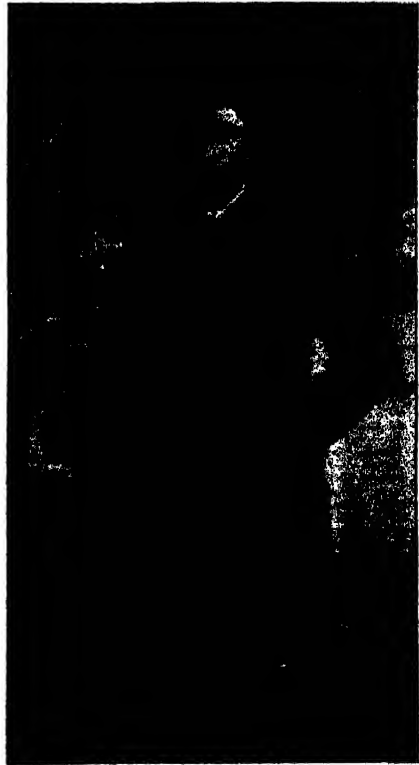


CAPTAIN AMUNDSEN.

of these has succeeded at last in reaching the South Pole under Captain Amundsen. This discovery will have important scientific results. But as the antarctic regions may have economic value, there will be the usual scramble for sovereignty there. Nay, it has begun already.

Russia in Persia.

For the success of the constitutional movement in Persia, two things were absolutely necessary, *viz.*, that her finances should be sound and that her people should be able to assert their natural freedom. By driving out her American treasurer-general Mr. Shuster, Russians made the first impossible. The second was made impossible by systematic execution of leading nationalists and a series of fights.



[Current Literature.

THE PERSIAN EDITOR WHOM THE RUSSIANS HANGED.

Hadji Ali took the lead in expounding that ideal of Persian self-government which brought W. Morgan Shuster into the land. He was summarily executed by the Russians as soon as Mr. Shuster had been sent off.

Education of Sindh Musálmans.

The Hon. Mr. Bhurgri has introduced a bill in the Bombay Council for taxing



[Current Literature.

RESISTING THE COSSACKS IN PERSIA.

The vicinity of Tabriz presented, during the crisis over Mr. Morgan Shuster, all the aspects of Waterloo in its first stages—the Waterloo being Shuster's.

the Musalman land-holders of Sindh for the education of Sindh Muhammadans. This has been done with the full consent of these land-holders. Musalman and Hindu land-holders in other Provinces should follow this noble example.

356

1

22 to 34

These lines (beginning with the word Note;— to the figure 1/4) should be excluded from the text and read in continuation of the footnote under this column.

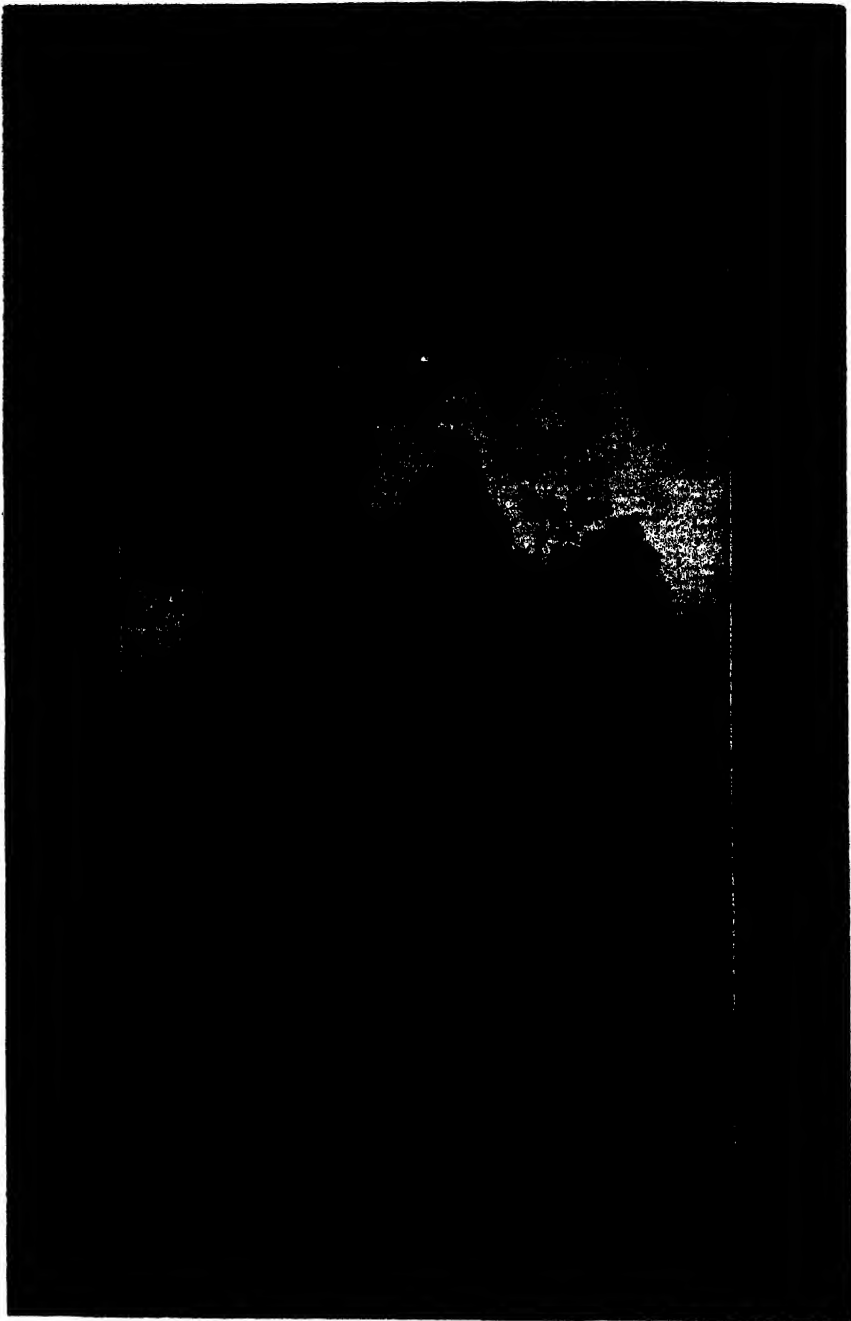
7 Read 1 as representing 1/4 before 1/4

Corrections.

Page	Column	Lines	For	Read
353	1	10	to	to 1/4
"	"	12	डा व	डाठ
"	2	29	व 1/4 of न 1	व 1/4 of न
355	2	34	बास	बास

Page 364, 2nd column, 53rd line. "Property" should be "poverty".

Page 368, 1st column 29th line. There should be full stop after "Disappear," the "f" of "for" should be capital F, the full stop after "India" should be taken off, the line should thus stand as follows: "For students of economics in India this conception of the study has a special appeal."



WILD DUCK

By an unknown painter of the Mughal Period.

(From Vincent Smith's *A History of Fine Art in India* 1929)

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WOMAN'S LOT IN EAST AND WEST

(From the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore).

WHEN I reached Europe I found only ships running, carriages driving, men moving, shops plying, theatres going on, Parliament in session,—in fact, everything on the move. In everything, great and small, a vast endeavour was busily asserting itself day and night to an extreme point; all were rushing on in concert with tireless energy to attain the extreme limit of human powers.

The sight oppressed my Indian nature; but at the same time I cried out in admiration too, "Yes, these are indeed an Imperial race! What we look upon as much more than enough is but a miserable pittance in their eyes. For the sake of their meanest comfort, for the sake of their most fleeting pleasure, man's powers are toiling with nerves and muscles strained to the utmost."

During the voyage I used to reflect:—This ship is incessantly advancing with its iron bottom thrown forward; on the deck countless men and women are engaged, some cosily reposing, others amusing themselves. But there is a fire burning for ever low down in its secret bowels, at which innocent coal-black damned ones are constantly grilling and shortening their lives. Oh! the unbearable strain, hard toil, and pitiless waste of human life incessantly going on there! But it cannot be helped. His Majesty MAN is making his royal progress; he will not halt, he will not consent to lose his time or bear any hardship, if it can be avoided.

It is not enough for him that distance has been annihilated by the ceaseless working of machinery; on the way he will not bear the least curtailment of the comfort and splendour to which he is accustomed in his palace. Hundreds of servants are ever engaged in waiting on him; his dining saloon and music hall are finely decorated, painted with gold, covered with marble, and lighted up by hundreds of electric lamps. His table groans under every possible variety of dish. How many regulations, how many arrangements for keeping the ship tidy! What careful attention to the minutest detail! Every bit of rope is kept neatly coiled in its proper place. As in the ship, so everywhere else,—in the streets, the rivers, the shops, theatres,—there is no end of arrangements. Everywhere the senses of His Imperial Majesty MAN are being offered sacrifices with full pomp of ritual. For years we toil and toil in advance that he may enjoy even a moment's pleasure!

My subjective Oriental nature looked upon this machine of civilisation, worked at extreme strain, as a source of affliction. Even a single voluptuous despot in a country requires thousands of wretches to wear their lives out in contributing to his pleasure; but when the kings of society are counted in tens of thousand, the human race is crushed under an intolerable burden. Hood's *Song of the Shirt* is the pathetic cry of that oppressed humanity.

In the reigns of bygone tyrants the pyramids of Egypt were built of many stones and many miserable human lives. Looking at the beautiful towering edifice of modern civilisation, I often think that it has been built of stone above and stone below, with human lives crushed between the two layers. True, it is a matchlessly prodigious structure; true, its artistic beauty is marvellous; but its cost is also excessive. We do not mark this cost from the outside; but it is gradually accumulating in Nature's account-book against us. It is a law of Nature that the despised take their revenge, though little by little.....

I remember that a certain great man of Europe has prophesied that the Negro race will one day conquer Europe. The black clouds of Africa will envelop the *white* daylight of Europe. God forbid it! But it is not naturally impossible; because, in light there is confidence, a thousand eyes are gazing on it; but where darkness gathers, there danger accumulates its strength in secret,—there is cataclysm's birth-place shrouded in mystery. When India's Nawabs grew luxurious beyond endurance, a storm burst on them from the gloomy neglected North-western corner, the home of poor and hardy races. Such a fate may possibly overtake luxurious civilised man.

It would be presumption on my part to make any dogmatic assertion about foreign society. But so far as I can judge standing outside it, I am convinced that with the progress of European civilisation women are becoming more and more unhappy.

Women are the centripetal force of society. In Europe the centripetal force is failing to pull society back towards the centre as strongly as the centrifugal force is driving it asunder. The men are being scattered over the face of the earth in different lands; with the (artificial) increase of wants they are being ceaselessly engaged in the struggle for existence. A soldier cannot fight with a heavy kit, a traveller cannot walk with a heavy load on his back; so, too, in Europe man does not easily consent to burden himself with a family. Woman's realm is going to be gradually depopulated. The maid (in Europe) has to wait long years before getting a husband; the wife has to pine in loneliness while her

husband is away at work; the son when grown up leaves his mother's nest.

It has become necessary for the women even to join alone in the severe struggle for existence. And yet their traditional training, nature, and social usage are opposed to such a course.

I think, this destruction of social harmony is the reason why women in Europe are striving for equal rights with men. In the social plays of Ibsen we see that many of their female characters are very impatient of the existing social ties, while the males support social usage. This paradox made me realise that in modern European society the position of women has truly become very inconsistent; the men will neither build homes for the women, nor grant them full right to enter the field of work. At first sight the large number of women in the ranks of the Russian Nihilists may surprise us; but reflection will show that the time is nearly ripe for the women in Europe to appear as Furies of destruction.

On the whole we see that in European civilisation, strength has become so very indispensable in every walk of life that the place for the weak,—male and female alike,—is gradually disappearing from their society. The demand now is only for work, only for strength, only for movement. It seems as if those capable of giving and winning pity, of loving and being beloved, are not quite entitled to live in such a society. Thus it is that their women seem half ashamed of their femininity, and are trying to prove formally that they have strength no less than feeling.

Such is their lot! And when in England people shed a flood of tears over "the miserable condition of Indian women," I feel great regret as so much sympathy being needlessly thrown away.... Sympathy from an Englishman is so rare, that my sorrow knows no bound when I see this precious article being wasted on an undeserving object.

We see that our women, with their simple graceful ornaments, their ever cheerful faces, have kept our homes sweet by means of their tenderness, love, and graciousness. Sometimes their eyes are dimmed with tears when they are in a pet; sometimes their simple fair faces, under love's oppressive sway, assume a tender melancholy

hue, patient and grave. But woman's afflictions, *viz.*, cruel husbands and unnatural sons, are to be found everywhere in the world; I have learned from a reliable source that they are not absolutely non-existent in England! Well, we are quite happy with our household goddesses, and they too have never told us that they are very unhappy. Why then do meddlers, living thousands of miles away, break their hearts needlessly over the imaginary sorrows of our woman folk? Men naturally commit great mistakes in imagining what would make others happy or unhappy. If, through the evolution of civilisation, the fish were suddenly to develop into philanthropists, their sympathetic hearts would never find peace without plunging the whole human race in a deep mossy pond! Europe, your happiness lies outside, our happiness dwells inside the home; how then can we make you realise that we are happy.

When a lady doctor of the Dufferin Fund enters our women's apartments, and sees there dirty small rooms, small windows, beds not at all milkwhite, earthenware lamps, mosquito-nets fastened with strings, a few oleograph daubs of the Calcutta Art Studio, the walls blackened with the soot of lamps and the smudges of many fingers for countless years,—she turns up her nose and thinks, "Oh, it is horrible! How miserable is their life! How very selfish are their men that they have kept the women like cattle!" Ah, she does not know that we all live thus. We read Mill, Spencer, and Ruskin; we work in English offices, write to the papers, print books, but we light that earthen lamp, squat on that mattress, buy gold ornaments for our wives when we are in funds, and inside that string-knotted mosquito-net sleep we and our wives fanning ourselves with a palm-leaf fan, our baby between us.

And yet,—you will not believe it?—we are not miserable! We have no sofa or carpet-seated chair; but we have pity, tenderness, and love. True, we read your literature, half lying on our backs on a wooden bedstead, our shoulders pressed against a bolster; but we can nevertheless understand and enjoy a good deal of it. We read your philosophy with uncovered backs before a half-broken earthen lamp,

and yet we can get so much light from it that even our boys have almost become sceptics like you!

And we, on our part, cannot enter into your feelings. You love your furniture, sport, and amusement so very much that for their sake you don't mind having no wife or child. With you comfort is first, then comes love. With us love is the supreme need; and thereafter our lifelong endeavour often fails to secure for us an (adequate) measure of comfort.

The truth is, we Indian men cannot live without marrying. The porpoise lives in water, but it must come up to the surface every now and then to breathe, or it will die. So, we may remain plunged in the midst of business; but we must run every now and then to our women's apartments and there refresh ourselves, if we are to live at all.

I was just now asking,—Are our women happy or unhappy? Well, I think that in the present structure of our society, our women are tolerably well off, though that structure may or may not be beneficial to society itself. An Englishman may imagine that a woman cannot be happy unless she plays lawn tennis or dances at balls. But our people believe that woman's true happiness consists only in loving and being beloved. But such a belief may be one of our superstitions.

It is impossible for the woman-heart in an English family to attain to the varied fulfilment which it gains in the Indian home. Hence it is considered a cruel misfortune for an English woman to live and die an old maid. Her lonely heart gradually turns arid; she tries to keep herself engaged only by nursing puppies or by joining charitable societies. The doctor must artificially pump out the accumulated milk of the mother of a still-born babe, to keep her in health. Similarly, the inherent tenderness of the European old maid's heart has to be poured out fruitlessly by various elaborate devices; but it cannot give her soul true gratification.

It will not be unfair to compare the old maid of English society with the girl-widow of India. The two classes form nearly the same proportion of their respective populations. Outwardly their lot is the same, but there is a marked difference between the

two in one respect. The Hindu widow's feminine nature never gets a chance of growing sterile by lying arid, vacant, and waste. Her lap is never bare, her arms never idle, her heart never unattached. She acts, now as a mother (to her nephews), now as a daughter, now as a companion (to her sisters-in-law). Thus, throughout life she remains tender, full-hearted, affectionate, engaged in the service of others. The children of the (joint) family are born before her eyes, and grow up in her arms. To the other girls of the house she is attached by the ties of many years' joys and sorrows, love and comradeship. With the male members of the family her relation is manifold,—that of tender care, respectful devotion, and merry playfulness. She is not denied a share in the household work which women naturally love. And between whiles she has time also for reading the *Ramayan*, the *Mahabharat*, or a *Puran* or two, and for the loving task of drawing the children round her knees in the evening to tell them stories. Nay, a wife has sometimes the wish and the leisure to keep kittens or green parrots; but a Hindu widow leaves no corner of her heart unoccupied | by useful loving service, for the indulgence of such frivolous tastes.]

Hence I cannot believe that our women are less happy than your women who are incessantly whirling in the eddy of pleasure or are engaged in competing with men, or passing their lonely maidenhood or widowhood in nursing puppies and four or five charitable societies. Loveless tieless vacant liberty is a terrible thing for women—as terrible and vacuous as the boundless freedom of the desert is to a householder.

Whatever else we may be, we are a domestic race. Hence it logically follows that we are at the mercy of our woman kind; they have cherished us with great and constant care and attention. Indeed, so fully have they got us under their control, that we cannot bear to stay long away from our home and country. It does us much harm no doubt, but it at least does not make our women unhappy.

I do not mean to say that our society is perfect and the best in the world, nor that nothing can be done to improve our women's lot.....But on the whole it can be asserted that our wives and daughters

do not generally live in a world of horrors, but that they are happy.

Before we discuss the intellectual training of our women, we may well question whether our *men* even are properly educated. Are not we, Indian men, a strange medley of odds and ends, a patchwork? Are our powers of observation, judgment, and assimilation very healthy and natural, and carried on to a liberal maturity? Do we not frequently mix up unreal fancies with things observed? Has not blind Prejudice, unshaken and proud, usurped half the throne of Reason in our minds? Is there not an absurd inconsistency always noticeable between our convictions and acts, as the result of our feeble education and weak character? A terrible confusion, without order, without control, reigns among the thoughts, opinions, and institutions of the Bengalis.

And, because we have not learnt to observe think and act like well-trained men, there is no stability in anything pertaining to us. Whatever we say and do seems to be done as in play; it all fades and drops down dead like mango-blossoms before their season. Hence our writings are like debating club essays; our opinions are meant for displaying our intellectual subtlety, and not for application to our life. Our minds are keen like the tip of the *kusha* grass, but not strong like weapons. If such is our condition, what high education can we expect for our women? It is putting the cart before the horse to expect the full education of our women before the education of our men has been perfected.

So, we must admit that though an English woman's character is left imperfect if she is not educated, the practical education of our women,—thanks to our well-filled home,—acquires far greater completeness (in spite of their lack of literary education).

But this largeness of the family is a load which has crushed all growth out of our race. Our household has, through the course of ages, grown into such an unnaturally huge affair that none of us has any strength left for minding things outside our homes. We have clustered together (in our homes) in such large numbers as to reduce all to the same stunted size. Our society is like a dense forest, whose

thousand creepers entangle and prevent any particular member from raising himself to a towering height above all the rest.

Under the complicated ties of our family-system, we have failed to form a nation, to form a State, and to develop world-conquering manliness. We have produced (ideal) fathers, mothers, sons, brothers and wives,—and, by the reaction of this strong social force, many ascetics and recluses; but we have not produced anybody (vowed to live and die) for the great world. To us the family is the only world. [The same Bengali word, *sansar*, means both 'family' and 'world'].

But in Europe we see a strange phenomenon. The domestic tie is much looser in Europe than with us, and hence Europe has no doubt produced many men who have devoted all their powers to the service of their own race or of humanity. But, on the other hand, many Europeans seek in the world nothing beyond a good opportunity for pampering their own selves. On one side we see philanthropy free from all (family) ties, and on the other selfishness free from all restraints (of social duty). Every year there is an increase in the number of our family, and an increase in that of their comforts. We say that a bachelor is only half a human being; the English say that a man who has not a club of his own is an incomplete person! We say that a house without children is a desert; the English hold that a house without furniture is a wilderness!

Where material prosperity is valued too highly, it becomes a tyrannical master of society. Wealth begins to despise merit and to pity nobility (of character)... Wealth first appears as the external sign of ability, but in the end ability ceases to be respected unless it cultivates the outward show of wealth.

A great and swift river gathers sand by its own impetuous force; but in the end that very sand bars its further progress. I often think of European civilisation as such a mighty stream. Its energy is gathering from all quarters of the globe even the meanest things required by man, and every year piling up fresh mountains of such "rubbish heaps of civilisation." But our civilisation is a narrow stream flowing feebly and finally half-hidden from view and

arrested midway by the thick mossy entanglement of the [Hindu joint] family. And yet it has a beauty, a freshness, a verdant charm. It has no speed, no strength, no expanse, but certainly gentleness, serenity and patience.

If my apprehensions be true, European civilisation is imperceptibly creating a vast desert of lifelessness for itself. By heaping up material comforts, it is gradually burying the HOME,—the secret abode of man's tenderness and love, the perennial fountain of beneficence, the one thing needful for man even if everything else were to disappear from the world. The heart's birth-place is being covered with a thick and responseless crust.

In a land where homes are disappearing and hotels increasing, where every one is working and earning for his own self and seeking unbroken comfort by securing his own rooms, his easy chair, his dog, his horse, his sporting gun, his pipe, and his club for gambling,—there we must conclude that woman's hive has been broken up.* Formerly the working bees used to gather honey abroad and store it in the hive, where the queen-bees used to reign. Now, each selfish bee hires his own cell, and drinks up alone in the evening all the honey he has gathered in the day. Therefore, the queen-bees must now come out into the wide wide world; they can no longer live by giving away honey and drinking honey. They have not yet succeeded in adapting themselves to these changed circumstances; hence they are helplessly buzzing about hither and thither. But we,—we are quite happy under the rule of our queens, and they, too, in possession of the inner apartment of the home,—the very centre of our family-based social system,—are living happily, girt round by all the family.

But recently our society has changed in many ways. Through the economic changes in the country, our means of earning a livelihood have naturally become diversified, and in consequence of it our joint family system is gradually tending to

* Cf. Kipling:

"A million Maggies are born every year to
bear the yoke;
For a woman's a woman, but a cigar
is a smoke."

(Editor).

become somewhat loosened. A change in the condition of our women has become necessary and even inevitable along with this change. The Hindu wife must no longer remain spread as a tender heart over the whole house; she must stiffen her backbone, and stand alert and erect as her husband's helpmeet in work.

Therefore, if we do not spread female education, the harmony between husband and wife will be destroyed in *modern* educated Indian society. The spread of English education has created [an impassable gulf like] the caste system, between those who know English and those who do not. Hence, in most cases, the husband and wife belong to two different social planes, as it were: the thoughts, [favourite] language, beliefs, and acts of the one are quite foreign to the other. Hence in our present day conjugal life there are abundant instances of comedy, and possibly instances of tragedy, too.

For this very reason female education is gradually spreading [of itself] in our society; it is the outcome not of public lectures, nor of a sense of duty [to the weaker sex], but of sheer necessity.

English education, affecting our society within and without, will undoubtedly modify its character in many ways. But I hope and believe that it is a false alarm to apprehend that English education will make us lose our eastern character and turn Europeans altogether. Whatever our education may be, it is impossible for us to be entirely transformed. English education can give us a certain number of ideas, but cannot give us all the circumstances favourable to such ideas. We can get English literature, but not England itself. It is easy to import the seed, but not the soil.

Take an illustration. The Bible has been the chief ethical teacher of Europe for long centuries, but in spite of it Europe has retained her impatient violent character; her heart has not even yet been melted by the Biblical lessons of forgiveness and meekness.

I consider it a great good fortune for Europe that she is receiving from childhood a training which is *not* entirely consonant to her nature, which is presenting a new field to her inherent character, and which

by its clashing is keeping her ever awake in the path of nobility.

If Europe had only received an education in exact conformity with her natural inclination, she would not have been so great today. Then European civilization would have lacked its spacious range; then the same soil would not have produced so many saints and men of action. The Christian religion in Europe is constantly maintaining the harmony between earth and heaven, between the intellect and the soul.

Christianity is not merely diffusing a spiritual element in secret through European civilisation, it is also helping the intellectual development of Europe to an extent that words cannot adequately describe. European literature furnishes many instances of it. Who can fully analyse and expound the rich poetry and beauty that Oriental ideas and Oriental imagination, entering into the heart of Europe through the medium of the Bible, have developed there? Who can fully unfold how this agency has expanded the comprehensive range of the European heart, not by means of ethical teaching, but by establishing a close contact with an absolutely foreign type of thought?

Happily the education which *we* are now getting is not entirely akin to our nature. I, therefore, hope that through contact with this new force we shall be able to renounce our age-old monotonous inertia; the new invigorating vernal breeze will kindle us into life again, and make us put forth fresh foliage and blossoms; our mental horizon will be expanded to the utmost.

Some hold that what is good in Europe is good for Europe only, and what is good in us is good for us only. But no truly good things can be mutually antagonistic; they are complementary to each other. Circumstances may compel one country to give predominance to one good element, and another country to another; but from the standpoint of the complete development of humanity, none of the elements can be discarded. Nay more, there is such a natural affinity among all good things, that if you discard one, the others are weakened, and our maimed humanity gradually loses its motion and stands helplessly inert by the road side [as a dead stationary civilisation].

If the plants were suddenly to gain intelli-

gence or feeling, they might think within themselves, "The earth is our birth-place, therefore we shall live only by drawing sap from the soil. The sunshine and rain of the sky are tempting us further and further away from our native soil towards the (foreign) sky. Therefore, let us young plants form an association to avoid carefully all contact with this ever quivering changeful sunshine, rain and wind, and to cling solely to our stable motionless eternal earth."

Or, the plants may reason thus, "The earth is very gross, despicable, and low. Let us give up our connection with it and set our faces for ever to the clouds like the sky-lark." Both these lines of thought would show that the plants have got more cleverness than is good for them.

So, too, in modern Indian society, those who want to retain our old beliefs and institutions absolutely unchanged and those who hope to become completely Europeanised by one leap, are alike deluding themselves with vain imaginings and over-subtlety.

Common sense naturally tells us that on the one hand we cannot live by plucking our roots out of India's past, nor on the other hand can we avoid accepting the English education which is blowing all around us like the wind and falling in showers like rain. Now and then we may have a thunder-bolt or two hurled on us, now and then we may have a hail shower and not merely the (beneficent) rain. But where can we go by turning our faces away from it? Remember also that the rainfall of the new monsoons is inspiring a new life in our old land.

What will English education do for us,

you ask? My answer is "We shall not become Englishmen, but we shall become strong, noble, alive. We shall remain on the whole this home-loving peace-loving race, but we shall not, as now, shrink in horror from foreign travel. We shall wake to the fact that there is a world outside India. By comparing ourselves with others we shall be able to reject as ludicrous or harmful any ignorant rusticity or undue extremeness that may disfigure any department of our civilization. By throwing open our long closed windows we shall be able to admit within our house the free outer air and the light of east and west. We may not become a principally military commercial or exploring race; but we shall be able to develop ourselves into educated, mature-minded, tender-hearted, liberal, philanthropic, pious householders; and though we may not be materially rich and strong, we shall be able to render great help to common humanity by means of our ever active knowledge and love.

Many will regard this ideal as not sufficiently high; but to me it appears as a very proper one. To me the true ideal is not to be an athlete but to be healthy. The proper ideal is not a cloud-kissing monument or pyramid, but a firmly built house admitting plenty of light and air...

I trust that through all our errors, action and counter-action, we are advancing towards full humanity. At present we are oscillating between two opposing forces; and therefore the truth inherent in each of these forces looks like an uncertain shadow to us; only when we reach for a moment the middle space between them, do we entertain a firm hope about our future.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE SUPREME NIGHT

A SHORT STORY.

(From the Bengali of Ravindra Nath Tagore).

I used to go to the same dame's school with Surabala and play at marriage with her. When I paid visits to her house, her mother used to pet me much,

and placing us together used to say to herself, "What a lovely pair!"

I was a child then, but I could understand her meaning tolerably enough. The notion became rooted in my mind that I had a special right to Surabala above that of people in general. So it happened that, in

the pride of ownership, I used at times to punish and torment her; and she, too, uncomplainingly fagged for me and bore all my punishments. The village used to praise her beauty; but in the eyes of a young barbarian boy like me that beauty enjoyed no glory;—I only knew that Surabala had been born in her father's house solely to bear my yoke, and that therefore she was the particular object of my neglect.

My father was the land-steward of the Chaudhuris, a family of *samindars*. It was his plan, as soon as I had learnt to write a good hand, to train me in the work of estate management and secure a [petty] rent collectorship for me somewhere. But in my heart I disliked the proposal. Nilratan of our village had run away to Calcutta; learnt English there, and finally became the *Nazir* (Superintendent of bailiffs) of the District Magistrate; that was my life's ideal: I was secretly determined to be the Head Clerk of the Judge's Court even if I could not become the Magistrate's *Nazir*.

I saw my father always treating these court officers with the greatest respect. I knew from my childhood that they had to be propitiated with gifts of fish, vegetables, and even money. For this reason I had given a seat of high honour in my heart to the court underlings, even to the bailiffs. These are the gods worshipped in our Bengal,—a modern miniature edition of the 330 millions of deities of the Hindu pantheon. For gaining material success people have more genuine faith in them than in the good Ganesh, the giver of success; hence the people now offer to these officers everything that was formerly Ganesh's due.

Fired by the example of Nilratan, I too seized a suitable opportunity and ran away to Calcutta. There I first put up in the house of a village acquaintance, and afterwards got some funds from my father for my education. Thus I carried on my studies regularly.

In addition to it, I joined political and benevolent societies. I had no doubt whatever that it was urgently necessary for me to give up my life suddenly for my country. But I knew not how such a hard task could be carried out,—and none also showed me an example of it.

But nevertheless my enthusiasm di-

abate at all. We country lads had not learnt to sneer at everything like the precocious [supercilious] Calcutta boys; and hence our faith was very strong. The leaders of our associations [only] delivered speeches, while we used to go begging for subscriptions from door to door in the hot blaze of noon without breaking our fast; we used to stand by the roadside distributing hand-bills, or arrange the chairs and benches in the lecture hall [with our own hands], and, if anybody whispered a word against our leader, we got ready to fight him. At these things the city boys used to laugh at us as provincials.

I had come to Calcutta to be a *Nazir* or a Head Clerk, but I was preparing to become a Mazzini or a Garibaldi.

At this time Surabala's father and my father laid their heads together to unite us in marriage. I had come to Calcutta at the age of fifteen; Surabala was eight years old then. I was now eighteen, and in my father's opinion I was almost past the age of marriage. But it was my secret vow to remain unmarried all my life and to die for my country; so, I told my father that I would not marry before completing my education.

In two or three months I learnt that Surabala had been married to a pleader named Ram Lochan. I was then busy collecting subscriptions for raising fallen India, and this news did not seem worth my thought.

I had matriculated and was about to appear at the Intermediate Examination, when my father died. I was not alone in the world, but had to maintain my mother and two sisters. I had therefore to leave college and look out for employment. After a good deal of exertion I secured the post of second master in the matriculation school of a small town in the Noakhali District.

I thought, here is just the work for me! By my advice and inspiration I shall train up every one of my pupils as a general for future India.

I began to work, and then found that the impending examination was a more pressing affair than the future of India. The Headmaster got angry whenever I talked of anything outside grammar or algebra. And in a few months my enthusiasm, too, flagged.

I am no genius. In the quiet of the home I may form vast plans; but when I enter the field of work, like the Indian bullock I have to bear the yoke of the plough on my neck, get my tail twisted by my master, patiently and with bowed head break clods of earth all day, and then at sunset have to be satisfied if I can get any cud to chew. Such a creature has not the spirit to prance and caper.

One of the teachers had to reside in the school-house, to guard against fires. As I was a bachelor, this work was thrown on me. I lodged in a thatched shed close to the large cottage in which the school sat.

The school-house stood at some distance from the inhabited portion of the town, and on the bank of a big tank. Around it were betel-nut, cocoanut, and *Madar* trees, and very close to the school building rose two large primeval *Nim* trees pressing against each other and casting a cool shade around.

One thing I have forgotten to mention, and indeed I had not so long considered it worth mentioning. The local Government pleader, Ram Lochan Ray, lived near our school. I also knew that his wife,—my early playmate Surabala,—lived with him.

I got acquainted with Ram Lochan Babu. I cannot say whether he knew that I had known Surabala in childhood. I, too, did not think it proper to mention the fact at my first introduction to him. Indeed, I did not clearly remember that Surabala had been ever linked with my life in any way.

One holiday I paid a visit to Ram Lochan Babu. The subject of our conversation has gone out of my mind; probably it was the unhappy condition of present-day India. Not that he was very much concerned or heart-broken over the matter; but the subject was such that one could freely pour forth his sentimental sorrow over it for an hour or two while puffing at his tobacco pipe.

While thus engaged, I heard in a side-room the softest possible jingle of bracelets, crackle of dress, and sound of foot-fall; and I felt certain that two curious eyes were watching me through a small opening of the window.

All at once there flashed upon my memory, a pair of eyes,—a pair of large eyes beaming with trust, simplicity, and girlhood's love,—black pupils,—thick dark

eye-lashes,—a calm fixed gaze. Suddenly some unseen force squeezed my heart in an iron grip, and it throbbed with intense pain.

I returned to my house, but the pain clung to me. Read, write, or do any other work, I could not shake that weight off my heart; a heavy load seemed to be always swinging from my heart-strings.

In the evening, calming myself a little, I began to reflect, "What ails me?" From within me came the question, "Where is your Surabala now?" I replied, "I had given her up of my free will. Surely, I did not expect her to wait for me for ever."

But something within me kept saying, "You could then have got her merely for the asking. But now you have not the right to look at her even once, do all you can. That Surabala of your boyhood may come very close to you, you may hear the jingle of her bracelets, you may breathe the air embalmed by her hair essence,—but there will always be a wall between you two."

I answered, "Be it so. What is Surabala to me?"

My heart rejoined, "To-day Surabala is nobody to you. But what might she not have been to you?"

Ah! that's true. *What* might she not have been to me? Dearest to me of all things, closer to me than the world besides, the sharer of all my life's joys and sorrows,—she might have been. And now, she is so distant, so much of a stranger, that to look on her is forbidden to me, to talk with her is improper, and to think of her is a sin!—while this Ram Lochan, coming suddenly from nowhere [into her life,] has muttered a few set religious texts, and in one swoop carried off Surabala from the rest of mankind!

I have not come to preach a new ethical code, or to revolutionise society; I have no wish to tear asunder domestic ties. I am only expressing the exact working of my mind, though it may not be reasonable. I could not by any means banish from my mind the sense that Surabala, reigning there within shelter of Ram Lochan's home, was mine far more than his. The thought was, I admit, extremely unreasonable and improper,—but it was not unnatural.

Thereafter I could not set my mind to any kind of work. At noon when the boys

in my class hummed, Nature outside simmered in the sun, the sweet scent of the *Nim* blossoms entered the room borne on the tepid breeze, I then wished,—I know not what I wished for; but this I can say that I did not wish to pass all my life in correcting the grammar exercises of those future hopes of India.

When school was over I could not bear to live in my large lonely house; and yet, if any gentleman paid me a visit, it bored me. In the gloaming as I sat by the tank listening to the meaningless sighing of the breeze through the betel-nut and cocoa-nut palms, I used to muse that human society is a tangled web of mistakes; nobody has the sense to do the right thing at the right time, and when the chance is gone we break our hearts over vain longings.

I could have married Surabala and lived happily all my life. But I must be a Garibaldi,—and I ended by becoming the second master of a village school! And pleader Ram Lochan Ray, who had no special call to be Surabala's husband,—to whom, before his marriage, Surabala was no wise different from a hundred other maidens,—he has very quietly married her, and is earning lots of money as Government pleader; when his dinner is badly cooked he scolds Surabala, and when he is in good humour he gives her a bangle! He is sleek and fat, tidily dressed, free from every kind of worry; he never passes his evenings by the tank gazing at the stars and sighing.

Ram Lochan was called away from our town for a few days by a big case elsewhere. Surabala in her house was as lonely as I was in my school-building.

I remember it was a Monday. The sky was overcast with clouds from the morning. It began to drizzle at ten o'clock. At the aspect of the heavens our Headmaster closed the school early. All day the black detached clouds began to run about in the sky as if making ready for some grand display. Next day, towards afternoon, the rain descended in torrents, accompanied by storm. As the night advanced the fury of wind and water increased. At first the wind was easterly, gradually it veered and blew towards the south and south-west.

It was idle to try to sleep on such a night. I remembered that in this terrible weather

Surabala was alone in her house. Our school was much more strongly built than her bungalow. Often and often did I plan to invite her to the school-house, while I meant to pass the night alone on the bank of the tank. But I could not summon up courage for it.

When it was half past one in the morning, the roar of the tidal wave was suddenly heard,—the sea was rushing on us! I left my room and ran towards Surabala's house. In the way stood one embanked side of our tank, and as I was wading to it the flood already rose up to my knees. When I mounted the bank, a second wave broke on it. The highest part of the bank was more than seventeen feet above the plain.

As I climbed up the bank, another person reached it from the opposite side. Who she was, every fibre of my body knew at once, and my whole soul was thrilled with the consciousness of it. I had no doubt that she, too, had recognised me.

On an island some three yards in area stood we too; all else was covered with water.

It was a time of cataclysm; the stars had been blotted out of the sky; all the lights of the earth had been quenched; there would have been no harm if we had held converse *then*. But we could not bring ourselves to utter a word; neither of us made even a [formal] inquiry after the other's health. Only we stood gazing at the darkness. At our feet swirled the dense dark wild roaring torrent of death.

Today Surabala has come to *my* side, leaving the whole world. Today she has none besides *me*. In our far off childhood, this Surabala had come from some dark primeval realm of mystery, from a life in another orb, and stood by my side on this luminous peopled earth; and today, after a wide span of time, she has left that earth, so full of light and human beings, to stand alone by *my* side amidst this terrible desolate gloom of Nature's death convulsion. The stream of birth had flung that tender bud before me, and the flood of death had wafted the same flower, now in full bloom, to *me* and to none else. One more wave and we shall be swept away from this extreme point of the earth, torn from the stalks on which we now sit apart, and made one [in death].

May that wave never come! May Surabala long live happily, girt round by husband and children, household and kinsfolk! This one night, standing on the brink of Nature's destruction, I have tasted eternal bliss.

The night wore out, the tempest ceased, the flood went down; without a word spoken, Surabala went back to her house, and I, too, returned to my shed without having uttered a word.

I reflected,—True, I have become no *Nazir* or Head Clerk, nor a Garibaldi; I am only the second master of a beggarly school. But an eternal night had for a brief space beamed upon my whole life's course.

That one night, out of all the days and nights of my allotted span, has been the supreme glory of my humble existence.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE EARLY RACES OF INDIA

II

[Authorities: I.—A. H. Keane: (1) *Antiquity of Man*, (2) *Ethnology*; II.—Prof. Rhys: *Essays in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute*; III.—Dr. Brinton: *Races and Peoples*; IV.—Dr. Beddoe: *Races of Britain*].

WHEN we have to proceed with a scientific mood of mind to direct our inquiry regarding the origin and character of the races of India, we have to divest ourselves of some preconceived notions relating to the origin of the Aryans and the Dravidians. Our school-boys learn it as a well established proposition (along with the propositions that the earth is round and the apple falls because of gravitation) that a group of people called Aryans came into India from Central Asia and that the speakers of some European and Asiatic languages descended from a common Aryan ancestor. Though this theory is a result of a very reckless assumption, the popularity of it, at least in our country, has been very great. It is therefore necessary to speak a few words just to show the absurdity of this theory that a small group of the so-called Aryan clan of Central Asia peopled almost the whole of Europe and a large portion of Asia to the south-east. Though this theory is in direct conflict with, and is wholly contrary to, the evidence collected by the anthropologists, we have to take the burden of proof upon ourselves to show the hollowness of this mere figment of a mighty scholar's brain, before we can proceed to follow a new line of inquiry.

We all know that identity of speech does

not imply identity of race; the Bengali language is spoken by many races, who have no ethnical relationship whatever. Even diversity of speech does not show ethnic difference; the Brahmans of Northern India after having settled in the Presidency of Madras have forgotten the Aryan dialect and speak now some Dravidian dialects. Identity of language and of religion point only to social contact, and not necessarily to common ancestry. It is therefore wholly illogical to build any theory regarding genetic affinity on the basis of some similarity in speech.

Those who have read Max Müller's "Lectures on the Science of Language" know that his theory regarding an Aryan race or an Aryan family rests upon this simple argument only that the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Celts and the Germans have preserved radically the same forms of speech. With this sort of statement at the commencement the learned philologist jumped to the conclusion:—

"That before the ancestors of the Indians and the Persians started for the south, and the leaders of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic and Slavonic colonies marched towards the shores of Europe, there was a small clan of Aryans, settled probably on the highest elevation of Central Asia, speaking a language not yet Sanskrit or Greek or German, but containing the dialectical germs of all." (Lectures, p. 212.)

Though from anthropological standpoint of view Dr. Taylor's theory regarding the origin of the Aryans is more ridiculous, his remarks regarding the above-quoted passage

of Max Müller are quite correct. Dr. Taylor writes with reference to the above passage :

"Than this picturesque paragraph more mischievous words have seldom been uttered by a great scholar."

I have stated it on several occasions before, and I must repeat it now that philology is of great aid to the anthropologists, if judicious use can be made of it. I do not say that language proves social contact only, but what I mean to say is that no argument can be based on philological suggestions merely. When we see that one race superior to another in culture, despite its thorough change in all matters, preserves unawares many words and phrases of the unadvanced race, we may suspect something more than social contact. When amidst diverse influential races, we meet with a small community preserving some grammatical forms and words, of daily use, of the language of a race far removed, we are led to make a deep enquiry regarding the relation that might subsist in olden times between the two races, now residing far apart from each other. The Finns were first suspected to be Mongolic in origin, because of their physical constitution; and this suspicion was confirmed when Mongolic element could be detected in their Uralo-Altaic speech. The detection of a Malay element in the Negroid speech of some tribes of Madagascar, has been of great help to the ethnologists in finding out genetic affinities between different sections of the Æthiopic people.

What has been stated of language, is true in respect of religious ideas and social usages. There is evidence in history that religious conceptions and social usages have been transmitted from tribe to tribe to such an extent that the last recipient tribe did never come into contact with the tribe from which the ideas and the customs emanated.

We are often apt to forget that living in far-off centres different races may evolve similar social systems and religious ideas because of similarity of circumstances in the matter of racial growth. It is foolish in such cases to seek either genetic affinity or social influence to connect the ideas of far-off peoples. The anthropologists have pointed out that similar social and religious ideas exist among races who could not

possibly imitate one another, as between those races many continents and oceans intervene. Mr. Keane has shown what a remarkable parallelism exists between some Buddhistic and Aztec ideas. With reference to some similarities that exist between the culture and customs of Mexico and those of China, Cambodia, Assyria, Chaldea, and Asia Minor, Dr. D. G. Brinton has asked, if all the ancient peoples named on the list should be transported into Mexico to establish the origin of the unity of ideas. It is curious to note that a custom which is in vogue among some aboriginal tribes of India, prevails among some races of other countries. The Papuans, the Australians, the Zulus and some American aboriginal tribes do not allow a mother-in-law to speak to or appear before a son-in-law. This custom did not prevail among the Hindus in very olden times, but it is now universal in Northern India that the mother-in-law should draw a veil upon her face, when appearing before the son-in-law and that she should not speak with the son-in-law, though the latter is regarded by the former as a son. No doubt the Hindus have borrowed this curious social decorum from some neighbouring aboriginal tribes, but no question of borrowing can arise between the Indian aboriginal tribes on one side and the Papuans, Zulus, etc., on the other.

I now proceed to show that those who are formulated to be the Aryans, could, under no circumstances, be the progenitors of the European races, speaking some form or other of the Aryan languages. It is stated by the supporters of the pan-Aryan theory that it was shortly before the historic period that the Aryans left their home in Central Asia and peopled a great portion of European and Asiatic area. Earlier time cannot be fixed for the supposed Aryan dispersion and colonization: for, the linguistic evidence adduced in favour of the theory discloses a culture almost of the historic times. Roughly speaking, the historic or contemporary period set in about ten thousand years ago. If the dispersion of the Aryans be considered to have taken place even fifteen thousand years ago (though the supporters of the theory give us a date not exceeding five thousand years from to-day), neither Europe nor any

portion of Asia can be considered to have been peopled by the new-comers of such a recent time.

It has been very carefully ascertained that those races who inhabit Europe are the descendants of the very tribes who had peopled that region not only in the neolithic, but also in the palæolithic ages long before the prehistoric time dawned. The celebrated French anthropologist Topinard has remarked in his *Anthropology* "that the people of France may be Aryans by speech, but they are Cymry in the north and Celts in the central region." That there has not been any marked change in the physical characteristics of the European races since neolithic times, cannot now be doubted. As such, genetic affinities amongst the different groups of people, speaking Aryan speech, cannot be established. How was it that in the historic or during the later prehistoric period an Aryan culture was superimposed upon many races of Europe, is a problem which awaits solution. Even though we may fail to explain the phenomenon, with the help of facts which we now command, no one will be justified to explain it away by absurd theories and untenable propositions. Dr. Taylor's book entitled "*The Origin of the Aryans*" is an example how on the basis of the very linguistic suggestions some other plausible theory may be set up, which is in direct conflict with the theory of Max Müller.

I shall have occasion to discuss the grammar and the vocabulary by which the late Prof. Max Müller sought to link together different nations of the world, when I shall deal with the Aryan form of culture of the earliest historical times. Asking my readers at present to dismiss the popular Aryan theory, at least provisionally, I proceed to enter into a discussion on the probable origin of the races of India.

It is true that the descendants of the very early ancestors of the human species migrated in groups from the original home and spread over nearly the whole world. On the one hand these groups of men having been subject to endless migrations, displacements and interminglings from the remotest conceivable time, have caused such blurring of primeval types that despite the fact that they have at different centres of

later evolution evolved some elements in race differentia, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to classify the races of men, with mutually exclusive fundamental characteristics. On the other hand we observe that though there has been incessant interminglings of blood or miscegenation and endless migrations to secure sufficient food, the races which succeeded in the early historic times in developing high civilization, have been in the main in that geographical area which they chose previous even to neolithic times.

I have stated that the European races in the main are where they were in early palæolithic days. It has been ascertained that the mighty builders of civilization in the Nile and the Euphrates valleys thrived in those geographical areas at least from the earliest neolithic times. The reason for this is rather apparent on the face of it. Those who could succeed in their struggle for existence to hold a particular favourable geographical area as their own for a considerably long time, could only become great and mighty in course of time. Man was no doubt at the first stage of his existence forced to move about from centre to centre in quest of food and peaceful existence, when comparatively larger area was needed for the subsistence of one individual; but this truth must not be lost sight of that man is by nature conservative and tries always his best to remain permanently at a particular spot, if the environment be not positively unfavourable. From the representation of the old races of people on the walls of the ancient Egyptian monuments, we can see that the African races of the old times still occupy the old homes of theirs. Dr. E. B. Taylor has remarked in his "*Anthropology*":—

"Notwithstanding the many foreign invasions of Egypt, the mass of the village population is true-bred enough for men to be easily picked out as representatives of the times of the Pharaohs."

What has been found to be true in ethnological and ethnographical investigations in respect of races of stability, must be presumed to be true regarding the Aryans of Max Müller's creation. The small clan of Max Müller's Aryans who developed the highest civilization on the highest elevation of Central Asia, could not possibly attain their culture without being able to make

their home a favourable environment for their physical and intellectual growth. They must have possessed sufficient power to repel others for a considerably long time. But it is curious that they had to disperse bodily from their original home in quest of dominions elsewhere. When forming new colonies in foreign lands, they were powerful enough to conquer the previously settled races of those countries, but not a single band of theirs could remain in their original home, retaining and developing their previously attained culture which thrived well in other countries in the hands of the dispersed bands, presumably weaker than those who remained in their original home. Though this theory has been altogether discarded by the anthropologists, it is still supported by some philologists, despite the fact that it is found worthless when judged by its adequacy in fitting facts.

Why is it that some dark races of India should only be considered to be autochthonous, is not very easy to comprehend. I have stated it before that at the time of the earliest migration from the original home, our ancestors got continuous dry land to move towards India as well as towards the other parts of the world. I must however give a brief account of the physical features of India when human migration took place, in order to carry conviction to the minds of my readers in respect of the proposition I am going to establish.

When India remained connected with Africa by land, the Aravalli mountains stood very high on the desert land which was once a sea. In the language of Mr. Holdich "The Aravallis are but the depressed and degraded relics of a far more prominent mountain system, which stood, in Palæozoic times, on the edge of the Rajputana sea." The whole of the East Coast of India, the central plateau and the stretch of land to the slopes of the now depressed Aravalli mountains, have not much changed since the primary period of India's evolution. During the secondary stage of evolution when "The ocean currents swept from the Persian Gulf to the Aravallis, the rock area" of India extended from the South to "Assam and the Eastern Himalayas, while Burma, the North-Western Himalayas, and the uplands beyond the Indus were still sub-marine." ("Indian

Empire," p. 2.) In tertiary times when men came into existence, "the Deccan landscape was shaped to its present outlines." The Himalayas attained by then their highest height, but Burma was under waters. At the time when the migratory movements of man commenced, the sea, which flooded the whole of the western frontier hills, Tibet and Burma, receded considerably. But as I have stated before, a sea then extended from Turkestan to Sicily and the Indus to the west was as good as a sea to the men of those days. We know that the river Indus obtained its sea-name (Sindhu) because of its great width. That the mountains then presented a "forbidding front" to the Indus valley, need hardly be stated. The gap that existed between the Himalayas and the peninsula of India, was not then completely filled up. I would better quote a few lines of Mr. Holdich to ensure accurate statement :

"At first it [the great depression] was a wide and deep partition between the Himalayas and the peninsula which the collected alluvium of ages gradually filled, as it was brought by the action of the great river of the west, the Indus, from the whole Himalayan system. A comparatively recent development of these movements between Assam and the Rajmahal hills has formed the eastern or Gangetic depression ; and the final dividing of the waters of these two great river systems (Indus and Ganges) may have occurred almost within historic time. No further change can now take place ; for, the rivers have marked out their own courses and adjusted their gradients to permanent beds."

It is thus clear that the early Indian immigrants could proceed in one direction to the slopes of the Aravalli hills through the central plateau and in another direction to Assam as far as the Khasia and the Jaintia hills through the Chutia Nagpur and the Rajmahal hills. It has been pointed out before, that in India the centres of neolithic culture were near about the Naga, the Khasia and the Jaintia hills, and in the Deccan south of the Vindhya range. The progress of those who proceeded to the north-east was arrested by the Himalayas to the north, the Naga hills to the east, and the flooded shores of Burma to the south-east. When, during the earliest historical times, the descendants of the neolithic period proceeded to the west, they got a vast extent of fertile country extending to the Indus and the impassable barrier of the mountain chains. In early historic times it could be scarcely possible for the peoples of those days to

come into India from Central Asia by passing through the highland passes. In the words of Mr. Holdich if such peoples were "impelled southward by the crowd of competing humanity in High Asia, they found their progress barred by the Indus, which appeared to them to be a vast expanse of water, even as the sea."

The climatic condition of those days was such that the sun could not burn the inhabitants of Northern India, either dark or brown. Monuments of extensive prehistoric civilization have been unearthed in the Bahrain Islands, and it has been found there that palm branches were used in that locality to a great extent. Mr. Keane has remarked that there has been "a great change in the climate of this now 'desert' region."

Those who try to explain the influence of the Aryans upon the previously settled tribes of Europe, consistently with the dispersion and the migration of men, formulate now that a culture group of the Aryans proceeded in later times to Europe through the south, advancing very likely from such centres of neolithic culture as were formed in Africa. They want to state that the small number of the Aryans has wholly disappeared leaving only their language and religion, and that only a slight "Aryan strain permeates all or most of the groups," now speaking Aryan tongues in Europe. It is also formulated by them that a number of this culture group also proceeded to Iran and India to change the language and religion of those places. That it is not at all a tenable theory, can be easily seen. No doubt, if any culture group did migrate, they migrated either from Africa or from the south of Asia. But it does not stand to reason that the culture group of the Aryans could exert permanent and abiding influence upon some races of Europe and upon the Iranians and the Hindus, but could not make any impression whatsoever in the Nile and the Euphrates valleys. However, I shall discuss the question later on in all its bearings, when the nature of the Aryan influence itself will be dealt with.

I have spoken of the prehistoric man of India and of his centres of evolution. The evidence of the activities of earlier man, namely, the man of palæolithic times, has been obtained, as might be expected in conformity with the physical aspects of India of those days in every part of the

peninsular India. They have been unearthed by Meldicott and Blandford near about Madras, by Hackett in the beds of the Narbada and by Winne in the beds of the Godavari. We get evidence that many groups of men came into India just when migration from old home took place; and we get proofs that certain sections of men of India made considerable progress and civilization in pre-historic times.

I cannot give the reader a definite and accurate idea of the prehistoric remains of man in India, as in the first place there has not been as yet a thorough and systematic investigation of prehistoric times in this country, and in the second place the materials of palæolithic and neolithic times, as have been accumulated by some observers, have not been scientifically studied. It has been rather officially stated by the Government of India in the "Indian Empire":—

"The officers of the Archaeological Survey, with the notable exceptions of Mr. Alexander Rea and the late Mr. A. C. Carlyle, have been too much occupied with the study of historic monuments to devote attention to the obscure relics of a more remote past, and the observations on which a treatise descriptive of prehistoric India might be based remain buried in the pages of technical periodicals."

A few facts, however, as should receive greater attention, may be stated in brief: (1) The whole soil of India teems with the remains of very remote palæolithic man and his rude activities. No one will venture to assert that the rude people of those days had any connection or communication with the people of Babylonia and Assyria leading then a similarly rude life, and yet many fragmentary remains of their work appear to be practically identical in form. (2) I have spoken of the centres of neolithic culture in India. It is to be noted that though implements of the neolithic period abound in India, they are, if not altogether wanting, rare in Bengal and in the Punjab. This should make us careful to accept the theory that the Punjab was the oldest seat of the Aryans during the prehistoric and the earliest historic days. (3) As much as has been unearthed during recent years points unmistakably to a high degree of civilization in Northern India previous to the time when the so-called foreign Aryans are supposed to have taken possession of India to the north.

The excavation of a cemetery near the

town of Mirzapur in the presence of Mr. Cockburn has been of considerable interest. The cemetery is of neolithic period containing implements of that far-off time. In this stone cemetery two dishes of *glazed pottery* have been found along with the skeleton. One of these dishes contained "a long narrow lachrymal vase of *green glass* about seven inches long." No one will now say that the earliest use of glass was known only in Egypt and Babylonia. The skeleton that was found in the stone enclosure measuring 12' x 8' was the complete skeleton of an adult male of large size. The size itself is of importance, since it is not the skeleton of a man belonging to those races which were despised by the Aryans. When proper scientific examination will be made, we will be in a position to say whether this man of pre-cremation age bore the physical characters of our Aryan ancestors. One point however

is beyond any doubt that the man, whom the skeleton represents, lay in the grave north and south, taking the position which is given to the dead body of a Hindu, when funeral rites are performed. We may fairly expect that many more skeletons of the neolithic and the prehistoric times will be unearthed, and we will be in possession of materials to decide whether the Vedic fathers are or are not the descendants of the people who evolved a neolithic civilization in Northern India.

Many races of Europe and Africa are, where they were in the neolithic, nay, in the palæolithic times : This raises a presumption in favour of the proposition that the earliest races of India still continue on this land without having undergone much change in their physical characters. It now remains to be seen what facts we can adduce in support of this very natural supposition.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

MYTHOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION AND THE ARYAN HYPOTHESIS

An extract from *De L'origine Des Cultes Arcadiens* of M. Victor Berard, 1894.

FOR some years past, the hypothesis, generally admitted till recently, about the origin of the Aryans has been seriously called in question. At the colleges, we were brought up in the idea that the races and civilisations of Europe had for their cradle the plateau of Central Asia ; and that wave on wave of emigrants surged westwards to Europe ; that the out-going colonists carried with them a highly advanced civilization treasuring up the historical associations and religious beliefs of a common ancestry. This treasure was believed to be considerable, bespeaking a civilization materially and intellectually great.

But to-day it appears to be debatable whether the original home of the Aryans was ever out of Europe. In lieu of looking for this home on the plateau of Iran or on the plains of Bactria, some writers have placed it in the heart of Germany :

others locate it on the shores of the Baltic ; others yet, and with considerable probability, as Denfey has already indicated, find this central home in the extensive plains of Sarmatian Russia, in the fertile region of the black soil spread out between the mouths of the Danube and the Volga.

One thing however may be regarded as settled beyond doubt. It is the fact that the Aryans before dispersion were not far removed from a state of nature or barbarism.

The study of languages has quite besmudged the colouring given by Pictet to the picture of the primitive Aryan social life.

Pictet and his disciples represented the undivided Aryans with all the traits of Homer's heroes. They enjoyed the eternal youth and commanded all the puissance of Gods and Angels short of immortality. If the names of the several maladies to which flesh and blood was liable differed in the several Aryan dialects this was easily

explained; for Justi tells us that these demi-gods never succumbed to disease, but that they were either killed in battle or dropped out by sheer superannuation like over-ripe fruit from the parent-stock.

The undivided Aryans had already fashioned for themselves brilliant arms such as bronze lances spiked with gold, bucklers à la mode, chariots fully equipped and battleships manned with all appointments. Servants and slaves cultivated their farms and reared their cattle. They grew all the known cereals and domesticated all the animals in common use now. Their civic polity allowed of chieftainships, princes and kings of kings. They had their Achilleses and Agamemnons and for the recreation of these gods of the earth their Demodocus sang to the accompaniment of the lyre or the harp.

It would seem, however, that the brilliant colouring of this picture requires some shading. Ill-provided with arms and tools which, at the same time, were few in number and made of wood or stone, the undivided Aryans hardly knew of any metal other than copper. Without many of the domestic animals, without horses even in all probability, they did not attain a civilization higher than that of nomadic races.

Agriculture did not commence among the Indo-Europeans until the separation of the European and Asiatic branches of the stock. The name of one and only one cereal has been recovered as common to the Aryan system of languages, the Sanskrit 'yava,' corresponding to the Greek 'zea'; and yet, we do not quite know which cereal was intended to be designated by this name. If all the Aryan people of Europe were familiar with wheat, barley, millet, peas, beans, flax and onions, it should not be forgotten that all these varieties were perfectly known to the most ancient civilizations of Egypt and the Semitic countries.

It is not then at Troy or Mycenae that we should recover the type of primitive Aryan civilization. We should rather turn to the pile-dwellings of the lake regions of Switzerland for the example.

Between the undivided Aryans and the heroes of Homer it is necessary to intercalate several centuries of progress, of the achievements of inventive genius or what is more

certain, of oriental influences. For according to M. Hommel, when the Aryans descended towards middle Europe, they found the country occupied by non-Aryan populations whom they either absorbed or annihilated.

There can be no doubt that non-Aryan civilization preceded by far the Aryan and that, at least in the case of southern Europe, the Semites were the teachers and educators of the Aryan barbarians. For the latter were in a condition little removed from that of savages, in comparison with the Egyptians and Semites of those periods.

The Aryan invasion into the peninsulas of Europe whither Semitic civilization had already penetrated might be compared in my opinion, to the eruption of the Germans in a later age into the Roman Empire or to the descent in a later period, of the Slavonian races on Byzantine Greece. It was the onslaught of vandalism against an established and prosperous civilization. It is at least to this result that the present-day research leads and no one can now question the fact of the profound influence exercised by Semitic and Egyptian civilization on the art and industries of ancient Greece.

If within the last twenty years, the entire face of Archæology has changed by a perception and acknowledgment of these extraneous influences, it stands to reason to suppose that the same influence should have been at work likewise in other branches of Greek history. Ought we to continue still in the idea that the fabric of the religion, the literature, philosophy and institutions of the Greeks was raised entirely by the unaided genius of the Greek race, on a substratum of Aryan tradition? In mythology, at all events, it does not appear that the hour is come for striking new lines of research.

For close on forty years, the ideas of Kuhn and Max Muller have been put in practice in the universities of Europe, and the Indian hypothesis and the philological method—to employ two terms convenient and of general adoption—have been worked out and developed for all they are worth. They have gone so far as they could. All the results have been summarized and embodied in Roscher's *Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology*. If these results are to be accepted as conclusive, the science of mythology must for ever remain morti-

fied and defunct beyond the reach of further treatment. If as in the study of geology, accepted methods of research can be employed, if it is permissible to reason from the historic to the prehistoric, from known phenomenal evolution to unknown but analogous developments, it is quite apparent that all the religious systems of Greece, during the historic period, were imported from the Semitic East.

Without going back so far as the premier theogony of Greece, born with Hesiod in the country of Cadmus, it appears that all the religions, Orphic, Pythagorean, Bacchic, Osirian, Mithratic, Christian and Musalman, went from Phoenicia, Egypt or Chaldea and the Semites were in every case the pioneers and prophets of these teachings. Why should, then, it be denied that the same thing should have occurred, at the inception of the Helleic cults, properly so called?

One might maintain, with some measure of success, that the Mythology of the Northern Aryans, the Germans and the Scandinavians, at least so far as we know from the Eddas, was shaped under the influence of ancient Paganism and even of Christianity and that ultimately it is traceable to Greek and Roman mythological beliefs.

Here at least is a whole chapter with which the Indian hypothesis has no touch; why should we then suppose that the mythology of the Iliad should have had more affinity with that of the Vedas?

Let us admit for the sake of argument that the Indianists have discovered one method of interpretation. But is it impossible that another and perhaps a better one, more precise and complete, might yet be essayed?

If the ground work is reasonable and the developments logically consistent, can you refuse to discuss a hypothesis because of its novelty? It will be conceded that mathematical precision is not what can or should be looked for in these discussions. I cannot pretend to any such certitude. For says Renan—

"Every sentence ought to be qualified with a 'probably' and I hope I have made a sufficient use of this auxiliary."

M. W. Immerwahr in his study of the Arcadian Gods has applied the Indianist

method to its fullest extent. All the results of the philological method and the Aryan hypothesis, all the data deduced from Sanskrit and comparative grammar by Max Muller and his school have been carefully noted up and ably developed in his valuable book. It is a standing testament of this method. According to this scholar Poseidon was the leader of an invading army from Thessaly. Hermes went into Arcadia from Elis at the head of a similar expedition. A like suggestion explains the advent of Artemis, Athena and Demeter. Every divinity found his way into the Arcadian pantheon at the head of an invading host.

Without referring to the opinions of the ancients, who always represented Arcadia as virgin soil, immune from the attacks of covetous neighbours, a few days' stay among the hills and dales of Arcadia is enough to convince one that it could never have been the happy hunting ground of foreign Nimrods and that they could never have established themselves, if they hazarded the enterprise, without great difficulties.

Comparative philology cannot do away with the inherent natural obstacles opposing themselves against an invader. The mountains of Arcadia could never have offered a pleasing prospect for exploitation by successive hordes of restless Hellenes. It should be the last place to attract the attention of a colonizing tribe in quest of a rich soil or of adventure.

At this day, Arcadia is, as it certainly was in the time of the Pelasgians, the permanent home of ancient traditions and ancient ideas.

If you have to abandon the Indian hypothesis, you have also to give up the philological method. Without engaging in a polemical contest, without at the same time, animadverting on the validity of the fundamental basis, one might well recognize that the greater number of philologists in the actual working of their method have been entirely in fault, in studying the Greek myths by themselves, in criticizing them by themselves without taking any account of the divergence in evolution as between the country where the myths originated and the one where they were developed: without giving adequate consideration to religious rites, symbols and usages

with which the myths are found to have been associated and in which perhaps their real origin should be looked for. For well nigh half a century, the entire body of Greek mythological investigations has been based on the theory of the undermentioned postulate:

"That the Greeks possessed in all ages or at all events, since their establishment in Greece, a common system of mythology highly advanced in character susceptible of considerable organic development. This common heritage contained within itself either in embryo or in shape and form, all the myths and all the legends that we know, and they underwent no greater change in later times than to be embellished and filled out in detail under the influence of time, place and circumstance."

This postulate gave rise to a method which consisted in taking up the Olympic pantheon as we find it in Homer or Hesiod and making the same common to all the tribes of Hellas and to every period of their history. Each god or hero of the pantheon is then studied in the light of all the testimony and all the detail that has gathered round his name in every period of Hellenic history, as if the identity of the

name connoted also the identity of the divinity associated with it, with all the paraphernalia of myths, legends and symbolism complete.

When several individual gods have thus been passed in review, the next step is to put the results together and to reconstruct by synthetical process the mythology supposed to have been common to the various tribes, Thessalian, Beotian, Attic, Arcadian, etc.

This method is radically unsound. As the grammarian does not deduce the several dialects from a common language but works up from the dialects to the hypothetical common tongue, the student of mythology should regard the common system not as the source of the individual branches but rather as the confluence of several independent streams of belief. In place of the method synthetic you have to substitute the analytical and local method to be sure of your results.

V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER.

THE DEMONSTRATION TRAIN OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES*

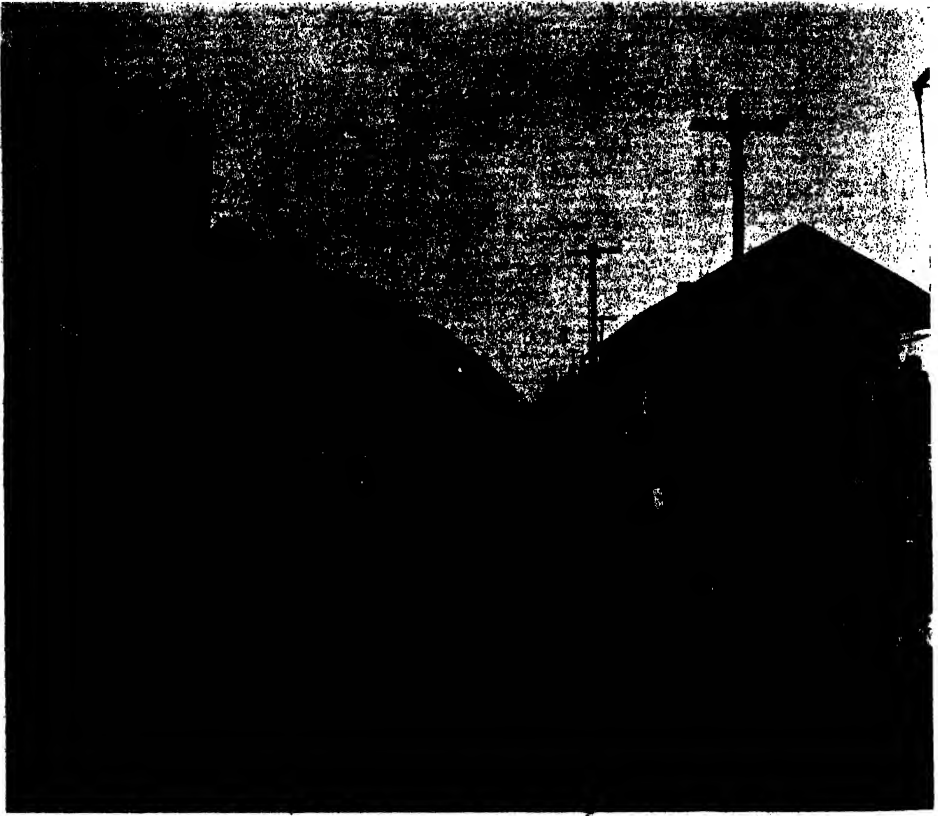
By S. SINHA, B.S.A., M.A.S.A.

"YOU bet, you, gentlemen, know how to do great and glorious work toward the training and uplifting of your farmers"—such was the remark passed by a Chinese agriculturist when he was shown the demonstration train run by the Illinois Traction System, under the auspices of the University of Illinois. Perhaps many of you would like to know what is a demonstration train. It is an agent of Agricultural Extension run in co-operation with the railroads, carrying a corps of instructors and lecturers to the various parts

of the State to teach the farmers the practical side of farming within a short time. Its benefit is appreciated by those who have not money enough for maintenance during the four years of a college course and who have but a common school education, not qualifying for admission into the State Agricultural Colleges.

Some sixteen years ago, on account of a failure in the corn crop, agriculturists in Iowa induced the railroads to co-operate with them in running a demonstration train to teach the farmers how to handle their seed corn, and till their lands, so as to prevent a repetition of such disasters. So far as the writer is able to learn this was the first demonstration train manned by college professors, to be sent out on such a

* The writer is indebted to Mr. F. H. LaBaume, Agricultural and Industrial Agent of Norfolk and Western Railway Company, Virginia, for the pictures illustrating this article.



"The Better Farming Special" run by the Norfolk and Western Railway, Virginia.
An overflow crowd after the lecturers.

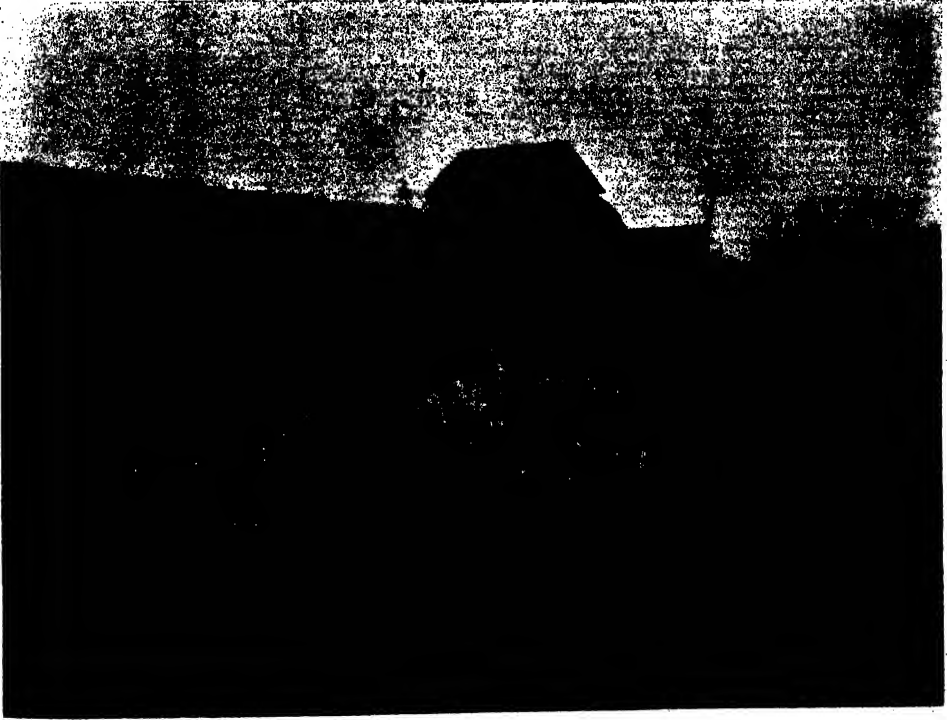
mission. Many such trains have been sent out in many States since.

During the summer of 1909, the "Modern Farming Special" was run by the Maine Central Railway, under the auspices of the University of Maine. It covered some fifteen hundred miles. The "special" was composed of some baggage carts filled with exhibits of interest to general and special farmers, and some flat cars carrying modern village, planting, and harvesting machinery, also a passenger coach carrying a corps of College and State Department lecturers. Several stops were made, at each of which the assembled crowds were given an opportunity to see the illustrations on exhibits. Attendants explained each exhibit, answered questions and directed attention to new methods in farming. Four short addresses concluded the program. In the towns where

night stops were made, the work of the State Agricultural College was illustrated by a stereopticon, and practical talks were given to forty thousand farmers.

During the summer of 1910 the Norfolk and Western Railroad placed at the disposal of the Department of Agriculture the "Better Farming Special" of seven cars, of which three were coaches for lecturers and three were baggage cars which the Department fitted with exhibits relating to fruit-growing, dairying, drainage, seed and corn improvement. The train was run for two weeks and was stopped for one and a half to four hours at many stations.

During the summer of 1911 the Illinois Demonstration Train was run for two weeks covering over 300 miles. Five cars were used to carry the demonstration and exhibits and to provide seats for an audience



School children and School ma'ams are coming out after hearing illustrated talks and seeing agricultural exhibits.

of 100. Illustrative materials were carried to supplement the lectures on sheep, cuts of meat, chickens and poultry equipment, milk testing, soils, plant breeding, birds and insects. This included the live specimens of the leading breeds of chickens and sheep and miniature models of coops and other small farm buildings. The project met with greater success than was anticipated, over 7,000 people having gathered at the various stopping places to listen to the teachings of the college authorities. Although the meetings were arranged for the school children, the veteran farmers turned out in such numbers that the speakers were forced to utilize nearby sand piles, boxes and rolls of wire as platforms. After the lectures agricultural bulletins were distributed. Having seen charts and illustrations of modern business methods of farm management, these farmers can not fail to have carried away some valuable suggestions. The school children,

especially, were interested in the works. They—the youths of to-day and the men of to-morrow—will ponder over what they saw and heard. They are sure to remodel the works of their fathers and create a new agriculture in the birth-place of their nation.

One of our duties amongst ourselves is co-operation. Co-operation is necessary with the farmers, agricultural instructors and railway companies, if we really want to improve Indian agriculture. We think, by the co-operative spirit, we can run demonstration trains in which the cars will contain educational charts, dairy equipments, farm implements, various sorts of grains, live-stock, poultry, etc., or in other words the train itself will be a demonstration farm. Several stops will have to be made in each province. When the train arrives, the farmers and the children of the rural homes will be allowed to get in and see the exhibits and listen to the illustrated talks on practical

agriculture. Will it not be a wonderful way of teaching the ryots and creating enthusiasm in farm homes? The advancement of Indian agriculture should be measured even

more by the variety of its enterprise than by the magnitude of any one or two prevailing activities.

THE FAMILY AS THE ECONOMIC UNIT IN INDIA

THE Hindu Family, 'joint in food, worship and estate,' is the economic unit of Hindu society. The family consists of the man himself, his sons, grandsons and great grandsons, who live in peace and harmony and share the common chest or purse.* Founded on the virtues of affection and self-control this system tends to develop a spirit of self-sacrifice, and mutual control and dependence which are quite opposed to the competitive individualistic spirit—the key-note of modern industrialism. Indeed, the sentiments which it fostered and the economic effects it produced have led to certain fundamental differences characteristic of our industrial life clearly distinguishing it from that of Europe and America. Thus, while in the West, it is the individual's own scale of wants, his standard of comforts and of activities which regulates the growth of population, in India the family mode of enjoyment or standard of life is the main factor. Marriage in Hindu Society is compulsory at a particular age, so the fluctuations in prices of the crops have no effects as in Europe, on the number of marriages.† The members of the family are assured maintenance for themselves and as many children as they choose to bring into the world from the property ordained to be the hereditary source of maintenance of all. In Europe the check to the

increase of population is the struggle for food and competition and its law,—'if a man will not work, neither shall he eat,'* enforced upon the individual by the society. In India, the rigour of the law is mitigated in its operation by the family. The family protects the young wife, the helpless orphan or the decrepit grandfather. Thus State Medical Aid or old age pensions are unnecessary.† There is, however, no excess of population for there are restraints on birth rate. Those are not only economic but also social and religious and enforced by the family. The joint-stock family economy again has an ennobling influence on our social and economic life, through its conception of the marriage relation. In Europe, marriage is a convenience or pleasure, a personal affair and not a family duty, thus a man marries after he has a good income and leaves his family to seek his own happiness. Many, again, failing to have the income which modern civilisation requires for the fashionable maintenance of a family do not marry at all and thus escape from the responsibilities of a married life. Thus, "The fear of marriage and the family is the particular feature of French matrimoniality. At Paris, where the struggle for existence is very severe and where the care for money is more predominant, late marriages abound. Whether these facts proceed from the growing difficulties of existence, or from a fear, always augmenting, also of trouble and care, or from these two causes combined and mutually strengthening each other, the consequence is the same; marriages are becoming more and more simple commercial transactions, from whence arises the

* "The Hindu Family is a group of individuals related to one another by their descent from a common ancestor within 7 generations in the ascending line." (Bhattacharjee, The law relating to the joint family). A well known saying ascribes happiness in heaven to one who lives to see 7 generations gathered under his roof.

† This seems to us a statement of doubtful accuracy. Our impression is that there are more marriages after a good harvest than a bad one, even in India. More light should be thrown on the subject.—Ed. M. R.

* Sidgwick—Practical Ethics.

† We do not think this is a fact.—Ed. M. R.

worst and shameful of selections—selections by money. As regards these marriages by purchase, France is unworthily distinguished beyond other nations.* To the Western woman, marriage is the means of subsistence. There is hard competitive struggle among women to find out their own husbands and the struggle is all the keener because the number of men is usually smaller than that of women, and, further, there are some men who refuse to marry. Thus the women pay the greatest attention to the attractions of their appearance and to a thousand artificial blandishments and useless trivialities which receive a consideration in marriage plans. In India marriage is a sacrament and its supreme object is to perpetuate a family, a patrimony and a faith. The consent of the family is necessary. Individual likes and dislikes are not of much importance; for marriage is not a means of one's individual pleasure or advantage, but the duty of transmitting an unimpaired estate and maintaining the integrity of a family is a supreme consideration. And the family in maintaining a strong authority in its integrity does not allow economic considerations to stand in the way of a marriage. A man need not be very wealthy before marrying, for the family will support his wife and children,† and the girl in the family organisation is not left to shift for herself in the matrimonial market. Her father arranges the marriage and she finds assured maintenance provided for her as soon she leaves her parents for her husband's family on reaching maturity. Such a family presents a striking contrast with the unstable organisation of the romantic family of Europe and America, which offers little resistance to the disintegrating influence of morbid emotion and insane ambition. "When the duty of maintaining a family tradition is no longer acknowledged, when religion has ceased to be an element in domestic life, when children have become unwelcome, and marriage is viewed as a convenience or a pleasure, legal obstacles

to its dissolution will not long be tolerated by a community of irritable, sentimental, and egoistic men and women who have found life disappointing."* Thus divorces have been rapidly multiplying in Europe and America. The marriage relation has come to be a contract. It is not a union through life, even unto death, but lasts like a trading concern as long as the agreement satisfies both parties. Thus marriage becomes business and no romance. No consideration is paid to the interests of the children, who are often pitilessly sacrificed. Divorce has become easy and, to add to the family instability, the woman of the West is becoming more and more economically independent. Not supported by her own family and unable to find a husband or deserted by him she has to earn her own living. Thrown into the hard struggle and competition for wealth, she gradually loses the idealism that is natural to her. She asks for votes in order to shield herself from the individualistic economic system regulated in the interests of men, but the feverish excitement, the constant fret and foam of modern industrialism, gradually renders her unfit for motherhood—the essential and incontestable right of every woman.

Our family organisation enjoining upon the man that marriage is a family duty necessary for the perpetuation of family culture and rational manhood, and protecting the woman from being dragged into the mire of industrial competition and struggle for living has contributed in no small degree to a high standard of morality and real contentment of the people.

The unity and stability of our joint-stock family have, however, been threatened by the growth of individualistic tendencies due to the recent changes of economic conditions. As Professor Nicholson observes, one of the most characteristic features of economic progress has been the disintegration of the family; freedom of the individual has displaced the bonds of blood relationship, at any rate to a considerable extent. New organs for the accumulation of capital have been invented, individual earnings need no longer be invested in family land. The passion for personal liberty has made necessary a change in the idea of the family as the

* Monsieur Ch. Letourneau.

† A member, entitled to get the least share on partition, may by reason of having a large family of his own to support consume during jointness the largest portion of the proceeds of joint property, without being liable to be called upon to account for the excess of consumption at the time of partition. (G. Sarkar's Hindu Law, page 215).

* Giddings: Principles of Sociology.

social organ of property. In India according to the Mitākshara, those who are born and those who are yet unborn require the means of support; no gift or sale of the family property can therefore be made. A member of the joint family acquires a right to the joint property on becoming a member by birth, adoption or marriage. In an individualistic age, the sons sharing co-equal rights by birth in the family property took their shares by partition. The patrimony was sometimes dissipated and thus the joint family system was threatened. To prevent this dissolution of the joint family,* Jimutabāhana, the reputed author of the *Dayabhāga* system in Bengal, made a change in the law. He formulated the rule that the sons had no right to ancestral property during the father's life-time, thus depriving them of the right of enforcing partition against the father's will, and further provided two shares for the father in case he made a partition during his life. To prevent injustice to the sons, he at the same time deprived the father of the power of capriciously and whimsically alienating the ancestral property, or of making unequal division of it or of taking more than a double share on partition.† The modern courts of justice, however, declare that there cannot be a real joint family consisting of father and sons during the father's life-time, inasmuch as joint property, which is the essence of the conception of joint family, would be wanting to make them joint. Nor can there be, according to the modern view, a real partition during the father's life; for

* Some writers, on the other hand, maintain that the *Dayabhāga*, giving to the father an absolutely unfettered right in all property, whether ancestral or self-acquired, represents the utmost development of that individualization of property which began in an earlier age. An earlier exponent of individual property rights was Rishi Devala.

† According to the *Dayabhāga*, a father is incompetent to alienate immovable property, excepting a small portion, provided that such alienation is not incompatible with the maintenance of the family. Then, the author of the *Dayabhāga* maintains that a person is legally competent to alienate, as for legal necessity affecting the family when the property is ancestral, and according to his pleasure when it is self-acquired; the ancient texts requiring consent of the coparceners in the former case and of the sons in the latter, should be held to impose only a moral obligation but not to invalidate an alienation actually made without such consent: because the nature of the law cannot be changed by a hundred such texts.

it must mean neither more nor less than a gift of the property by the father to his sons. Thus "The position of affairs has become anomalous owing to the divergence between actual practice and legal theory,"* and the view taken by the courts, making it almost impossible that there should be a joint family of father and sons, unless their is joint property acquired otherwise than by inheritance, threatens the existence of the joint family system in Bengal. Still joint families consisting of father and son do exist in Bengal, and the natural love of a father for his sons prevents the evil consequences that might follow from an application of the court rulings.

It is not indeed, the High Court decisions but the economic stress and consequent growth of individualistic spirit in our country that have been slowly sapping the roots of the joint family organisation. A more complex economic life has necessitated a change. It is possible that the joint family in the family system may come to an end. But let us not accept the family system of Europe as the ideal. To gratify individual passions, feelings and preferences, the system of the West has sacrificed family patrimony and tradition, and has no scruples even in sacrificing children. Neither India nor Europe and America but something above them will give us the ideal family. The ideal family regards duty as the most sacred thing in the world, it has a high sense of the privilege of transmitting its qualities and its culture to the children. It gives the children right training, disciplines them in the robust virtues of self-control and self-sacrifice; thus it consciously selects, cultivates and transmits the fair fruits of a rational civilisation. The system of our country, though it developed some important virtues, has tended to promote idleness and extravagance. It has engendered an unmistakeable affection in the man and woman and helped the maintenance of a respectable and pleasant home. But in its zeal to perpetuate a patrimony, it has sacrificed economic progress, and thus stood in the way of the development and the perpetuation of that rational personality, which is the supreme end for which the family exists. Thus, actuated though it is by a lofty idealism, it has become quite

* G. Sarker's Hindu Law.

unsuitable for the stress and struggle of modern life. Life has now become harder and individual earnings have now come to be devoted to satisfy individual wants instead of being shared equally among different family members. Again, in the joint stock family, whilst there is no room for bequest the right of inheritance is fundamental. But our law of succession has a very pernicious influence on our economic life.

The land is divided into many small estates. The small land-owners have little capital to make permanent improvements of their estates. Usually the security of tenure is less in small than in large estates and the relations of landlord and tenant are worse. Again with regard to property other than land, Mr. Dadabhai has remarked: the family capital as soon as it reaches the point when it can be increased with the greatest advantage undergoes a process of disintegration which reduces the participants to actual poverty, or at least throws them back to the original position when they have to start accumulation anew. This process goes on seesaw fashion to the detriment of industry. Nothing is more certain in finance than that reduplication and growth of capital progress successfully and quickly after accumulation has reached a decent point. The same might be said of the Muhammadan system of succession. Thus the capital that can be accumulated is very small, and the village indebtedness is chronic and increasing at an alarming rate.

The land system itself, again, is also responsible to a great extent for this minute sub-division. As Sir George Birdwood says, under the system of peasant proprietorship, the ryot has become so strongly attached by the most sacred and deeply rooted ties to the soil that, rather than relinquish his hold on it, he will burden himself and his heirs with debt for generations; and gradually under the Hindu practice of inheritance the holdings become so minutely sub-divided and over-burdened by mortgages, that extended cultivation and high farming are made almost impossible. An analogy may be found in the law of equal inheritance and its economic effects in France. There is no doubt that the British Agricultural Labourer is better off than the French peasant owner. As Professor

Nicholson,* has pointed out: "The case in France is aggravated by the Law of Inheritance, the excessive *morcellement* is partly due to the *parlage forcée*. But the aversion to make exchanges and thus amalgamate the little plots throws a strong light on the difficulty of co-operation. And when we find as a fact that apart from such a Law of Inheritance there is in small farms an almost universal tendency to undue sub-division, it is, to say the least, unscientific to argue as to what might happen if this disturbing cause were absent. In the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland, land has in many places been divided until the plots are too small to support a family."† Again though the one great advantage that the small farmer has as a rule possessed is inherited and empirical skill: this is, however, useful under conditions fixed by custom and may, when conditions are changing, prove an obstacle in the way of improvement.‡ In Indian agriculture, the conditions in fact have now greatly changed and the small farmer being unable to adapt himself to the changed circumstances has become much worse off.§

The joint stock system has secured a characteristic co-operation of the family members in our society which though advantageous at first is detrimental to progress in a higher stage of industrialism. In the agriculturists' family the women

* Principles of Political Economy.

† In Belgium, however, where there is a great number of small land-holders and the sub-division of the soil promoted by the French Law of Succession and the density of population, agriculture has been very successful. The system of cheap and rapid transport in which Light Railways fill a prominent role, while the canals are not neglected, contributes to the undoubted success of Belgium Agriculturists. Co-operative methods of purchase and sale are encouraged and Agricultural Education is systematically diffused in the country, thus giving an example to the Indians to imitate with profit.

‡ Nicholson's Principles of Political Economy.

§ One bright side has however, been pointed out by Sir George Birdwood. To the land and village system he says are due the industrial and artistic skill and cunning of the people. "There can, in fact, be no popular art without popular traditions, and traditional art can arise only among a people whose social and Municipal Institutions are based in perpetuity on a democratic organisation of their inherent right and property in a national soil, such as is secured to the people of India by the Ryotwari Tenure."

freely assist the men in field work, sowing the seeds, weeding or assisting their husbands in irrigating the fields. In Behar where the pressure of population has led the males to emigrate to Bengal for work, the woman have to do almost all the field work. In Bengal, however, the woman leads a more secluded life seldom taking an active share in outdoor work and the seclusion is greater as the family is richer or the caste higher.* In her house, however, the woman works the whole day. She cooks the food and makes all necessary preparations for that process. She has also to grind the wheat or the pulses in the *Janta* or husks the rice with *Dhenki* and if she has any leisure, she spins cotton or silk threads or twists the *san*, cocoanut, jute and rhea fibres into ropes.† If it is an artisan's family, the woman can assist in the husband's work more materially. The weaver's wife cleans the thread and arranges the warp and woof. The oil-presser's wife manages the bullocks and runs the *Ghani* when the *Kalu* is working in the fields. The silk rearer's wife diligently and carefully feeds the cocoons. The tailor's wife uses the sewing machine when there is hard work for the family. The laundress herself washes the clothes in the tanks. The banglemaker's wife makes the slow fire and rolls the lac rods into thin pencils. The Muchi's wife helps her husband in the collection of hides and skins. The Dom

* Agriculturists' wives will on no account come to the fields in which their husbands work, the breakfast being brought there by infant girls or old females, usually the mother. As a rule females do not work in the fields, except the very old or very young, who are sometimes deputed to tend cattle in plots adjoining to homesteads. But the women may be sometimes seen employed in thrashing out the grains, winnowing or stacking the hay.

† A spinning wheel does not cost much. The spinning hours are those which a woman snatches from her other labours at home; an hour after the mid-day and the night meal is the most usual time in which she plies her wheels. Sometimes she works at it in the dark before day dawn, guided by the dexterity of her fingers. In the course of two months her savings in thread after exchanging with the trader suffice for a piece of cloth for herself or her husband, for which she pays the weaver at the rate of two pies per cubit, either in cash or in *Dhan*, the length of the cloth being 7 or 8 cubits.

For twisting fibres, a few bundles are hung from the thatched roof of the varendah and the woman twists by means of a reel called *Dhora* or *Takur* into twines of different thicknesses.

woman weaves the baskets. The potter's wife collects and prepares the clay. In some cases again, the woman does much of the labour of carrying the goods for sale to the market. Thus bangles are sold exclusively by women. The fish woman is better in bargaining than her husband. The laundress carries the clothes to the *Zenana*. The milkmaid and the oil-presser's wife also carry their products to the inmates of the rich man's household.*

The boys of the family also are all usefully employed. They do most of the work of pasturing the cattle. They collect fuel and manure, milk the goats and sometimes cut grass for the cows. The girls at their father's house have not to work much. In the artisan's family the boys like their mother can do more work. They are early trained as apprentices. In Madanpura, Benares, I saw boys and girls of 4 or 5 years arranging the *nakhsā* threads by means of wooden handles, and thus helping their father in his weaving. Thus the boys are trained in the craft quite early and they begin work as soon as they learn some of its rudiments. The system while it provides for all the family members gives each his place and occupation, so that his services can be best utilised in the interests of the family. But the family co-operation is advantageous in the first stage—only for production on a small scale. The division of labour being confined to the small family group, there are none of the economic advantage of co-operation and division of labour in society on an organised scale. There is little scope for the utilisation of capital. The wealth that remains after providing for the few agricultural implements and seed and manure or artisan's tools goes to bedeck the persons of women, or is spent on family property which may be deteriorating. New investments of capital are disliked. The system discourages individual initiative and consequently there is loss of personal

* The woman however has no freedom and initiative in her occupation. In the above cases she merely helps her husband to some extent in the maintenance of the family. Only in the lowest social grades the woman goes out and earns her living independently. Thus among the Sonthals, Dosadhs, Ghatwals, Chakuiyas, etc.: the women are seen to work as day labourers in the fields, carrying bricks and mortar in the building industry.

energy. The stimulus to individual exertion being not very great progress is difficult. Thus the organisation has lost much of its older vitality now in a higher stage of

industrialism dominated by ideas of individual development and the passion for personal liberty.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

THE RISE AND DECADENCE OF ART IN INDIA

THE rhythmic dance of creation never ceases. As Purusha smiles, Prakriti shews herself in her myriad moods, never failing to delight her lover's heart by her wonderful changeableness. We live indeed in a world of incessant change—we know not of stagnation—a truth which Bergson has crystalized into a philosophy.

How Art partakes of the character of her mother Nature, and goes on tremulous in beauty from change to change. We trace the evolution, the culmination, the degeneration. Then begins another period, the structure of which is based on the ruins of the last. Thus the History of Art is a series of jagged hills one rising above the other, the summit of one being the base of another. Some time elapses before a new Art realises its ideal. As soon as this end has been reached, it begins to deteriorate, for it loses sight of its ideal as a whole, and begins to pay undue attention to details. It descends to the supersubtle and the wire-drawn. Thus Gothic Art fell a victim to its own over-elaboration. Now these periods with their three elements, evolution, culmination, degeneration, vary, and the times vary according to the number of forces operating.

In speaking of the forces operating on Art, we have to speak with diffidence. In a scientific age, which deals only with the exact sciences, which has strict definition with terms, and talks of causes and effects with unerring exactitude, it is hard to remember that there are Arts, which almost defy analysis and definition. The only definition of Poetry, says Swinburne, is that it cannot be defined. The shadowy products of the brain demand a delicate treatment which we are apt to forget. But in our incessant struggle with these unseen ghosts in the surrounding darkness, we do hit upon some more or less positive entities.

Thus when we come to reflect upon the causes which tend to the Decadence of Art in India, we are appalled by their great variety and their immense strength.

As we look back into the dim past, we find that we were rich in images. The Vedas are a treasure-house of gorgeous pictures, but we have poems only, not plastic Art; the technique necessary for the conversion of these vague metaphors into plastic images was wanting. Then came the age of keen rationality when we discarded the illusive metaphors, when we began to realise our environment of Māyā, when we stared thought directly in the face without any intervening media. The analytic faculty was rampant and Art could not flourish in such an atmosphere, for Art is synthesis, not analysis. Lastly, this gave place to an age, when we desecrated our gods in our attempt to revert to the rich imagery of the past. The holy significance of Siva was lost—he had become the symbol of generation in the eyes of the multitude; Durga, his consort, another instance of phallic worship. Our heads must turn and our stomachs nauseate at such desecration. Art vanished from this polluted atmosphere. It is only in the intervals between these periods that Art flourished.

Floods of barbarian invasions inundated India beginning with Mahmūd of Ghazni. The rude nomads swooped down upon the plains from time to time. Property was insecure, life itself hung on a thread, racial antipathies were stirred, religious persecutions began, society was shaken by the tempests of Heaven, armies met, and, in this cataclysm of mighty forces, culture and Art fled into the sequestered grove to fade into nothingness.

The mystic spirit of religion died out, and Art without her inspiring breath could not live. Buddhism was cold in its grave.

It was the age of blatant Brahminism—Brahminism without its exalted poetry. In our own day, it is these spiritual guides of ours who have taught us to persecute the artist and drive him down into a quagmire of Sudraism from which it is impossible to emerge. Monastic Art there was none—the Brahmins were busy with their spiritual extortions; the other high castes acquiesced in this hideous tyranny.

In our own day, potent forces are working. The insensate luxury of the rich, the killing poverty of the poor, leave no place for Art. The besotted villain on his sofa, the peasant on his bed of thorns, have not the heart to hear the soft trill of the nightingale's note, to drink in the drowsy perfume of the rose. There is no 'patron Art.' The potential patrons live in houses moulded in the evil eclectic style of modern Europe, the propagation of which is carried on by greedy European firms. The poetry of the cupola or the dome has been lost, the mysticism of the arch forgotten in the tyranny of the Corinthian column. The houses are adorned with cheap plaster casts from Italy, casts of Jupiter and Apollo, not the eloquent bronzes representing our own gods; they have nondescript prints perpetrated in the East End of London or in the slums of Berlin. Those wondrous "flowings of line and fragments of nature" we see in Indian articles displayed by the perpetrations of Picadilly. And lastly, a false appreciation of Art has done more to degrade her than any other cause. We have rejected the seeds and accepted the tares, we have been ecstatic over imitations of the wall-paper designs of England, we have raved over Graeco-Roman plagiarisms. Ravi-Varmaism has raised its unhealthy head.

"Folk Art" is almost impossible under the conditions in which we drag on our existence. The soul refuses to sing and the hand to paint when there is hunger in the stomach and sorrow in the heart. The peasant, whose life is a process of slow starvation, can not carve, his hand is paralysed. He lives a life of appalling misery, his creative spirit is stifled, the fire of genius extinguished.

A false Puritanism can not fail to show its ugly countenance in "spiritual India." We have adopted European conventions in

our morality even. The sex-question has raised a blind wall—and we, who worshipped woman as a goddess of maternity have begun to regard the mysteries of creation as an evil—as a subject to be thought of, dreamed of, but never to be mentioned in polite society. That is the voice of our modern conscience. And in this way do we ape the hypocrisy of the West. Apart from the lofty symbolism underlying the lovely tales of Krishna and Radha, Siva and Durga, the genre paintings of Mogal Art have a peculiar beauty of their own. There is no morality in Art—says Dr. Coomaraswamy—the only criterion is expressiveness. Art transcends the narrow rigors of a conventional morality. In this stigmatism of Indian Art, our purists have betrayed the canker in their souls, for criticism is only a mirror of the soul. Blindness is the obverse of their vaunted authority. And narrowness of dogma and an assumption of superiority are born of the disgusting mediocrity of the middle classes. Catullus's noble rebellion against this shallow system of Ethics is couched in beautiful language—

*"Rumoresque senum seueriorum
Omnes unius aestimemus assis."*

Such a code is not Nature, is not Art.

The appalling lethargy we see in our country at the present day is a most painful sight. A colourless humanity stalks abroad in ugly colours. There is no enthusiasm and young men turn cynics at an age at which it ought to be hard to stifle one's ardour. In some cases a selfish adaptation of means to an end has displaced the "grande passion" of life. This paralysis of emotion has become a paralysis of thought as well.

Commercialism too is not without its effects. We live in an enlarged sphere of activity—we gain in breadth, we lose in intensity. The ancients occupied themselves with sculpture, painting, poetry and the production of wealth—in most countries. But the production of wealth was carried on in a crude manner, for it was only an elementary system of agriculture carried on by means of slave labour. Now we occupy ourselves with the production of wealth, mechanics, prose, poetry, painting, sculpture. The extension of our activities means a deterioration of some of the Arts, e.g.,

literature, painting, sculpture, mechanics, and the production of wealth engross our attention. The production of wealth has become a complex science, mechanics still more so. The sequestered grove—the haven of poetry, philosophy and art—is wanted no longer, the tranquil temple is out of place, we long for the roar of the engine and the smoke of the factory. Quantity is the end, not quality. We prefer photography to painting, plaster casts to sculpture, the electric machine to the loom—we are reverting from the “decorative stage to the utilitarian” (Herbert Spencer)—an appalling retrogression to the barbarism of the youth of the world.

Thus we see that the causes which tend to destruction are most potent. It is hard indeed for Art to raise her head, when all the forces seem to have conspired against her. But still Art flourishes.

The reasons for the rise of Art in India will be explained in various ways. It is for us to choose from an infinitude of causes. Here the Law of Change itself acts in favour of the rise of Indian Art. Thus light dawns after the darkness of centuries—degeneration and apparent death leads to vigour and life, as the death of an organism in Nature leads to the growth of various other organisms.

“When winter comes, can spring be far behind?”

In the dim ages there was no technique. But in their struggle with the forces of nature, our ancestors soon acquired it. How much of this was due to their own talent, and how much to an offshoot of Hellenisticism, it is for future ages to decide. Perhaps the Gandharan period was a mere episode—an interruption of the evolution of Indian Art; perhaps it was the dawn of Indian Art, for it marked the birth of technique. But this technique, though feeble at first, grew with leaps and bounds in the fertile soil, amid the favourable zephyrs of the Indian peninsula. “Idealism,” that mighty magician, soon transformed a rude plant into a beautiful flower—then began the History of Indian Art. The efflorescence of Art, Drama, lyric poetry began with the Gupta period.

Time tempered the rage of the analytic faculty, that destructive force mellowed with age; a soft idealism and a poetic

mysticism shed a halo round it. The supreme iconoclasm of the Advaitavād became a mere vision, the dance of Prakriti became a real image. Names and forms, hitherto an illusion, began to rise. Individualism, which had run mad, regained her senses. The Nihilism of Hindu Philosophy was diluted; legends grew, ancient stories which had died down into echoes, revived acquiring new vigour, new legends began to centre round the fresh experience of life. Vaishnavism and Saivism rose; Mahayanist Buddhism spread from shore to shore.

The desecration of symbols (which I have spoken of above) raised a universal cry of horror. The curtain of ignorance was raised. The hideousness of phallic worship was exposed. Siva’s frenzied measure became the dance of destruction, which leads to construction. He became a yogi again. Krishna began to roam the shores of the sacred river in rural guise; his eternal union with Radha became the grandest self-realisation of love. The keenest forces of discrimination were brought to bear upon this selection; the poetic, the romantic, the moral were chosen—the worthless, the useless, the ugly discarded.

Through the narrow passes in the North-Western Frontier swarmed the countless barbarians to the plains of India. But the health-giving Zephyrs of India infused the spirit of a mighty civilisation into them. The conquerors were conquered as in days of old the conquest of Greece became the conquest of Rome. The stupidity of Moslem iconoclasm has been relegated to the limbo of a forgotten past. The decentralising forces of religion have been tempered by a wide humanitarianism. Buddhists, Jains, Hindus, Moslems in their eternal attempt at mutual synthesis have attained a glorious union. Racial antipathies have been forgotten, religious persecutions have ceased, bitterness of feeling and rancour of heart soothed. No refugees fly to glorify other lands as our ancestors did in Java. The Mussulman mosque and seraglio are settled facts and they stand in close proximity to the Hindu temple. Jainism has worked beautifully for its own self as well as for the pleasure or the devotion of Islam. It is now long years since the Mahayana Buddhists incorporated the gods of the Hindu pantheon into her own—and thus

Vishnu and Buddha came to be bound by a golden thread. The great trinity of Moghul Emperors employed Hindu artists and furthered Hindu tradition as ever did Hindu monarch of old. Indeed it is from a Persian foreigner (Abul Fazl) that we get the most graceful compliment to Indian Art—"it surpasses our conceptions of things" he says. The Ajanta influence is seen clearly in Moghul Art, the Persian in Rajput Art. The modern revival is a synthesis of schools, for it represents the Rajput School just as much as it does the Moghul and the Buddhist. The centrifugal forces of the same religion are being neutralised. In Hinduism the barriers of caste are breaking down in spite of the stupid clamourings of fatuous nonentities—we have conceived the ideal of a happy fusion and are moving towards that great goal. No odium now attaches to the artists and the exalté Brahmin no longer turns his sleek countenance away from the beaming eyes of the artist. The evil dogmatism of medioeval scholasticism has been exposed.

But the mystic spirit of religion is not dead, for that would be the death of Art. That ethereal emotion, which is displayed in the Vedas, in the mellow backgrounds of Kangra Valley paintings, in the dim interiors of Buddhist caves, in the delicate carvings of Hindu temples, is still a living spirit among us today. Without this religious passion, the wondrous sculptured yogis—Buddha, or Siva or Vishnu, would be merely hideous, inhuman, monstrous, an ecstatic dance would be an unrhythmic caper, emotion would be sickly sentiment—in fact Art would be mere caricature.

Patrons are springing into existence, and this is the outcome of a higher culture than that imparted by our universities (though to many individuals this may seem impossible). True culture was paralysed in the contest of various nationalities and various civilisations but she revived with the dawn of peace. Now the untiring efforts of our educationalists, the unceasing strivings of the people are inaugurating a new era. But no country ever had very much to hope from the middle classes—for the middle class is always a mediocrity and as such is rooted in convention. They have fallen victims to Aristotle's narrow dictum—"to-meson estin ariston" and are not susceptible

to the grandeur of a wider philosophy. Their education is only "Brodstudien", and Art which is not lucrative is beyond their sphere. Commercialism is their guiding principle in life. In their blindness they fail to perceive the beauties of Art, and therefore raise a hideous howl of scorn. The higher classes, who have not to struggle for their existence, are sometimes more refined in taste, but the sin to which they have succumbed (together with their mediocre brethren) is Anglo-mania. They have thus become second-hand imitators of European civilisation. But we do find some shining lights among them;—princes who are trying to establish picture-galleries, who take a noble pride in their collections; intelligent connoisseurs, who have learnt the art of judicious appreciation. But our hopes rise when we come to view the lowest classes. The peasant who sings at his plough or carves in his hut, is only a dream in Europe—in India he is to be seen at not a few wayside villages. The legends of the Puranas, the examples of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the austerity of Buddha are to them an integral part of life. They never fail to respond to nature, they can never resist the appeal of the flowers and the sunshine. The rafters in their smoky huts are carved into beauteous shapes, their horses and their cattle are adorned with bits of finery—testifying to a spirit unsubdued by poverty. They alone have maintained the traditions of Indian music, they alone sing the songs of our mediæval times, they alone play upon the instruments of our country, leaving the heresy of the piano and the harmonium to others. Their hearts are full of the poetry of nature and this is seen in the minutest details of their lives. Materialism has not entered into their souls and thus we find here a treasure-house of the glories of the past of our country.

The narrow Puritanism of Europe has been exposed, and has got its deserts. The thin veneer has been rubbed off. We have reverted to our own convictions, like streams which have carved out their proper course and which resist artificial efforts at damming. The appalling lethargy which was creeping into our souls has been shaken off and a burning activity is seen in every phase of life—in art, in literature, in social

reform;—in fact, a new era has dawned on us.

But the modern revival of Art is not a renaissance, for it is not a resuscitation of the past, not the investiture of a corpse with the regalia of life and vigour, but an emergence of the living spirit in the budding flower of Art. A renaissance, which draws its inspiration merely from the past, is never a success. Examples abound in modern European History. The Pre-Raphaelite movement in painting was doomed to death from the beginning. It commenced with a flash and ended in smoke. William Morris has been consigned to oblivion. The possibilities of the Austro-Belgian school are limited, its emulation of the glories of Gothic Architecture is futile—the mystery of a Gothic Cathedral is out of place in modern Europe; and what inspiration can attain, steel and iron will

certainly not achieve. But our modern revival is the expression of the living soul of a nation, not a mere imitation of the past. Thus religious themes appeal to us now as of old. Historical scenes bring the past before our visions. Imaginative works appeal to us as always. Genre paintings form a large part of our artistic productions. The pathos of a postman or the connubial bliss of a peasant in our Art make a universal appeal. Modern life is portrayed in its various aspects. It is not necessary for us to invest the bourgeoisie with cavalier clothes, or to crucify a peasant on a cross, and call it Art, for the poetry of modern life is still a living entity to us.

Our Art is a vigorous organism and is growing from more to more; what is wanted alone is veneration for the artist—an apotheosis of Art.

ARUN SEN.

THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

With Special Reference to Conditions and Institutions in England.

DEMOCRACY is an ideal. That is why it is so important. If it were not an ideal we should not be greatly concerned about it. Some people talk of democracy as if it had already come; but if it had come we should not be greatly troubled about it; we should be in search of something better. Life is essentially progressive, and such that it can only be what it ought to be, vital and satisfying, when it is permeated by great ideas; but ideas that have been realised, hardened into fact, are no longer important, simply because they are no longer ideals, and do not inspire men. Only that inspires man, and is worthy of his best attention which lifts him up to something higher, satisfies his aspirations and is the promise of sublimer attainments. An idea may be partly realised and yet be an ideal; but when it has been wholly realised it is no longer an ideal, and ought then to be supplanted by

an idea that is also an ideal. It is one of the fundamental facts of life that while man is always realising and enjoying life, he is ever conquering new tracts of experience, aspiring after a more ideal and perfect existence still, and thus, as advance is made, endeavouring to conceive new ideals. Thus the most fascinating ideals are always ideals; those, that is, which transcend the good that is and tell of a greater good that may be. All great ideas are expansive ideas, evolutions, whose complete realisation is the work of centuries. Ideas that live do so by virtue of the ideal elements they contain. A great idea is a development, and often takes centuries to unfold; it is not like a wall that is soon erected and is then complete, but withal capable of being easily destroyed; but more like a reef which, starting from a scarcely perceptible beginning, grows slowly through the centuries until it becomes an impregnable mountain, a veritable and indestructible part of the world.

Such an idea is democracy; and democracy is an ideal which the present age has come to believe in, and is bent on realising. Those simple-minded people who believe that somewhere about the beginning of the twentieth century, we, the British people, entered into democracy, are probably destined to pass through many disillusion. What we have entered into is not democracy, but the ideal of democracy. As yet democracy is afar off.

And because democracy is an ideal it is undefinable, being something we can feel rather than something we can explain. Like all really sublime and vital ideas democracy belongs to the realm of imagination and feeling rather than to the categories of knowledge. We know that democracy is a living idea, because we can feel it operating, see its effects, picture its possible manifestations; but we cannot define or clearly outline it. And it is to the glory of democracy that we cannot define it. The ideal of democracy, like every other great ideal, is larger than the measure of man's mind: we cannot conceive what sort of a life or social condition it will give rise to; thought cannot grasp it; imagination cannot circumscribe it; yet it dominates the mind, inspires the imagination and fires the soul. To contemplate democracy is like walking through a picture gallery; it is to feel a great amount of truth we cannot wholly explain or fathom.

It is because democracy is an ideal and undefinable that it is more appropriate, for the time being, to speak of the democratic spirit than of democracy. A few may possess the democratic spirit even in an autocracy; but before we can have a democracy we must first have a people who are all imbued with the democratic spirit. And that, of course, is what we have not yet got. Still, democracy does carry with it a significant and unique meaning for a great many people even to-day; does stand for something unusual, idealistic, sublime. It is with that unique and significant something that we are concerned in the present article.

To the enlightened people of to-day the word democracy is one of the most inspiring in modern use, and is so far the chief reason that it stands for increased freedom spiritually, the breaking down of the

thousand social barriers which to-day, owing to false ideas of well-being, are a hindrance to social intercourse and progress. Democracy stands for the elimination of caste, of "class" feeling of every form, of the habit of distinguishing and grading people according to their position or standing in society, the amount of wealth they possess, the family they belong to, or other equally external considerations. There is something in the ideal of democracy which is very like the idealism contained in Christianity: the same idea of brotherhood; the same necessity and demand for increased social intercourse; the same tendency to look upon social intercourse as a veritable part of spiritual life; the same denial of the popular but aristocratic fallacy that spiritual and material poverty go together, and that spiritual and material well-being go together. What we are discovering to-day is that fellowship is life, that the cultivation and enjoyment of fellowship ought to be two of the primary activities of man, and that everything which hinders free personal development and expression and free social intercourse is wrong, utterly evil, narrow, selfish, anti-democratic. Thus democracy is coming to stand for a profound spiritual principle, for the cultivation of social intercourse, the establishment of brotherhood, and, in consequence, the destruction of all those customs, conditions and institutions which are alien to these ends. And it is just because democracy carries with it, howsoever vaguely, these spiritual implications, that it is popular to-day, and that it will spread, dominate men's minds more and more, and ultimately revolutionise our society.

It is because democracy is a spiritual ideal that it has so tenaciously taken hold of the people's minds to-day, at a time when, as a matter of fact, there exists so little in our national life and institutions that is truly democratic. But because men and women are beginning to believe in democracy, to accept it as an ideal, we know that our nation is safe, that we are approaching a new era, that we are on the eve of a great heroic struggle for truth, for the right of spiritual growth, for liberty. The spectacle of a people fighting for liberty, for a grander order of existence, is a

rare but exhilarating one, and one that we believe we English are soon to behold. We are looking forward to it, and will welcome it as the surest sign of a profound national spiritual awakening. The root motive behind the modern demand for social and political reform, both here and elsewhere, is not physical but spiritual, having its origin in a desire not merely to secure a better distribution of wealth, but to increase liberty, the opportunity to live more fully, robustly, spiritually. It is not poverty that is the cause of the present social unrest and upheaval, but a vision of a grander, a more spiritual and vital existence: a vision that the enlightenment of a broader education has made possible. The idea of democracy has not arisen in the slums; for indeed the poor have always been with us; neither is it the creation of an empty stomach or of an envious spirit; it is a vision, nothing more or less, and is the product of deep thinking on the part of the profoundest minds of the last and present generations. And for these reasons we are convinced that the ideal of democracy will endure and conquer.

In the midst of aristocratic institutions, of a society permeated by materialism and strong class feeling, the idea of democracy is taking root. And without doubt, and despite all our boast of freedom, our government is strongly bureaucratic, our morals and customs alarmingly aristocratic. The majority of our institutions, from the Court levee and the motor car down to the village tea party, are strikingly aristocratic. The motor car has become necessary, not because it is a needful and advisable form of recreation, but because, by reason of its costliness, it has come to be regarded as a sign of a certain superiority, presumably spiritual superiority; while the squire has to preside at the village tea party for no other reason than to add to that function the dignity which belongs to a higher order of beings. Amongst all such ideas, institutions and tendencies, the ideal of democracy is asserting itself. Slowly but surely that ideal is warring against the fundamental error and foundation of aristocracy, the idea that noble birth, titles, wealth, etc., are the signs of spiritual superiority—an idea that is deeply rooted in the British mind.

In a sense democracy has grown out of

aristocracy; but it so far transcends aristocracy as to be fundamentally opposed to it. Aristocracy was an advance upon monarchy, because it meant the elevation of at least a few men to power and liberty. But democracy is an advance upon aristocracy, because it means the elevation of all men to power and liberty. It is the wider application of a good principle, a fuller recognition of a spiritual necessity. Aristocracy was the assertion that at least a few men are spiritual, are worthy of and capable of using increased power and liberty; democracy is the assertion that all men are. But in extending the principle, what momentous changes are involved in ideas, in customs, in beliefs, in mental attitude, etc.! And what social fictions and fallacies must needs be sacrificed! Aristocracy, as resting on the assumption that an entire class, by reason of social position, of wealth, of tradition, of the fact that certain of their ancestors were wise and valiant, are spiritually superior to the rest of mankind, is founded on a lie, and is a degrading and pernicious element in society, an anti-social and demoralising force. Because in a semi-barbaric age a few men, by reason of superior valour and wisdom, were heralded as rulers and leaders of society, aristocracy had a reasonable origin. But because in a civilised and spiritual age a certain number of idle people, who are neither strong, nor, it would seem, specially talented, believe that they, as the descendants of remote ancestors who happened to be strong and talented, ought to be worshipped, luxuriously housed and fed, aristocracy is doomed. So also is plutocracy, which claims for wealth the same homage and spiritual significance that aristocracy claims for birth, etc.

The continuance of aristocracy and plutocracy is a sure indication of the existence of materialism, of the assumption that wealth, position, power, birth, etc., are the primary things, and that man, spirit, fellowship, etc., are secondary things; blood and wealth are virtue, and that poverty is vice. But democracy is the denial of the assumption that there is any necessary connection between wealth and virtue on the one hand, and between poverty and vice on the other. Had there been fewer millionaires in the world, fewer of the men whose hardened visage is the sign of spiritual death and of

the victory of physical force and the mad passion for power, fewer tyrannic landlords, fewer rich merchant men whose traffic is in human souls, this ancient view might yet have found favour for a few more decades. But as it is, it is fast becoming discredited. Everybody now knows that, if a man is determined enough, is sufficiently audacious and unscrupulous, he can make money. Happily the mystic power of wealth is rapidly vanishing, while the people are coming to see that the possession of great riches, or of an ancient title, is no more an indication of spiritual worth than is the possession of a dog, or of a big stomach.

To possess the democratic spirit is to see the man behind the coat, the personality behind all the trappings of convention—and this in spite of the misconceptions and false assumptions of an ignorant and misguided society; it is to estimate men according to their spiritual qualities, to venerate them solely for their spiritual manifestations and attainments. We need not wonder, therefore, that this spirit is so rare. The spirit of aristocracy still permeates us, shapes our thought, determines our conduct. Indeed, so far are we from democracy that we can as yet only imagine it with an effort. We often talk about democracy, and even call ourselves democrats, and then belie our words by putting the very first man we meet into his social "class" and treating him accordingly. It is the aim of aristocracy to put men into social "classes" and to keep them there. But thus to classify men is to dehumanise them. It is the aim of democracy to destroy the very idea of "class," to put all men upon one common platform of "humanity", and to judge, estimate and venerate them in accordance with universal and spiritual standards.

To prove that we are still essentially aristocratic in temperament we need only remind ourselves how shocked, how mentally dislocated everybody seems to be when a breezy, jovial person, a man with a buoyant spirit, say, bursts into our society and acts and talks in a free and open manner, as every reasonable being should. What a sublime confusion of ideas, what mental catastrophies such a one always produces! Hailing from some unheard-of corner of the land, the man of true democratic temperament comes among us with

his open manners, his robust, unconventional spirit, and, ignoring all class and artificial distinctions, as if he were too uncultured to know them, talks to people as if they were all indeed—simply men and women! And he remains a mystery to everybody, and is remembered for all time. But what sane man that has met such a one occasionally, at a party or in a railway train, has not in his soul rejoiced at the glorious freedom he manifested, at the disconcerting turbulence he produced? Yet most of us, because of our aristocratic spirit and our slavery to convention, when in the society of such men, are for ever twitching our heads and hands as if we were dreadfully uncomfortable, or were afraid of being robbed of something. And, indeed, it is very likely that we are being robbed of our clothing all the while; for the true democrat in his riotous, that is, unconventional behaviour, is probably stripping us bit by bit of our folly, of our tinselled coverings, gradually exposing our spiritual nakedness and poverty to the view of all. Men of this stamp are veritable tornados, the healthy breeze of whose personalities literally whisks from the backs of the proud the flimsy coverings of convention as so much foolish drapery, leaving them naked and ashamed amidst an ugly heap of débris.

And that is just what democracy stands for,—spiritual freedom, spiritual contact, spiritual nakedness. That which hides the spirits of men, and imposes upon society by means of a false symbolism, causing quite external and worthless things to receive the homage and appreciation spirit only ought to receive, is the deadly enemy of democracy. Democracy and true spirituality go together; aristocracy and materialism go together. And it is because we are still essentially materialists, and possess the aristocratic temperament, that we go on creating and maintaining those artificial distinctions, those dehumanising social barriers which so effectively divide mankind into spiritually opposed groups. Democracy is the love of man as man, and is the outcome of the recognition of the spiritual power and beauty of man. Aristocracy is the love of few men, of men within a class, and is based on the idea of privilege. Thus democracy is a spiritual and social force,

whereas aristocracy is a materialistic and anti-social force.

Nothing could be more indicative of the materialistic basis of aristocracy, and therefore, of modern society, than the prevailing and popular assumption that "manners" are a true indication of spiritual attainment. For what we call manners are very often nothing more than a cult to mark off a particular class, as, for instance, wealthy and well-born people, and are no more a proof of spiritual attainment and superiority, of real refinement, than a crooked nose is. Convention demands that people of a certain social caste shall adopt certain forms of address, a particular accent, tone of voice, etc., just as it demands they shall possess a motor car. But such things are taken on as external accomplishments and have really very little to do with culture and the spirit. It does not follow, nay, it is not true, that because people practise Society "manners" they will have beautiful spirits and large hearts, just as it does not follow that the well-bred man who owns a garden must necessarily be spiritually superior to the lowly-born man who tends it. Indeed the two-yard patch of the poor man that he trims himself is infinitely more likely to be an indication of spiritual refinement than the hundred-acre plot of the rich man who hires gardeners. Refinement and vulgarity are universal essences, and belong to every level of society, being matters of the heart and not of social position. Wealth, by reason of a certain spaciousness, magnificence, and appearance of refinement it is able to give, has the effect of making the possessors of it look spiritually superior to the rest of mankind. But close observation teaches that there is as much genuine feeling, as much charity and large-mindedness among poor people as among rich, and as much false pride, enmity, strife, narrow-mindedness and bitterness of spirit, which, by the way, are the root causes of all vulgarity,—among the rich as among the poor. A man may be blunt; but that does not make him vulgar; whereas a polite snub, patronage, and many other aristocratic "virtues" may be of the very essence of vulgarity.

In a spiritually enlightened age aristocracy is antagonistic to a people's highest welfare, a very principle of death; for a

man cannot think of others as more than human without thinking of himself as less than human. To bow to or venerate a man simply because he possesses great wealth or is noble born is to demoralise oneself, and, in addition to popularise a vicious principle. It is belief in aristocracy that has subdued the peasantry of England, robbed them of spirit, conquering zeal and aspiration, and that has caused them to love their chains.

In the spread of the democratic spirit, which is essentially the spirit of brotherhood, lies the supreme hope of our age—from materialism, from an inhuman commercial system, and from a demoralising and dehumanising belief in class and class distinctions. Necessarily so, for in democracy we have the finest idealism of our time. Democracy stands for the ennobling and elevation of man, for the triumph of spirit over matter, for the deepening and increasing of spiritual life. For properly understood, civilisation is socialisation; and socialisation is spiritualisation. And because democracy is a spiritual and social ideal and principle, and has for its object the cultivation of fellowship, the increasing of personal freedom and of opportunities for self-development, it is destined to break down all those "class" barriers which to-day make the cultivation of finer social and spiritual life almost an impossibility. The man of the true democratic temperament fully recognises that virtue, nobleness of character, spiritual power, etc., are not the product of external conditions, but are to be found, like flowers, and in accordance with the glorious profusion and contradiction of Nature, in places where presumably it was impossible they could grow.

Democracy, like aristocracy, is not a question of political policy, of Government merely, but of temperament, of mental attitude. It is possible to have a monarchic regime and yet to have a large measure of democracy; and it is possible to have a perfect system of State control, and for democracy to have no place in it. It is a certain mind, a particular way of looking at things, and not an external order of society, or a particular form of Government that constitutes democracy; and until we produce that mind, etc., legislate as we will, we shall never have democracy. That is why a knowledge of the meaning of

democracy is so essential at the present time. The source of democracy, like the source of great music, is a grand and inspiring idea; and we can no more expect to produce democracy by the mere passing of Acts of Parliament than we can expect to produce great music by simply formulating the laws of harmony.

The humanitarianism of the present age, shallow as it often is; the universal demand for social reform; the growth of literature and the spread of the art and practice of reading; the growing hatred of slavish money-making and of the ideal of the rich man; are all indications of one supreme fact, *viz.*, that our conceptions of man and of life are changing, that democracy is at hand. Since the dawn of the twentieth century great changes in thought and life have taken place all over the world; but the most significant are those which have given rise to the ideal of democracy. The ultimate significance of these changes, however, cannot yet be foretold.

To possess the democratic spirit is to possess that which is the guarantee of the highest spiritual attainment, that which makes a man in the truest and fullest sense free, and life an inspiration. Nothing so purifies and elevates the mind or frees the spirit like the effort to love and serve men; to appreciate men for what they are spiritually. The democratic mind is the truly spiritual mind; for the point of view of

democracy is the point of view of humanity. The aristocratic temperament is simply a selfish and enslaving temperament, being the outcome and concomitant of a materialistic conception of life. Thus we believe it is to the aristocratic temperament, that we owe the bulk of the social suffering and poverty of modern times. We are causing poverty and keen social suffering today, not because our political regime is wrong, but because our personal ideals are wrong; because our hearts are set on the wrong things—because, in fact, we possess the aristocratic temperament. The democratic mind is the spiritually free mind; it hides nothing, and thus fears nothing. People who are full of fear and prejudices are usually selfish, limited in sympathy, secretive, aristocratic. Open, optimistic, free and fearless people, the men who make tyrants tremble and who sweep through life like bracing breezes, are the true democrats of all ages. And true democrats are the need of the hour.

In democracy we of the Western world come for the first time to the social idealism contained in Christianity; and in that idealism lies the hope of salvation to the twentieth century. In Christianity the ideal of democracy finds its most perfect expression, while in the life of Christ we have the most perfect embodiment of the democratic spirit the world has yet witnessed.

STUDIES IN SAIVA SIDDHANTA*

THE author expounds in this volume the Tamil developments of the *Agamic* School of thought. *Saiva* worship is generally considered to be a gross form of idolatry but the author has shewn that a popular form of a religion is very different from the same religion in its developed form. The subject dealt with in the book has been ably handled by the author and his exposition is very clear. Our reader will get an idea of the *Agamic* Philosophy from the following passages quoted from the book:—

"The three philosophic Categories which the

Agamanta recognises, are, Nature, Soul and Spirit. The entire economy of the present dispensation is under the active control of the Spirit, and is especially designed by him in view to the emancipation of the Soul. Nature is multi-coloured and many-vestured, and is the material cause of not only the outer universe, which hides within the immensity of its bosom, countless hosts of sidereal systems, but also of our body, with all its grosser and subtler divisions and components, its instruments of knowledge and action, its proclivities and tendencies, in which the Soul lives as in a cottage. The Spirit is immanent in both Nature and Soul, and as in fact their Guiding Principle. He is thus the Soul's Soul. It is not in the power of the Soul to lead an independent existence; either it must remain in unwitting communion

* By J. M. Nallasvami Pillai, B.A., B.L., District Munsiff, Madras Presidency, with an Introduction by V. V. Ramanan Sastrin, Ph.D., F.Z.S., etc. Pp. 360 (Price not known).

with Nature, overpowered by her blandishments or in conscious Fellowship with the Spirit, an intermediate state being thus practically denied to it. If it ceases to gravitate towards Nature, it must lean on to the Spirit. The *samara-chakra* is the Soul's orbit, which represents the resultant of two forces continually acting upon it. The orbit certainly shrinks up towards the Spirit, when the Soul would not be attracted by Nature. The Soul has the ability to know both Nature and Spirit, as it is possessed of sentiency, an attribute which it only shares in common with the Spirit. But it cannot be cognised by Nature as She lacks sentiency; and, for the same reason, the senses and the mind, which are fashioned out of insentient Nature, cannot cognise the Soul. Nor has it usually an opportunity to cognise as such, its own true lineaments, because of its ceaseless and indistinguishable communion with either Nature or Spirit, a communion which prevents the Soul from identifying its genuine lineaments. The Soul is possessed, in other words, of the remarkable tendency of ever appearing in the colours of either of the two other categories, that chances to be in association therewith for the nonce, since, it is, for one thing, seldom, if ever, in a state of complete aloofness from both Nature and Spirit, and cannot, for another, associate with either of those categories, without its being indistinguishably merged in, or its becoming one with it. Consequently, the Soul ordinarily sees in itself either Nature or Spirit, but not its own form. It is beginninglessly entangled in the fascinations of Nature, and the Spirit carries on His five-fold operations with a "body of pure sentient Energy"—the outcome of his own free-will—solely to disentangle it from those ruinous fascinations. The universe that we see around us, has Nature for its material cause, the Spirit for its efficient cause, and His body of pure sentient Energy for its instrumental cause. Nature is specially superintended by the Spirit; in order that She, albeit insentient, may the more rigorously and consistently exhibit the law of desert and causality, in relation to the Soul. The law of causation is really the inherent and eternal property of Nature. As long as the soul chooses to enjoy the company of Nature, so long will Her law of causality and desert hold the Soul tight within its meshes. But Her connexion with the Soul is, after all, but temporary, though She is, by Herself, eternal. It is also possessed of an ingrained perversity that is inherited from Nature and hence eventually eradicable, whereby it mistakes its sensuous or sensual wallowing in the law of Nature for its appointed goal, and thus converts its spirit—given instruments of emancipation, formed out of Nature, into effective engines of its own perdition. The award of Spiritual Freedom is always made by the Spirit to the Soul by an act of Grace, and when the moment for that award (which involves a complete Emancipation from its bondage to Nature) has arrived, the Spirit reveals Himself to the Soul in any manner He pleases, and blesses it with His Eternal Fellowship of ineffable power and joy. The above in short, is the plainest summary of the central truths of the Agamanta, when shorn of all learned technicalities, and it will not be difficult to see how simple the whole teaching runs.

"The three Categories, Nature, Soul, and Spirit, are eternal, that is to say, are without either start or finish; but the Soul and Nature are under the control of Spirit,

and have nothing like absolute independence of action which the Spirit alone enjoys to the full. The Spirit is an embodiment of love and compassion, or as it is sometimes expressed, is nothing but life, light and love. The Souls are infinite in number, but a broad marshalling brings them under three classes, with reference to the varying grades of their bondage to Nature. Nature is governed by ceaseless cycles of periodic manifestation and dissolution, cycles which turn out, however, to be of many sorts and conditions, when regard is had not only to the extent of, or the interval between the periods, but also to the specific character, phase, or grade of the manifestations and dissolutions. Manifestation is simply a process of becoming patent, while Dissolution, that of becoming latent. Nature ever endures, librating between a condition of grossness and ponderability on the one hand, and subtlety and imperceptibility on the other. She is *per se* inert and every cycle of Her activity is only rendered possible, by the peculiar impact She receives from the Spirit and His immanence in Her. The essential active attribute of the insentient Nature, is Her rigid adherence to the law of causation and desert, both physically and morally, and if the statement be made that She is the Spirit-appointed material instrument of the Soul's salvation, all we are to understand therefrom is, the Spirit requires the Soul to seek Emancipation only by wedding Nature and thereby passing the ordeal of causality. But the elaborate processes which Nature daily employs to bring in more and more Souls as Her suitors, in order that they may be schooled under the law of causation are indeed very inscrutable, although exceedingly seductive. She first seduces the Soul into Her company by Her irresistible fascinations, and finally tires it by Her inexorable law of causality, which at the same time reveals Her inward gruesomeness to the deceived Soul. The Soul then rates Her at Her proper worth, when She also, in Her turn, becomes a penitent and obedient instrument at its hands, by letting go Her hold of causality on the Soul. And thus Nature proves successively a seducer, a task-master and a servant, in relation to the Soul, in accordance with the degree of spiritual progress attained by it. The Soul is originally stupefied with the darkness of involved or inchoate Nature and, in that condition, remains tossed about in Her unfathomable womb till the Spirit quickens it, so that it may take its chance towards its permanent Spiritual Freedom, by consciously contacting Nature. At each Dissolution, the unemancipated Soul reverts to the "womb of Nature," and awaits its return to the highway of *samara*, with Her next Manifestation. The Salvation of the Soul, when once attained is permanent and irrevocable, but, the unconscious stupor in which it is primarily plunged, has no beginning. How the Soul comes by that oblivion, or, what amounts to the same thing, how it gets to be beginninglessly entangled in Nature, cannot be satisfactorily explained, and any endeavour to do so, however deftly managed, will be simply landing oneself in a vicious circle of *ad infinitum regressus*. In other words the Soul's state of bondage has no beginning but has an end, while the Soul's Spiritual Freedom has a definite beginning but no end." (Rp. x—xiv).

GOD DEFINED.

God has been defined "as *siva-sat* or *chit-sat* or *sat-chit*. *Sat* denotes God as a Pure Being in which aspect He can never reach us; *chit* or Love—His aspect in which He can reach us and we can know

Him. *Sat* is the Sun which we can never comprehend. *Chit* is the Light, one ray of which is enough to remove our darkness and enlighten us; and but for that one ray of light, we can never know the Sun.

"All other conceptions of God follow from this essential definition of God as *sat-chit* and, if true, must conform to it. If not, they must be rejected as false.

"From the fact that He is intelligent, it follows also that God wills and acts.

"And He wills to create the worlds, He creates them and resolves them and reproduces them again and again. He could not do this purposelessly or out of His mere whim and pleasure; and as we know He is all love, He could do it only out of such love, to help to lift up the erring and ignorant souls, by giving them their bodies and senses; so that they themselves may will and act and taste the bitter fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and be chastened and purified by suffering and sorrow and learn to submit their will to the will of the Supreme."

SAIVA MONISM.

Saiva-siddhanta writers describe their system as *Advaita* pure and simple. According to saint Meykandan "the word *Advaita* cannot mean one-ness or *Ekam*; no one can think of himself as one, and the very thought implies two things. The word simply denies the separateness of the two, *Anyanasti* and hence God is said to be 'one with the souls.' This means that *Advaita* is *Ananya* or non-different. *Advaita* literally meaning *not two*, simply denies the separability of God and Soul and matter but does not postulate Oneness by denying the existence of one or other *Padartha* or by postulating their mutual convertibility as in causation, etc. Mind (unextended) is not matter (the extended); yet they are ever inseparable and found as one. The illustration of mind and body, used to denote the relation of God to the Universe consisting of nature and man. God is the soul and this universe is His body. This relation may also be explained after the analogy of vowel and consonant. The vowels are those that can be sounded by themselves but the consonants cannot be pronounced without the aid of the vowels. The consonants cannot be brought into being unless the vowel supports it; and in union the two are inseparable. But vowel is not the consonant, nor the consonant the vowel. God is not one with the universe and yet without God, where is the universe?

This relation has also been explained in the following passage (quoted by Mr. J. M. N. Pillai from Srikantha's commentary on the Vedanta Sūtras II. 1. 21—23).

"We do not establish that sort of *Visishtadvaita* which takes the form of duality and non-duality. We are not the advocates of an absolute distinction between Brahman and the universe as between a pot and a cloth. Neither are we the advocates of an absolute identity as of the mother-of-pearl and silver, one of them being illusory. Nor do we hold to duality and non-duality which is opposed to the nature of things. On the other hand, we maintain that the Unity of Brahman as the cause and the effect is like that of the body and of the embodied, or like that of the substance and its attribute. By unity of Brahman and the universe, we mean their inseparability like that of clay and the pot as cause and effect, or

like that of the substance and its attributes. A pot is not indeed seen apart from clay, nor is the blue lotus apart from the colour blue. Similarly, apart from Brahman, no potentiality of the universe can exist; nor is Brahman ever known apart from something else, the former must ever be conditioned by the latter and this latter is naturally one with the former.

"Wherefore Brahman who is in no way separable from the universe is said to be one with the other. And there is a natural distinction between the two; so that the Supreme Brahman is ever higher than the universe". The passage "All this verily is Brahman" refers to Brahman whose body the whole of sentient and insentient universe is.

"The body of the God of Gods is this universe, moving and unmoving. This, the *Ṛivas (Pasus)* do not know, owing to the mighty bondage. They say sentiency is *Vidya* and insentiency *Avidya*. The whole universe of *Vidya* and *Avidya* is no doubt the body of the Lord, the Father of all; for the whole universe is subject to Him. The word *sat* is used by the wise to denote the real and the good and *asat* is used by Vedic teachers to denote the contrary. The whole universe of the *sat* and the *asat* is the body of Him who is on high. Just as, by the watering of the roots of a tree, its branches are nourished, so by the worship of *Siva*, the Universe which is His body is nourished."

ASHTAMURTI.

St. Manickavasagar says:—

"Earth, Water, Air, Fire, Sky, the Sun and Moon, The sentient man, these eight forms, He pervades The seven worlds, Ten quarters, He the *One* And many, He stands so, let us sing."

God pervades these eight forms, they form His eight bodies and hence *Siva* is called *Ashtamurti*. By this is established His *Antaryamitvam* or Omnipresence or Immanence in all nature, as He is *chit*. But He is beyond all these forms and beyond all nature and man.

As pervading these eight forms he gets eight names, *vis*.—*Bhava*, *Sarva*, *Isana*, *Pasupati*, *Rudra*, *Ugra*, *Bhima* and *Mahadeva*.

Srikantha Sivacharya comments on them in his *Bhashya* on the Sūtra I. 1, 2 of the Vedanta Philosophy in the following manner:—

Brahman is called *Bhava* because He exists everywhere at all times, the root '*bhū*' meaning existence.

Brahman, the all-destroyer, is designated by the word *Sarva*, derived from the root '*Sri*' to destroy.

Brahman is denoted by the word '*Isana*', the Ruler, as indued with the unconditioned supreme sovereignty.

As the *Isvara* or Ruler must have some beings to rule over, Brahman is denoted by the word *Pasupati*, Master of *Pasus* or subject beings (souls).

As *Pasus* (Souls) are so called because of *Pasa* (bond), *Pasu* stands for both *Pasu* and *Pasa*. By this epithet, Brahman is shown to be the Ruler of *chit* and *achit*, of spirit and matter.

Brahman is called *Rudra* as expelling the malady of *Samsara*.

Brahman is called *Ugra* or Fierce, because He cannot be overpowered by other luminaries.

As the regulator and source of fear to all sentient beings, Brahman is known by the name of *Bhima* or Terrible.

As Great and Luminous, *Siva* is called *Mahadeva*.

DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

The Supreme is adored as the Creator, *Hara*; as Protector, *Sanhara*; as Destroyer or Reproducer, *Rudra* and as Bliss-giver, *Siva*. He is described as possessing eight attributes and they are as follow :—

Self-dependence, Purity, Self-knowledge, Omniscience, Being-ever-free-from-sin, Supreme Graciousness, Unlimited Bliss.

Srikantha-Sivacharya comments on Divine attributes in his *Bhashya* on I. 1, 2. He says :—

The entity called *Siva*, possessed of Omniscience and other attributes and denoted by the eight appellations, is said to be Brahman, the cause of the universe; and to that entity alone Bliss and all other like attributes point. The attributes referred to are Omniscience (*Sarvajnata*), Evercontentedness (*Nitya-triptata*) Beginningless Wisdom (*Anadibodhata*) Independence (*Svatantrata*), Never-failing Potency (*Nitya-alupta-saktita*) and Infinite Potency (*Ananta Saktita*).

Omniscience (*Sarvajnata*) consists in all things becoming objects of direct perception—of stainless intuitive experience—independent of all external organs of sensation.

Ever-contentedness (*Nitya-triptata*) consists in being replete with unsurpassed Bliss, wherein there is not the slightest trace of distress.

The possession of unsurpassed knowledge—which is *Svata-siddha* self-existing or inherent,—constitutes what is called *anadi bodhatva* or beginningless wisdom.

Independence (*Svatantrata*) consists in freedom from servitude to others and from other marks of inferiority and in all things other than Himself being brought under his own control.

The never-failing-potency (*Nitya-alupta-saktita*) consists in all potencies being inherent in His own nature.

The possession of unlimited potencies is what is called Endless Potency (*Ananta Saktita*). It is in virtue of these endless potencies that Brahman is the producer and the ruler of the world.

Then follow questions whether God should be said to possess form or no form, whether He should be regarded as *Saguna* or *Nirguna*, Personal or Impersonal and so on.

In regard to the question of form or no form, the Saiva Siddhanta is positive that God is neither *Rupi* (i.e., with form) or *Arupi* (i.e., without form) nor *Rupa-rupi* (i.e., both *Rupi* and *Arupi*). It recognises that all *Rupa* and *Arupa* are forms only of matter which is objective to our senses and God can never be objective to us and cannot possess any of these material forms or bodies. The nature of matter is to limit and God is the illimitable and can never be found by any material forms. Some would say God is *Arupi* not realizing that matter is also formless as air and nothing is gained by calling Him *Arupi*.

If it is pointed out that Saiva Siddhanta religion recognises forms of God and His appearances and acts, it is answered that these forms of His are not material but are purely spiritual forms formed of His great love and grace and to be perceived not by the human mind but with the divine grace.

If it is said that there are images in the temple, it is answered that the various forms in the temple are mere earthly symbols, necessary for the ordinary human mind to grasp and follow the divine ideals until the soul has advanced to a very high stage.

According to the Saiva Siddhanta God is not *Saguna* but *Nirguna*. The three *gunas*—*Satva*, *Rajas*, *Tamas*—are qualities of *Prakriti* and as such the word *Saguna* means 'with material qualities and *Nirguna* means without material qualities. *Nirguna* is the same as *gunatita*, i.e., beyond *guna* or matter. The word, therefore, implies non-material and therefore pure *chit*. Hence it is clear that to call Brahman *Nirguna* is not denying Him Intelligence, Rationality and Consciousness.

Mr. Pillai says :—"As *Siva* is *Nirguna* and not *Saguna*, it follows that He cannot be born as a man through the womb of the woman. That *Siva* had no *avatars* or births is generally known. This is the greatest distinction of the ancient Hindu Philosophy and of the Saiva School, making it a purely transcendental Religion free from all anthropomorphic conceptions. But," adds Mr. Pillai, "this absolute nature of *Siva* does not prevent Him from His being personal at the same time and appearing as *Guru* and *Saviour*, in the form of man, out of His Great Love; and feeling for the sin and sorrow of mankind and helping them to get rid of their bondage."

GOD'S SAKTI.

Siva is *Sat-Chit-Ananda*, *Somaskanda* (*Sa* + *Umas-Kanda*; *Uma* = Light or Wisdom). As pure Being, the Absolute, God is unknowable; and as Light and Love, He links himself to Man; and it is possible for Man to approach Him through Love.

This Light and this Love are therefore called His *Sakti* and this *Sakti* of God becomes the mother of the Universe (*Bhuvanasya Mataram*) as *Siva* is *Bhuvanasya Pitaram* (The Father of the Universe).

She has been described as *Isa's Kripasakti* (Love and Grace), *Ichchha-sakti*, *Kriya-sakti*, *Jnana-sakti* and *Tirobhava-sakti*. She actuates all creation, sustenance and resolution; she is *Rupa*, *Arupa* and neither; She is the consort of *Isa* in all these forms, is all this world and all this wealth, and begets the whole world and sustains them. Says Arunandi—"The from of this *Sakti* is Unlimited Intelligence. If asked whether supreme Will and Power are also found in this Intelligence, we answer Yes. Whenever there is Intelligence, there is Will and Power. As such, Power and Will will also be manifested by this *Chit-Sakti*."

This *Nirguna Chit-Sakti* which is also called *Uma* and *Durga*, is to be sharply distinguished from *Maya* which is a *Saguna Sakti* of the Lord. Inasmuch as God is in a sense identified with His creation as the *Upadan Karan* of the Universe, inasmuch as it is His Light that illumines all this world, so the Mother is also identified with *Maya* as *Mahamaya*.

This *Maya* is matter and comprises *Tanu* (body), *Karana* (the internal sense), *Bhuvana* (the world) and *Bhoga* (sensation). *Maya* is the Indestructible formless One, seed of all the worlds, *Achit* all-pervasive, a *Sakti* of the Perfect One, cause of the souls, bodies, senses and worlds, one of the three *Malas* (impurities) and the cause of delusion.

FOUR PATHS.

Mr. Pillai says :—"We cannot know God really by all our religious rites and performances, repetition of prayers and formulas by *Saguna* or *Nirguna* worship, with or without idols and even by the highest yoga except when His Grace and Love fills us all and we lose ourselves in this Love." "God is not knowledge

alone. If He were so, we could not know him for certain. But He is also *all Love*. It is in this supreme fact that our Salvation is based. This Love is in us, surrounds us on all sides above, below and all about us. To know Him and to become one with Him we must love Him. What is Siva? It is Love. What is worship of Him? Loving Him."

"But knowledge is also an essential requisite of our love. As knowledge grows, love will grow. The more and more we understand our nearness to each other and to God, more and more will our love grow." The Saiva Philosophers claim to have introduced the conception of Love into Religion. "This conception naturally divides itself into four forms, that of master and servant, parent and child, friend and friend, and lover and the beloved. All other conceptions can be reduced into these four. There are love and knowledge in all these forms of *Sadhana*." These four paths or *Margas* are technically called *Charya Kriya*, *Yoga* and *Jnana* or otherwise *Dasa-Marga*, *Satputra-Marga*, *Saha-Marga* and *San-Marga*. When you want to approach God, you can approach Him as your Lord and Master, you can approach Him as your father, or as your friend or as your beloved. The last is no *marga* at all but where the one-ness is reached fully and finally. There is return to birth, while one is in the first three paths. And these paths," says Mr. Pillai, "are so adjusted in an ascending scale as to suit the intellectual, moral, and spiritual development of the aspirant. The lowest and the highest have equally a place in this scheme and are given room for their development and progress. No one path is put in opposition to the other. It will be noticed this scheme differs from the so-called Karma-marga, Bhakti-marga, Yoga-marga and Jnana-marga and the latter is no logical scheme at all but involves cross division. For it may be easily perceived that when one approaches his Maker, he must know Him as such (Jnana) and must love Him as such (Bhakti) and must adjust his conduct accordingly (Karma). In each condition therefore, Karma, Bhakti and Jnana are all together essential, and from the Dasa to the Sanmarga this Karma, Bhakti and Jnana are progressive. There is no opposition, there is no parting away with one to follow another."

The respective duties of these paths are :—

(i) The easy duties, lighting lamps, culling flowers, sweeping and washing the temple, praising God and assisting in His service of *abhisheka*, cooking food, constitute *Dasa Marga*.

(ii) Puja, reading, reciting prayers, *Japa*, true *tapas*, truth, purity, loving, offering food, constitute *Satputra marga*.

(iii) Purifying oneself by *Adhara* and *Nadi Sadhana* and becoming possessed of eighteen *Sakties* and entering the temple of *Jnanakasa* (*Chidambaram*) and getting rid of one's senses and mind is *Saha Marga*.

(iv) Getting rid of one's *Pasuvam* and *Pasa*, becoming one with Pati, melting in love the heart which never melts, entering the true presence which one can never know and standing steadfast there, are *Sanmarga*.

SUMMUM BONUM.

The highest experience has been well described in the following Stanza of Tiruvacagam :—

"This day in Thy mercy unto me Thou didst drive away the darkness and stand in my heart as the Rising Sun.

Of this Thy way of rising—there being naught else but Thou—I thought without thought.

I drew nearer and nearer to Thee, wearing away atom by atom, till I was one with Thee.

Oh Siva, Dweller in the great Holy Shrine.

Thou art not aught in the universe, naught is there save Thou. Who can know Thee?"

Mr. Pillai writes :—"As man nears God, he wears away atom by atom, so that at the moment of union nothing of him is left and what is left is the presence of the Supreme One only and the feeling of His presence; and no feeling or consciousness of feeling of himself or others. This feeling of the presence and Bliss of God is one and *Advaita* and there is no consciousness of such oneness or Bliss and duality will certainly arise the moment man regains consciousness. So what he is said to lose in fact atom by atom is his various conscious selves.

"His bodily consciousness, his life-consciousness, his mental consciousness—all these constitute his individuality—the feeling of I and mine. This 'I-ness' is what has got to be rid of. So that when this 'I-ness' or individuality is lost, he becomes *Sivam* or God. What perishes of course is the soul's individuality or consciousness of 'I-ness' inducing duality, but what subsists even in *moksha* is the soul's personality which has *svanubhava* or *sivanubhava*, identifying itself with God."

Mr. Pillai is one of the most learned interpreters of the Tamil developments of the Agamic Philosophy and his "Studies" bears marks of deep learning, and critical powers of thought. The book is indispensable to the critical study of Comparative Religion. We have read and re-read the book and have been immensely benefited by it. The book is strongly recommended to our readers.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

RAJGIR: AN ANCIENT BABYLON

BY THE LATE SISTER NIVEDITA.

UP, up, up." The long array of steps seems endless, as we climb the steep hillside, to reach the dwelling that has been lent us for a few weeks' habitation.

And after all when we came upon it, it is nothing but a nest of robber-barons, this old manor-house of the Rajas of Annwa. A nest of robber-barons, truly, perched half

way the mountain and concealed from sight, and yet with a wide stretch of country well in its own purview. Curiously small and unfortified, to Western thinking, it consists of two parts, a court on the inside guarded against intrusion, and crowned with wide terrace-roofs; and without, a few rooms ranged about two sides of an open square. Its feudal and mediæval character lends the building an interest, which its undeniable beauty well sustains. But far beyond either of these considerations is the exciting fact, that we are to keep house for twenty-one days in a spot where for a period of from twenty five to thirty centuries, there has been continuously a human habitation. For the great staircase by which we have climbed the rugged hill-side, is undoubtedly constructed over the foundations of the ancient walls of Rajgir, and the earliest predecessor of the Barons of Annwa must have chosen for his family stronghold to develop one of the buttresses of the guard room of the self-same walls, occurring on a small plateau. Below us lies the floor of the winding pass with the stream that forms a moat at the foot of our mountain-stairway. In front a great curving staircase constituting what our modern railway companies would call "a loop" of the fort, protects those temples and hot springs of Rajgir which still form the objective of a yearly Hindu pilgrimage. And out in the open, a stone's throw away as it seems in this clear plain atmosphere, but really perhaps a mile by the road, is the modern village of Rajgir, anciently Rāja-Griha, the city or dwelling place of kings.

Already the villagers are showing us friendly attentions. The servant who has come with us was born a few miles away, and his women-folk are arriving with our first meal in hospitable readiness. The peasant-guard have established themselves in the outer rooms for our protection, and a small boy of the neighbourhood is clamouring to be taken on as an attendant. It is as if we were guests of Semiramis in Nineveh of old! It is like pitching our tent on the ruins of Babylon, and entering into friendly relations with lineal descendants of the ancient inhabitants!

How beautiful is the country that lies stretched before us! Outward from the

mouth of our twisting pass, at Christmas time or thereabouts it will be covered in the green of rice and other crops, with every here and there a field of white opium-poppies in full bloom. But now, at the change of the seasons, in October, we see here fields as patches of many-coloured earth—purple and brown and red,—and we remember the words of Buddha, half-laughing doubtless, yet full of affectionate memory and tenderness of one who said to a disciple in a much-patched garment, that he reminded Him of the rice-fields about Rajgir.

A quarter of a mile behind us, the hills open out into a circle and here lie the ruins of the ancient city of kings. Wonderfully clear and distinct is every part of them. We almost might trace out the very lines of the bazaars. With regard to streets and roads, it sounds dangerously near truism to say that they retain their positions with little change from age to age, yet I do not know that the fact has been much noted. Here in Rajgir, at any rate, where hundreds of cows and buffaloes, sheep and goat, are driven daily by the herds to and from the ancient ruins, many of the main roadways remain much as they must have been in the dim past. Here for instance is the thoroughfare that ran through the city; with traces, at a certain point near the centre, of the palace walls, bastions and gateways; and here, beyond the palace, are the outlines of the royal pleasure-grounds, with their wonderfully engineered ornamental waters, intact to this day! All through this little mountain-arena and the pass that leads to it, indeed, there has been an extraordinary amount of hydraulic engineering. It would seem as if the fame of the hot springs must have been the original cause of the royal settlement in this natural fortress, and the artificial development of its streams, the main occupation of the kingly line thereafter. Even now below our own walled and moated manor, lies an empty tank that two thousand years ago most likely held lotuses in a park. Even now, the river that runs through the valley, though naturally one, is divided in parts into two and even three streams, forming a net-work that is enough to show us the attention that must have been paid in ancient India to the problems of irrigation,

in order to give birth to so marvellous a degree of hydraulic science. Far away in Central India is a monumental building of an age some two hundred years later than that of Old Rajgir, which shows, by its ornamental cascades, the same engineering genius, and the same royal idea of beauty and magnificence, as we find here. Well may the Indian people glory in the ancestry which already lived in this splendour, while that of Northern and Western Europe went clad in painted woad.

There can be a few places in the world, so old as Rajgir, about which so much is definitely known and so much safely to be inferred. It was in all probability about the year 590 B.C.—in a world in which Babylon and Phœnicia and Egypt and Sheba, were of all facts most living and important, it was about the year 590 B. C., that there came along the road leading into the valley yonder, one whose very form was radiant with feeling and thought that lifted him above the common world, into that consciousness that makes history.

It may have been early morning when he came. For the books say that the great company of goats was being led up, at that moment, for the royal sacrifice, fixed, it may have been, for about the hour of noon. Or it may have been about the time of cowdust, on the eve of the festival, and the herdsmen may have intended to stable their goats for that night, outside the palace. In any case He came, some say carrying on His shoulder a lame kid, followed by the patter of thousands of little hoofs. He came, moreover, in a passion of pity. A veritable storm of compassion had broken loose within Him, on behalf of these, the helpless "little brothers" of humanity, who were caught, like man himself, in the net of pain and pleasure, of life and death, bewildered, like man, by love and sorrow, but who unlike man, for want of speech, could neither express their perplexity, nor form a conception of release. Surely they crowded round Him, and rubbed themselves against Him again and again, the gentle, wondering, four-footed things! For the animals are strangely susceptible to the influence of a silent love, that has no designs on their life or freedom. All the legends of the world tell us that they catch the hush

of Christma Eve, respond to the eager questioning of the Child Dhruva and understand that unmeasured yearning to protect them, that may be read in the eyes of the Lord Buddha on the road that goes up to the Palace of Rajgir.

We had been some time in the place, before we noticed that it was on one particular islet in the river below us, that the village death-fires might so often be seen at evening. It was a very ancient custom in India, to burn the dead by the stream-side, just outside the town. But this sand-bank was far away from the village. Hardly could they have chosen a point less easily accessible. Ah! Yes, certainly there was the explanation, the burning-ghat of these peasants in the twentieth century must be still where their ancestors had chosen it, in the fifth, in the first, aye, even for centuries before that, may be immediately without the city of Old Rajgir. It takes a peculiar angle of vision, and perhaps a peculiar mood of passivity, to see the trees turn into a forest when the existence of such was previously unsuspected. So I shall not attempt to guess how many more evenings elapsed, before, as we went along the road-way, on the far side of the burning-ghat, one of us noted the broken steps and the entwined tamarind and bo-trees that marked the old-time ghat of Rajgir. Nor do I know how many more days went by, before there came to some one of us, the flash of insight that led us finally to discover that the mass of fallen masonry close by was that very ancient gateway of the city through which Buddha Himself with the goats must have passed, and brought to our notice the dome-like head of an old stupa, lying in the dust a few feet away.

Passing through the gate and standing at the opening of the theatre-like valley, we find that the river which flows out of the city as one, is made up of two streams, which between them encircle the royal city as a moat, even within its girdle of mountains and its enclosing walls. They join at this point. Leaving unexplored that which flows towards us from the left part of the garden, of Ambapali the Indian Mary Magdalene, and past the abodes of many of the characters who figure in the narrative of Buddha's life, we may turn to that branch which comes to us from the right.

A world of discoveries awaits us here ! The path leads us across to the water, but this is easily forded, by stepping stones which may still be detected to form fragments of an ancient bathing-ghat. Evidently, bathing and the bathing-ghat were as prominent in the Indian civilisation twenty-five centuries ago, as they are to day. Then the road follows the stream-side, at a distance of some fifty yards more or less from the line of mountains on the right. About midway through the city, the face of this mountain is pierced by a great cave, supposed by some, with, as it appears to myself, overwhelming probability, to have been the Satapani Cave outside of which the First Buddhist Council was convened, in the year following the Mahanirvana or death of Buddha. The place to-day is known to the peasants of the country-side as the Sonar Bhandar or Golden Treasury, which may or may not be simply a modern pronunciation of the ancient name. The interior of this cave is polished, not carved. There stands in it, as if some party of robbers had been interrupted in an attempt to carry it away, the earliest stupa I have ever seen. The outside is half-concealed by shrubs and creepers. But even now the mortice-holes remain, that show where the carved wooden ornaments were once attached. And even now, as we stand at the entrance we see in the distance, in the middle of the city, the tower that Fa Hian noted as still intact and visible in the year 404 A. D., crowning a small stupa or well to the east of the palace.

This cave then was the cathedral of Old Rajgir. Here Buddha must have rested, or meditated or taught and there must, suggested some member of our party, have been a roadway connecting it directly with the palace. Acting on this clue, we proceeded to brush aside the wild growths and explore the line between the two. Outside the Cave, we found a level floor of ancient asphalt, a sort of Venetian Plaza de San Marco as it were. This was evidently the town-square, and we picture here the scene of the First Council, 543 B.C. It was more. We read a reference in one of the old Chinese suttas of a certain place in Rajgir, at the place where the peacocks were fed. "The place where the peacocks were fed," how our minds had lingered

over the words when we first read them ! And now here we stand. For undoubtedly just as the pigeons are fed outside St. Paul's, so on this asphalt plaza, before the cathedral entrance in an Eastern city, it fitted the royal dignity and bounty that peacocks should be daily given grain.

The asphalt runs down to the river, and across it. For the water still flows under the ancient bridge, and we can walk on it, though its level is somewhat sunken. Easily, then, we make our way to the royal mansion, clearly marked as this is at its four corners by the foundations of four bastion towers. But turning again, to the bridge, we find an unbroken line of this same asphalt running along the bank, by the way we have come, though sooth to say, we might never have noticed it, if we had not been tracing it out from this conspicuous mass.

Was this, the river-front opposite to the palace, protected by the steep hills behind, and running from the Town-Plaza to the Bathing-Ghat beyond and across this to the City-Gates,—was this the High Street of the ancient town ? Every now and again as day after day, we pace, brooding, up and down the distance, every now and again we come upon some hitherto-unnoticed mass of masonry, or mason's tool-marks. Here are a couple of blocks lying on their sides, as if to form a seat in a river-wall. Here again traces of steps or fallen ornaments. At one place, on the opposite bank, deeply sunk between masses of earth and vegetation, there runs down to the river-side a small ravine that would now pass as a gully, if the pavement or ancient asphalt did not prove it—in days before Pompeii and Herculaneum were born,—to have been a street.

What were the houses like, that looked down upon these footways ? What was the life that was lived in them ? How long had the place been a city ? How long did it continue to be one ? What were the surroundings in the height of its glory, of this Abode of Kings, now an austere and desolate ruin ?

These and a thousand other questions crowd upon us, and it is strange to how many of them we can give an answer. The rushing rains of Indian summers have long washed away most of the soil from the hanging gardens that once clothed the

hillsides, and made the prospect from the palace to the gates and beyond them through the pass leading out into the plains a veritable vision of delight.

But still the artificial terraces of red trap rock are smooth and level, amidst the outcropping masses of natural crags, and still the wanderer may take his stand on some spot whence Bimbisara the King was wont to look upon the glories of his inheritance, or with difficulty, at one or two points, may trace the ways through the old pleasure by which doubtless, royal hunting-parties may have started for the forest-glades. To-day, it is true, there are no rich woodlands, covering slopes and mountain-tops, as in the royal ages. Wild undergrowth, dense shrubs, and here and there a twisted palm, growing in a cranny, are all that can stand for the lofty timbers, dense aisles of the days when the place was a Paradise, a king's garden, surrounding a king's palace. And still at the back of the ruined city, guarding it from the passes on the South and East we find the double walls, of enormous thickness.

The square mortice-holes in the face of the rock out of which the great Sonar Bhandar is hollowed, give us a clue that enables us to rebuild, mentally, the Ancient City. For these mortice-holes held the attachments of the wooden ornaments that formed the front of the Cave. Now, between Bombay and Poona, on the west of India, is another Cave, that of Karli, which though of a much later date, must be of the same style and period as this and there the wooden front is still intact. The carvings form a picture, moreover, as Fergusson has pointed out, of an ancient street from which we gather that the second storeys of houses, standing in rows, were decorated in front with crowded wooden verandahs, porches and niches, and all sorts of beautiful and irregular curved corners. That these, further, were not mere devices of beauty in the case of the houses, as they were in those of the caves, we see in the pictures which were carved, probably in the first or second century A.D., on the gateways of Sanchi. From these we can gather an idea of what the Palace of Bimbisara and the homes of his subjects must have been like. The first storey, then, was massive, sloping inwards and upwards, loop-holed and buttressed at its four corners

by four circular towers. The first storey only was built of stone and its parapet was battlemented. On the strong terrace provided by the roof of this fortification, were constructed the family living rooms, which were of wood and much carved. That it would have been possible, however, to have withdrawn the women into the lower storey, in time of war, may be seen from buried ruins at Ujjain, which are shown by the pandas as part of Vikramaditya's Palace and appears to have belonged to a fortress of Asoka's time. Here, built of hard gray stone, now black with age, we have what seems to be the inside corner, and part of the courtyard, of just such a building as the Sanchi sculptures would lead us to expect, as the dwelling of a king or noble. Outside, the walls would be almost blind; inside, they are honeycombed with many pillared halls and verandahs, and one room with raised floor that represents an old Indian form of bed chamber and bed in one. In times of peace these were, we may suppose, the quarters assigned to men-at-arms. The building is of a massiveness that rivals Nature, and there are a few pillars still left,—amongst the many that the succeeding sovereigns decorated in different degrees and different styles—whose simplicity of form enables any observer that knows Sanchi, to feel fairly confident in assigning the building as a whole to the reign of Asoka or earlier.

Of such a form, then, though perhaps smaller and less elaborate, may we suppose the Palace of Rajgir to have been, and in the streets about it, the more plebeian dwellings of the townsfolk, must, though small and comparatively huddled, have been like unto it. True, their lower storeys would be built in all probability, even as the huts of the Rajgir pilgrims are to this day, of mud and pebbles, instead of lordly stone. From hillocks formed of earth of such, anyone may by the streamside, pick out, at various different levels, bits of old household pottery. But the facings and tops of these shops and houses were doubtless of carved wood, and the front of the Cathedral was a faithful enough reflex of the life of the town. Through such streets while the king stood watching him from the roof of the palace, paced the Sakya Prince, "a lad in his first youth", ere yet he

was Buddha, and no honour that Bimbisara could offer would tempt him from that bridal of Poverty in which alone his mind delighted. "This life of the household is pain, free only is he who lives in the open air; thinking thus he embraced the life of the wandering monk."

Far away from Rajgir, in the north of Rajputana, we have Amber and Jaipur, a couple of cities which every visitor to India tries to see. Of these, Amber is situated in the highlands, and Jaipur out in the open plain, and Amber is very much the older of the two. It is in fact an old Indian doctrine that no city should occupy the same ground for more than a thousand years. It is supposed that a potent means of avoiding pestilence and other ills, is then to move out and occupy a new space. In accordance with this canon, the new city of Jaipore was laid out. And when all was finished, the Maharaja moved into the new town, with all his people.

Now this history of Amber and Jaipur, enacted in modern India, and still fresh in the memory of the Rajput people, is our guide to much in the history of Old Rajgir. For in the lifetime of Buddha, the son of Bimbisara—that tragic king, Ajatasatru, across whose path falls the red shadow of a father's murder!—found that the time had come to move the city of kings, and he accordingly built a new city, with walls and gates, like the last, but out in the open plain. And there the grass covered ruin lies to this day, to the west of the present village, the grave of a city, the memorial of New Rajgir.

Bimbisara was the king of Magadh in the days of the Great Renunciation. Ajatasatru was king at the death of Buddha. But we know, from the fact of the desertion of their highland stronghold and its rebuilding outside, that for 500 years at least, before their time, there had been a city on the site of Old Rajgir.

Nor need we think that the city thus built was only a palace and its appurtenances. The fact that it actually became the new centre of population, forming the direct ancestor of the present village, shows itself two hundred years later, when the

great Asoka, desiring to build fitting memorials to Him whom the emperor delighted to honour, chose its north-western corner, on the left hand of the main gateway, whereat to place a stupa and Asokan pillar with an inscription. As the edicts carved by Asoka on rocks and pillars have the character of proclamations, it follows that the rocks and pillars themselves partake somewhat of the nature of the modern journal, inasmuch as they were the means adopted to publish the royal will, and hence a position could never be selected for them at a distance from inhabited cities. The inscribed pillar at Sarnath was placed at the door or in the courtyard of a monastery. And similarly the inscribed pillars, whose fragments have been found at Pataliputra, were erected in the interior, or in the site, of the old jail, as an act of imperial penance.

We may take it, then, that Old Rajgir was really deserted, at about the time of Bimbisara's successor, and if it was afterwards used as a royal residence, was so used at intervals, as Amber is now. Such then was the city, already ancient, through which Buddha Himself has passed time and again, and where He was held by all as an honourable guest. Across these fields and up and down these streets, now ruined, or within the massive cathedral-cave of Satapanni, there echo to this hour the immortal reverberation of the voice of Buddha.

Why did He come this way at all? Was it for the sake of the learned men who forgather in the neighbourhood of capitals? Was the famous University of Nalanda of after-ages, already, perhaps, a university, where one might come in the sure hope of finding all the wisdom of the age? It would seem as if, any way, He passed this spot with treasure already in the heart, needing only long years of brooding thought to fuse His whole Self in its realisation. Unless He was sure of the truth before He reached here, He could not have gone, sure and straight as an arrow from the bow, to the unfrequented Forest of Bel-trees, with its cave overhanging the river, and its great tree between the farms and ponds, where now the humble village of Budh-Gya stands.

THE STONES OF VARENDRA

THE MAHANANDA-DOAB.

THE Mahānandā-doab, between the Mahananda and the Tangana, constituted, as it were, the north-west frontier of Varendra,—an important area,—

A frontier of far more important than Varendra. most places in lower Bengal.

It included a territory, which now lies partly in the district of Dinajpur and partly in that of Malda. But before the creation of a sub-district in Malda in 1813, it formed a part of the district of Dinajpur alone, although it was then lying almost uninhabited and concealed in a forest, infested with wild animals of all sorts.

Traces of ancient ramparts completely overgrown with jungle,—
A great city. of ruins of palaces and temples, patiently awaiting

a painstaking research,—indicate to this day the site of a great city within this extensive area. It was indeed a city of palaces, a city of gardens and a city of fine tanks of old. It had its greatest length from north to south, along the old course of the Mahananda, which has now receded far towards the west. But a low sandy soil, with depressions towards the west, with names of villages signifying their situation at one time on the bank of the river, indicates clearly that in the palmy days of the city it could not have been far off from the river. It is, however, impossible to discover when was it first commenced to be built, although we may safely suppose—it could not have been built in a day. No, not in a day, to be sure beyond a ray of doubt, as we have relics of building-stones to tell us that the process was not wholly abandoned until we come to the very last days of the Moguls.

A portion only of this great city now goes by the name of Pandua. Pandua, sometimes pronounced by the illiterate as Parua. It is called Hazrat Pandua by

the learned scholars, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in the district of Hugly. Hazrat Pandua of the Moslem historian represented, however, only a small portion of the pre-Moslem city, which extended over several miles, with important suburban areas on the north as well as on the south, if not also on the east. A large number of ancient tanks, too large for any modern city of equal dimensions, almost all with their greatest length from north to south, indicating thereby their undoubted Hindu origin, suggest the existence of a teeming population. These suburban areas of the ancient city enjoyed for a long time a great reputation as an important centre of the old weaving industry of Bengal. It did not, therefore, fail to attract the earliest attention of the European merchant. With the gracious permission of Emperor Alamgir, secured in 1686, the English East India Company built in this neighbourhood a ware-house at Kaligram. The French and the Dutch were not also behindhand in their keen competition for the purchase of the handloom-products, which had till then retained a strong hold on a ready and appreciative market in Europe.

Towards the north of this city, at a place called Devasthali (now corrupted into Dev-thala) General Cuninghham noticed in his day "one very fine large tank and several small ones." Here, "as in every other old

Hindu place throughout Bengal," he noticed "a Mahomedan shrine on the very

site of a temple,—built with the stones of the ruined temple." This shrine, situated within a ruined enclosure, is no other than what is still locally called the *Takiya* (resting place) of the renowned Moslem Saint Shah Jalal Tabrizi. Born at Tabriz, in Persia, he came to India, and resided for

a time in Delhi, which he had, however, ultimately to abandon on account of a false odium cast on his character by a

woman of ill-fame who subsequently confessed to have been suborned for the purpose by Saint Najamuddin, the jealous "Sheikh-ul Islam" of Delhi. On coming to Bengal, Shah Jalal received great honour and acquired 22,000 bighas of land, in the midst of which (locally called the Bāis-hāzāri Estate) his chief shrine still receives unabated homage from the faithful. According to some, the saint departed this life in the Maldeve islands in the Indian Ocean. But Syed Ilahi Baksh, a native of Malda, in his manuscript Persian account, the *Khurshid-jahan-namah*, says, "his tomb is in the port of Deo-Mahal in Bengal." Besides the *Takiya* of the saint at Devasthali, a small mosque, containing unidentified tombs, may still be seen within the enclosure, with an interesting inscription over the entrance gateway, recording the erection of a "Jami Mosque" in 868 Hijira in the reign of Sultan Barbak Shah of Gour.

When "Sheikh Jalaluddin" came to Bengal, "he began," says Blochmann, "to destroy idols; in fact his vault occupies the site of an old idol-temple." What the learned Professor said of the chief shrine, may possibly hold good also of the resting place of the saint at Devasthali. For there are several Hindu pillars still lying about the enclosure, and in their midst General Cunningham actually discovered a beautiful stone-image of Visnu. It will be interesting to know whether Syed Ilahi Buksh intended to refer to this place as the port of "Deo-Mahal" in Bengal. We do not know if Devasthali was ever actually regarded as a port; but we have some evidence to hold that it was regarded as a "frontier-station" by the early Moslem Sultans of Lakhnauti. There are two interesting inscriptions, recording the erection of mosques at this place, by one Ulugh Murahit Khan, who according to Blochmann, is called an officer "guarding the frontier." In one of these inscriptions, the place is distinctly called the "blessed town of Tiruabad, generally known as Deotalao." The Moslem name of the place has, however, been completely forgotten; while the pre-moslem Hindu name (sought to be changed by the new rulers) clings to the locality with a tenacity, which can not but disclose its great popularity from the pre-Moslem days of yore. The name suggests merely "an abode of devas,"—an

appellation too vague to be usefully connected with any known fact of history. But the deva-temple, whatever it was, was of considerable importance to tempt the Moslem saint to select it as a fit spot for establishing his *Takiya*. If what Blochmann says has any truth about it, the temple may be safely supposed to have survived the ravages of time until it came to be cruelly demolished by the hand of man. Narayana Varma, the *Maha-Samantadhipati* (the chief of the feudal lords) of King Dharma Pala, is recorded, in the copper-plate inscription discovered at Khalimpur in the ruins of Gour, to have applied for a royal grant of lands in support of a temple he had built at Subhasthali for an image of Narayana. Is it possible that Subhasthali, of Narayana Varma, came in course of time to be changed into Devasthali? At any rate, this place deserves a careful inspection, more than an ordinary one, specially after the discovery of an image of Narayana in the midst of its ruins. The story of the stones of Devasthali, must be interesting by itself. But if it had any connection with the image of Narayana, consecrated in a temple by Narayana Varma, and supported with a grant of land by the Buddhist King Dharma Pala, the interest of the story will be naturally augmented by the clue it will supply to explain the gradual assimilation of Buddhism by what we call Hinduism of our day.

* The application of Narayana Varma for a royal grant of lands in support of his temple at Subhasthali is thus reproduced in the copper-plate inscription:—

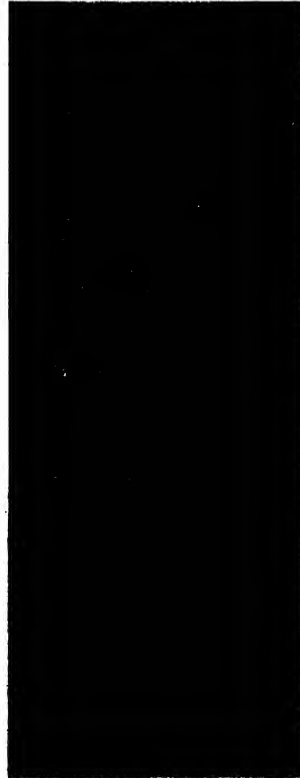
“सतमन्त्र, सवर्मा महासामन्ताधिपति श्रीनारायणवर्मका हस्तक-
मुद्राया श्रीविभुवनपालमुखेन स्वदेव्य विप्रादिताः सवाचामिना-
पिचोरात्मनश्च पुत्राभिमुख्ये हनककायां दिवङ्गतं कारितं तत्र प्रतिष्ठा-
पितं सनमन्त्रुः नारायण महासामन्त तत्प्रतिपादक-वाटविजयदेवाय” कारि-
यादभुवन्मनाय पूजोपकामादिभक्त्यै चतुरो बालाश्च स्वयम्
वृद्धिवात्सल्यवाटक-स्वमिनाम्, स्वस्त्यै दिव इति ।”

This application, quoted in the Royal grant, gives us the interesting fact that Narayana was a Kshatriya by caste, a chief of the feudal lords by his exalted office, and a devout Hindu by his religion, and that he approached his Buddhist Royal Master for a grant of lands in support of his temple through the *Yuvaraja*, the son of the king, named Tribhuvana Pala, who, however, does not appear to have succeeded his father on the throne of the Empire.

Towards the south of the great city, as on the north, there was another important suburban area, which is now represented by the ruins of Madhaipur, known also as Moregram Madhaipur. This place abounds in relics of stone-images. With the neighbouring village of Bhātpārā (now corrupted into Bhatra by the Sonthals who inhabit the place) this locality is still remembered as one of the traditional centres of Sanskrit education in the Empire of Gour under the Hindus, before Nadia came to assert its influence. Rupa and Sanātana, the erudite Vaisnava saints of Bengal, are said to have received their education here, before they were selected by Sultan Hosain Shah as the trusted ministers of his state. Srikrisna Tarkālakāra, the renowned author of *Dayakrama-saṃgraha* (translated by Colebrooke) is believed to have come originally from Malda. The Vaisnava poets of Bengal readily acknowledged the fact that Gour of their day was not only a seat of temporal power but also a reputed centre of Brahmanic education. Madhaipur is still associated with the memory of those colleges of old, which existed and flourished on the ideal of plain living and high thinking. The situation was a picturesque one;—not far from the bank of the Mahananda, with an extensive *beel* in the rear, Madhaipur, with its temples and *chatuspatis*, ever resounded with the music of the jingles and conch-shells, augmented by the recitation of sacred *mantras*, must have constituted a fitting suburb of the great city, so well known in the past for its wealth and wisdom.

A small modern temple, built by a poor Brahmana, is now the only Hindu edifice in this deserted locality, which gives shelter to a large number of relics of stone-images, including that of a Sun-god, which is (curiously enough) worshipped here as the image of *Dharma*. The month of Bysak (April) and specially the fullmoon day of that month, draws together a large number of votaries, mostly of the lower castes of Hindus, who come with their offerings of fruits and flowers to this temple of *Dharma*, thus preserving unwittingly the traditions of the Buddhist worship, which

once flourished in the land. Many more stone images are lying about the compound, wherever the sites of old temples may still be traced under the luxuriant trees. Towards the north of this interesting locality, at a place now called Bargaon, an inscribed stone image of Visnu has been recently discovered, disclosing the fact that the



VISNU.

image belonged to the village of Vatagrāma and related to one Sree Jita Deva. As the Brahmans of the *Savarna-gotra* are said to have received from the Hindu King the village of Vatagrama for their residence, it will be interesting to find out if this inscribed stone-image had any connection with them.

Other localities, besides these two, may also claim similar importance as special suburbs of the great city. The interest about them has been heightened by the

Important
stone-images.

recent discovery of three stone images and of several metal images of old, in course of re-excavations of old tanks. One of the stone images is undoubtedly of Hindu origin, the slab representing in bas-relief the image of Gauri, sitting in an amorous style on the lap of her consort. An inscription on the pedestal records the word *Vabrabhi*, a name of Durga, noted in the *Trikandasesha* lexicon and referred to in the *Chandi*. Of the two others, one represents Buddha, seated in the *Vajrasana* style, with the right hand touching the ground, in the attitude called the *Bhumisparsha-mudra*, which the great teacher is said to have assumed with a view to signify his final victory over the army of the Maras (the evil spirits). The other stone image is that of the well-known *Bodhisattva* variously called Loknātha, Lokesvara, or Avalokitesvara, with an inscription on the pedestal, recording the usual Buddhist formula of "Ye Dharma," &c.

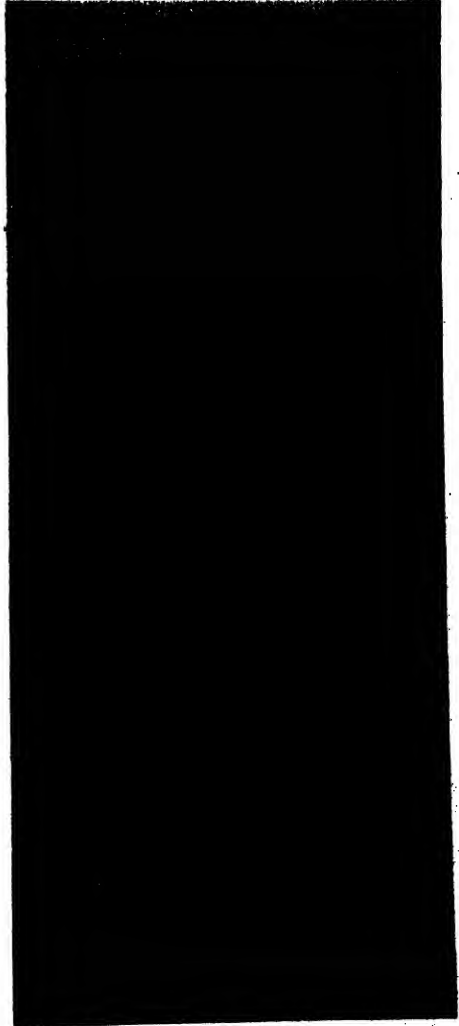
Two places are specially associated with the traditions of the *Jogis*.

One of them, the *Jogishana*, is a mere mound of earth, near Balia Nababganj, which keeps completely concealed from view whatever relics may lie buried within. The other, the *Jogibhavana*, is, however, not so. Ruins of temples, old metalled roads and numerous tanks indicate clearly that it was an important place in the days of yore. A stone image of the Sun-god, lying half-buried in the debris of a ruined temple, is still worshipped, here as the image of Kali, though no sacrificial rites are allowed, it is said in consequence of a solemn agreement under which Kali came to take shelter in the temple of Golaknath, who was averse to killing.

Only one suburban area of the great city appears to have partly survived the ravages of time and the numerous vicissitudes of fortune. It is called Old Malda, to distinguish it from the civil station of Malda in the modern town of Englishbazar on the opposite side of the river.

Old Malda was the port of the city,—a great centre of trade and commerce,—connected with the far east as well as with the historic markets of the western world. Its situation on the confluence of the Mahananda and

the Kālinḍi (corrupted into Kālinḍri) is really picturesque. With a stone-built watch-tower, still retaining a height of about sixty feet, on the opposite bank of the Mahananda locally called *Nimasara*



LOKNATH OR AVALOKITESVARA.

(Nim-Sarai or halfway rest-house of the Sultans between their capital cities of Gour and Pandua), with two city gates of stone, one on the north and the other on the south, with the river in front and an extensive

lake, the *Dharma Kunda*, in the rear, this port of Old Malda still retains the type of a fortified city. It is no longer a great centre of trade, but many buildings of old testify to its affluence in the days of yore.

Haji Ilyas, the reputed founder of Hajipur, assumed independence in the kingdom of Gour under the name and style of Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah. He was addicted to *Bhang*, and was, therefore, better known to the people by his nick-name of *Bhangra* (addicted to the drug). Firoz Shah Toghlaq, Emperor of Delhi, laid siege to the capital of the Bhangra King at Pandua in 1353. On that occasion Old Malda became a seat of war, in fact the imperial camp was pitched near the city-gate. One quarter of Old Malda is called Firozpur (corrupted into Pirojpur) to this day in memory of the Emperor. This has come to be written as "Firozpurabad" by the learned scholars, owing evidently to a misprint

in the text of the *Riaz-us-Salatin*, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. "*Firozpur abadast*" of the Persian text came to be printed as "*Firozpurabad ast*" through an ugly freak of the "printer's devil," but the mistake seems, so far to have come to stay.

The mosques of Masum Sadagar (called the Sona-musjid of Malda by Ravenshaw) built in 1566, the Phuti or broken mosque (erroneously called the *Fauti* or burial mosque by Ravenshaw) built in 1495, the Sir-bari mosque (supposed by Syed Ilahi Buksh to contain the decapitated Sir or head of Saint Anwar, son of Saint Nur Qutub Alam) and the mosque built in *mahalla* Sankhmohana by Sheikh Bhiku and his father (who created a puzzle for all antiquarians by attaching to their mosque an inscription of 870 Hizri from an older edifice) are some of the stone-relics of old Malda, which will repay a visit.

A. K. MAITRA.

IN GERMAN PRISONS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY K. K. ATHAVALE.

The Ways and Means of Escape.

HERE is the way O'Connor went to work to make arrangements for his attempted escape. He worked as a military tailor in the gaol, and as such was able to dispose of thread at will. He had passed long months in cording the ladder, then he had to procure his steps—this was not so easy. He collected bits of wood in the yard and got others from the warders under various pretexts and even on the morning of the escapade he had appropriated for this use the window screws fixed to the wall of his cell. And what about the hooks? His gaol lamp hung from a bracket and it yielded him the required iron. As to the cycling costume he had tailored it himself from the cloth placed in his hands for turning out infantry great-coats. He had passed Saturday night, all Sunday, and the morning of Monday in sewing it, and dressed himself in it before descending to

the yard for exercise. He had of course put on his prison uniform over all.

O'Connor was put in irons and condemned by the Governor, with the sanction of the doctor and the Government, to fifty lashes from a cat. The infliction of the punishment took place in the presence of a Government Inspector. They secured the prisoner, who was only clad in a pair of light trousers of ticking, to a wooden triangle and the strongest man among the warders, the giant Forster, administered the whipping.

Most prisoners howl like the fallow-deer under the rod. O'Connor did not open his lips or lift his teeth the least bit. He did not utter a cry, not even a poor moan, provoking thereby the admiration of the Inspector charged with the duty of assisting in carrying out the punishment.

O'Connor was put in irons for one month. Both his wrists were secured to the ends

of a flat bar, while a big chain encircled his waist and descended to two rings on his ankles to which it was rivetted. He remained in this handicapped condition night and day. Only in the morning the warder freed him in order to enable him to wash. At the exercise O'Connor wore his chains as lightly and as elegantly as, not very long before, he carried his helmet or his overcoat. For the cloth he had stolen he was mulcted twenty marks from his wages, but in return, the cycling costume remained his property. Warder Mathes, who expected to be complimented by the Governor for preventing the flight of O'Connor, was reprimanded severely for failing to detect the rope-ladder in the prisoner's cell. As regards the sentry he got fifteen days cells for not firing at the fugitive.

"Tell me now, Foreman! Let us have a serious talk for a while! Couldn't you, now, help me to escape from this place? I will pay well."

It is thus that I harangued the little foreman the day after the attempt of O'Connor.

"Do you know, if I help you, I will risk my liberty? I have a wife and child! But, what will you pay to one who helps you to escape?"

"Ten thousand marks, payable at the frontier."

"Ho! It is a sum, that, and it is worth the risk, certainly; why, if I had that money, I could establish myself in a town! Yes, if there is a way to earn that sum without great risk, I will not say no to you."

"There is a way. I have thought of and matured a plan. Here it is:—It will be enough if you bring me a fine saw of very durable steel,—simply a bit of steel to saw off one of the bars of my window. I will plait a cord with the sewing cotton which I can have as much as I like with which to descend the twelve metres which separate me from the yard. This descent I must manage very rapidly at the moment when the sentry is at the other end of his beat; much more so as the jutting in the facade in the middle of the wing will effectually screen me from his regard. As to the night round, I will time the descent to begin at the instant it passes on this side, for I have noticed that the patrol never passes a spot twice in succession. Once down below, I

will lie down flat on my belly in the field of French beans which is under my windows and extends up to the cemetery. The verdure is sufficiently high to hide me and to enable me to creep as far as the cemetery where I will be under cover behind the tombs. Now if you were to place yourself on the other side of the wall in the footpath which runs alongside and in which no one passes after midnight, you could, on a pre-arranged signal from me, throw a rope-ladder to me over the enclosure. You should bring with you a great coat and a hat, which will help me to reach your dwelling. The rest will be no more than mere play."

"Well! this project looks quite feasible; and my risk is insignificant. But the most critical moment for you will be the descent from the window, for if ever by ill-luck the sentry turned round suddenly and saw you hanging down by the cord, you will be as good as lost".

"Bah! I have plenty of chances for me. Besides, we must not exaggerate the importance of a sentry. Has not Haberland told me that a sentry had never prevented a man from escaping?"

"So be it, then. I am entirely at your disposal. The money your friend in Paris sends me every month will suffice for the preparations as well as the journey to the Austrian frontier. I have full confidence in you. I am sure you will send me the ten thousand marks as soon as you set foot in Paris. But when will you attempt the coup?"

"It is the 25th of July today. It will take me a month at least to prepare the cord. We will fix the adventure, therefore, to some date at the end of August. Will that suit you?"

"Perfectly. There's my hand on the bargain. You can count on me."

That very day I commenced work, and at the end of a week I had plaited two metre lengths of the cord, of the thickness of a centimetre, of which it was necessary for me to have twelve metres. The foreman brought me six pairs of infantry pantaloons, all brand new, and supposed to have been made by myself: and in the pockets of these I hid the bits of cord as I plaited them. Certainly the idea of encroaching on the functions of a tailor's cutter would never

come into the head of a warder and prompt him to search the pockets of these garments! I took advantage of the hours when I was sure of not being surprised to execute my illicit task. In the long run a prisoner comes to know the habits of the warders and other gaol officials. He knows to a minute when to expect their visits; he scents, as it were, the days and hours of inspection. At the end of a year I had come to distinguish my guardians by their respective steps, and to know each one by his manner of inserting the key into the key-hole.

When I had completed three metres of my string of freedom, I made big knots in it at intervals of thirty centimetres, and in the evening, after the doors had been double-locked and bolted, I attached one end of it to the top of the heater pipe, then, mounting on the table, I exercised myself in going up and down the knotted cord, a very painful task in the beginning, for the six months of captivity and the consequent inertia had considerably weakened me. Luckily I am not heavy—I scaled at only a hundred and five pounds; and besides when young I was very fond of gymnastics and fencing. To be brief, therefore, at the end of a month's practice I was able to mount and descend the cord four times in succession without once putting my foot on the ground—an effort equivalent to the one I must accomplish to reach the yard.

After showing me samples of different stuffs, my little foreman measured me for a travelling costume. Thus the month of August arrived in its turn. The foreman procured me also a saw-blade which I tried on the iron of my bedstead, and found that it bit well into it.

It was definitely settled that the attempt should be made on Saturday, the 1st of September. The foreman had completed my outfit for the journey—a pair of shoes, a soft hat, and under-linen for the body. On the 31st of August he gave me the saw-blade, for I was obliged to saw off the largest of the bars the preceding evening, in order to have as little work as possible to be done the next day. It was an additional risk, for the warder had the knack of striking the window bars, from time to time, with a hammer, in order to assure himself, by the sound, that they were intact. I had thus to pass the night at this preparatory

toil, painful and dangerous though it was, and for this reason it was necessary for me to file away with the least possible noise, for fear of the inmates in the adjoining cells, who would unhesitatingly give the alarm if their suspicions were roused. It was also necessary to watch, on one side the sentry, and on the other, the night patrol, who went their round in the corridor with the steps of a wolf. At day-break the bar was so far cut into that it was held together by a mere thread. I had worked the file from behind so that regarded from my cell, it looked quite whole and intact. Besides the section of the bite was so fine that it was hardly visible.

One thing troubled me most particularly: Once my descent accomplished, the cord would continue to hang down from the window grill. The night round or the sentry might notice it, in which case I was lost. In order to minimise the danger as much as possible, I had chosen grey-coloured thread to weave together my cable. Its dull tint almost effaced it in the flickering light of the gas jets. For the same motive I contented myself with a thin cord even at the risk of a broken neck. But about the chances of rupture I was a good deal reassured by the trials I had made with the help of the heater-piping.

When leaving me on Saturday evening the little foreman was visibly moved. He pressed my hand and wished me good luck. "You are playing a big game," he said to me, "Let us go and trust in the grace of God. Liberty is apparently the only thing worth having in this world, since a man is ready to risk his life for it. I will be at the cemetery wall. You may count on me."

After the evening bell, I went to bed. In spite of the regulations I had retained with me in my cell hidden under their covers a pair of infantry pantaloons which I intended to put on before making my escape, for, obliged every evening to place my effects before the door, without this pair I would be constrained to run away clad only in my shirts with the nether limbs quite naked.

In the meantime, as it was only half past seven o'clock and as I could not commence my operations before ten, I extended myself full length on the bed, and finished by dropping into slumber. "Halt! Wer

da? Die Parole!" suddenly awakened by these resounding words, which mount up from the bottom of the court-yard, I sat up in my bed.

It was the sentinel who had stopped the night patrol, and demanded the word of order. The Prison clock struck ten a moment after. I put on the pantaloons quickly, and after having carefully opened the window, set myself to saw off the bar already cut into the night before. At eleven o'clock the work was finished. I fix one end of the cord to the grill and watch the sentinel. Presently he passes below my window whistling a tune. Slowly the soldier draws away, very much absorbed by the trills with which he is echoing the court-yard. The psychological moment for the descent has arrived. I put out both my legs and gently drop down the cord. There is not a second to lose! After suspending myself for an instant from the bars, I glide down the length of the cable. Scarcely had I put my feet on the ground when I hear steps to my right. I lie down flat under the shade of the green French bean bushes and hold my breath. Have they seen me? No, thank God! It is the subaltern commanding the guard who is making his round. He passes within three steps from the spot I am hiding in, but his attention is taken up by the sentry who cries out from a distance: "Wer da?" (who goes there?) and runs up crossing his bayonet. The man passes and the coast being clear I take advantage of the opportunity to creep a few feet in the direction of the cemetery. I hear the Sergeant severely rebuking a soldier for whistling and then continue his turn. The whistler shouldered his arms and remained rigid and erect until his superior disappeared behind a corner. Then he laughed loudly and whistled again, the while continuing his sentry-go.

Then with infinite precautions, I recommence to crawl under the cover of the field. I hear someone speaking at a distance. I stop to listen. It is the night patrol just going to pass beneath my windows. Will it notice the cord? A moment of torturing suspense and fright. They are two young guardians who laugh. "Halt! Wer da?" But the warders continue their route laughing. Thank God again! They have not

seen the cord, and when they will repass the spot, I will be on the other side of the wall. The sentry now stops close to my hiding place, his rifle resting on the ground and with his nose in the air. A whistling tune bursts from his mouth, and then he marches away in rapid strides. His comrade of the guard in the other beat was calling him for a gossip. The coast was clear again and there was nothing more to be afraid of. I begin to crawl again on all fours towards the cemetery, which I reach safely without mishap, and simultaneously all the clocks in the town give out, pell-mell, the twelve strokes of midnight, which die away in the distance. The moon, ill-timed, appears behind a sombre cloud at this moment and inundates the trees and the tomb stones with her feeble light. I had to traverse the entire length of the cemetery in order to reach the enclosure wall. While I work my way through the funeral mounds, the fears of childhood return to me; a strange hallucination causes me to see the dead underneath in their last sleep; the soil is as if it were transparent; a skeleton, stretched on its back, turns on its side for better rest; two tiny corpses in the self-same narrow prison, hold each other in a tender embrace.

At last I am at the foot of the enclosure wall, and as pre-arranged with the little foreman, I throw a clod of earth over the wall. But nothing—no answer from the other side. I lance a second clod. Then, from the other side of the wall an unknown voice questioned me.

"Mann! wat is denn datt?" (Hello! What's that? Karl! is that you?)

Amazed, petrified, a cold perspiration breaks out on my forehead. I do not budge, but wait. Seconds, minutes, why! centuries pass; then, suddenly, I think I hear the foreman cough and hem outside. Quickly I give the pre-arranged signal.

"Na! bist doch gav zu toll! Karl! Karl!" It is the same voice as before. Its owner is evidently astonished by this rain of earth.

I do not understand it, either. Some other person than the foreman is watching outside. Oh! my impotent rage at this discovery. It is about one o'clock in the morning. I decide to make the last try and throw a clod as before. It falls on the other side with a dull thud. But there is no answering

stir outside. My tentative flight has become a miserable failure, there is not the least doubt about it.

Hidden behind the tombs, I pondered deeply over my situation. It is simply most dreadful. There remains only one thing for me to do. It is to try to regain my cell, at the risk of being detected while traversing the court-yard or when hanging to the cord. Oh! the perils and fears of that route which, besides, led me back to slavery.

I am again at the foot of my window. It is two o'clock in the morning. I have to overcome the same difficulties and brave the same dangers as before at the time of descending.

The musical sentry was relieved at one o'clock. The new sentry has other habits. He is given to exercising the *Parademarsch*—the defiling step of the Prussian Infantry. He extends his legs turn by turn, lances them violently in front and knocks the pavement of the court with his iron-shod soles with a deafening noise, amplified by the echo of the surrounding ramparts. *Flic! flac! pan! pan!* he goes on. I thought this one will not at least hear me if I perchance cause a little noise. *Flic! flac! pan! pan!* I take hold of the cord, while he flies away in the distance. I hoist myself on the ground floor window by the help of the basement projection. Three metres of the height overcome. I place my foot on the ledge of the window and hoist myself anew. Five metres done. I grip the cord firmly and thanks to the knots the ascent is not so difficult after all. I reach the window on the first floor. *Flic! flac! pan! pan!* I hold the bars of my window, pass the right arm by the opening of the grill and hold myself by the interior curb-stone of the support.

I pass the head, the upper part of the body and the other arm and make super-human efforts to work myself across the narrow bay. At last more dead than alive, I tumble down heavily on the floor of my cell. I get up and recover the cord; then I take a piece of wax which every tailor has to keep, soften it in the palm of my hand and make use of it in order to stand the sawed off bar in its position again. It will hold for some hours at any rate, I say to myself, and in the morning I will send the little foreman for some iron cement for refixing it with.

I was saved, but the reaction the instant after was tremendous. Seized, suddenly, with a fit of convulsive trembling, I saw everything around me turning round, and I dropped on my bed in an inert mass, and lost consciousness.

The five o'clock bell awoke me. Oh! the pitiful awakening! Nevertheless with all the poignancy of my grief, I had retained sufficient presence of mind to hide the pantaloons, all of a mess as the garment was, and to take a leg bath. Then I laved my hands and face and dressed carefully. I was without strength, utterly exhausted, and bruised, broken and feverish.

The hot coffee cheered me up. At a quarter past six the little foreman entered my cell. He was very pale but presently he resumed his smiling mien when he saw me safe and sound. After learning from my mouth the details of my ill-starred nocturnal jaunt, he recounted me the story of his personal anguish and suspense. On arriving at the spot agreed upon at midnight he found to his inexpressible stupefaction that a sentinel was posted there. He had waited in the neighbourhood in the hope that the man would go away at a given moment, and if such a lucky diversion had taken place he would have profited by it to throw over to me the rope-ladder for scaling the wall; but this hope was falsified, and with death in the soul he returned to his dwelling. It was therefore not without considerable apprehension that he rang that morning at the great door of the prison, fully persuaded as he was that the first word of the porter would be the news of my nocturnal attempt, but the latter had his usual humdrum air. He had run thence to the apartment of the foremen-tailors: his colleagues spoke in the usual indifferent tone and no one would mention my name. He bethought himself then that I had recoiled from the attempt at the last moment and he felicitated himself on such a supposed lucky turn of fortune. Then he ran to see me. He learned during the day that it was only since the previous evening—the first of September—that they had placed a night sentry in the foot-path outside the wall; so that if I had carried out my perilous attempt on 31st August, just 24 hours earlier it would have entirely succeeded. Always this nothing, this mere

trifle which puts a spoke in the wheel of the surest combinations and the best laid plans!

By means of the iron cement, which the little foreman presently hurried to procure for me, I replaced the sawn bar in its position; and left it, thus, against time to see it fall at the first knock from the warder's sounding hammer. When that time comes what will happen?

It was a day of great events. About ten o'clock I was sent for by the Secretary. The prisoner Wisch, who attended to the writing work in the Secretariat and Accounts office, had left the prison after serving his time, and the Governor had decided that I should fill the vacant place if I possessed the necessary qualifications. They made me pass a double examination of ridiculous questions.

The accountant notably told me to calculate to a thousandth of a penny what the cost would be of the menu of the day, so much for the prisoners in good health, and so much for the sick. After having square-rooted the potatoes, cube-rooted the carrots, integrated the mustard and cheese during half an hour, and lost twenty minutes in the infinitesimal calculations of the meat, I finished by finding, with the help of a table of logarithms, that the administration fed its six hundred mouths, including the well and the ill, with sixty marks and twenty-one pfennigs, or in French money seventy-five francs and twenty-six and eight hundred and seventy-five thousandths of centimes.

"Do you know," said the accountant to me, very stiff and without the ghost of a smile to illumine his sombre features, when I had communicated to him the result of my labours, "it is exceedingly important that we should know to a thousandth of a pfennig, the cost of feeding the men cheap. Above all we are required to economise on cheese, herrings, mustard, candles, etc., in order that our Emperor might be able to indulge in his annual trip to Norway or Palestine. If ever you make a mistake of a single not in your calculations—and may the Almighty God preserve us from it! it will be a public calamity. The revenue

will go down and the Emperor will be forced to pass the spring at home, which will be another public calamity!

Sapristi! I thought to myself, it was a heavy responsibility to be saddled with! And I wonder that the Prussian Administration should have so much confidence in a Frenchman.

The result of the enquiry on my intellectual capacities was at once submitted to the Governor, who ordered that I should forthwith commence my new duties.

Returning to my cell I reflected on the new situation and my altered position. I lost my provider of comforts, for I had at once to transfer my effects to the ground floor, wherein were located the cells of the prisoners employed as writers in the office. It was a great loss. As to the clandestine correspondence, it can be continued, for my postman, risky though it was, would somehow find the means of entering my cell, by stealth or on some plausible pretext, to receive and bring a letter; and so far it was a capital arrangement!

The little foreman made a wry face when I communicated to him the news of my promotion. It was understood that he was to continue to receive a hundred marks per month to manage my external communications, and moreover, I made him a present of the costume he had made for me and the other toilet requisites purchased in view of my flight.

At last I was going to leave for ever this cell which had become quite dear to me after passing the last six months in it. Dear! Yes! Bentham has declared it before me: "The human soul is so well made for suffering that, in the long run, it adapts itself apparently to the most intolerable situations in the world." But far more than my cell, I regretted my rooks. I have come to feed them regularly. They came every day to take their repast on the ledge of my window, erect, graceful, immobile, looking through the open window, very much perplexed by my gestures and never scared by anything. And I became sad at the thought that I would never see them again.

HINDU AND HINDUISM

IT is now some time since the question "Who is a Hindu?" was put before the public and the opinions of public men were invited. Believing that the question still remains open, I propose to discuss it very briefly. I consider it proper to state at the outset that I have no knowledge of any of the views expressed on the subject. Consequently, I can not deal with the merits or demerits of the opinions that have already been put forward. I wish to pursue an independent line of thought in discussing the subject.

To the majority of our people, the question is a great puzzle and appears like a complex problem, the solution of which is believed to be full of insurmountable difficulties. On the other hand, I am inclined to think that the answer to this question is very simple indeed. Almost all the difficulties in the way of its solution arise out of the confusion of our own ideas about it.

Before attempting to answer the question, it is better to be clear about what is meant by it. Most frequently the word 'Hindu' is mixed up with a newly coined word "Hindusim" which is supposed to represent a system of religion side by side with so many other *isms*. Therefore in finding out a definition of 'Hindu,' one naturally wants to define 'Hindusim' before-hand in his mind and so falls into such mental confusion that it becomes difficult for him to see the issues involved. In order to make the matter plain, it is necessary to state here that although the word "Hindusim" has been derived from 'Hindu,' the two words are quite distinct in their significance. Each of these words requires an entirely separate treatment and therefore I will follow this plan. The word Hindu can be defined thus:—Hindu was the name that was given by the foreigners to the land on the south-eastern sides of the river Indus, as well as to the people inhabiting it. Indus being equivalent to Sindhu meaning 'river', this was the river that formed the boundary of our country on

that side. The word occurs in Zend, the old language of the Persians as "Hendu," the 'S' of Sindhu having been changed to 'H' in Zend. The ancient Persians were the first strangers to come in contact with the Hindus. Next came the Greeks, who by a slight change of pronunciation used the form 'Indo' which has given the word "India" to the world. It is mentioned in classical Roman writings:—'Indus in colis sindus appellatus' (Pliny); and 'India mittet eleui' (Virgil). The origin of the word, then, is evidently territorial. In fact it was used exactly as we use the words 'American' or 'Chinese.' It is immaterial for our present purpose whether the people to whom the name was applied, ever called themselves by this name, though we know it for certain that they knew and called themselves as "Aryas." That the word was not used in any religious sense, is conclusively proved by the fact that it is used by the Chinese pilgrims who visited India in the 6th or 7th centuries A.D. Buddhism was then the religion of the state as well as of the majority of the people; but we find that the Chinese regarded the name with peculiar love and reverence. The comments of the famous Hiouen Tsang, on the word, should be read by every Indian with interest and just sense of pride. "India was," he writes in his travels, "anciently called Shintu, also Hientan, but now according to the right pronunciation, it is called Intu." Note the similarity of the words Sindhu and Hindu with the words used by Hiouen Tsang. The word 'Intu' in Chinese means the moon, and so he continues: "Though there be torches by night and the shining of stars, how different from the bright cool moon! Just so the bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world, as the shining of the moon, has made this country eminent and so it is called Intu."

Hinduism was not known yet. Whenever it is necessary to refer to the old system

which had been overcome by Buddhism, but was again struggling with it, it should be spoken of as Brahmanism. The conflict that lasted for nearly one thousand years in India, was an internal struggle of the Hindu people in which Brahmanism and Buddhism fought for supremacy. The former stood for the old order, while the latter starting originally as a movement for the reform of the old order, aimed at extirpating it altogether. The final victory of Brahmanism decided once for all that the Hindus would stick to their ancient order of things, which represented their old civilisation.

What was the position of the surviving Buddhists and Jains in the country? They were of course Hindus but the difference was that they were so to speak, non-conformists.

England in the 17th century could not tolerate the presence of non-conforming Englishmen in the land, while India a thousand years before not only tolerated its nonconforming Hindus, but received with open arms the Buddhists who were driven out of the Persian dominions by the Zoroastrian King and later on welcomed to its shores those very Zoroastrians who in their turn were persecuted and expelled by the Mohamedan conquerors of their land.

At this moment we are confronted with another great problem. According to our definition, we should count the Mohamedan population of India as Hindus. Quite so, but we have to study the facts more closely. The early Mohamedans came to India as enemies and invaders. They were foreigners too and for several centuries their alien character was kept in prominence by continual immigration from Arabia, Persia or Turkistan. The Hindus on the other hand, had hardly finished one struggle when they had to enter upon a new one equally long in duration but more fierce and terrible in its nature. They naturally looked upon this new people as a foreign element in their midst. Even the large number of Hindu converts to the Muhammadan religion were treated as foreigners. The Muhammadans in their turn retaliated by attaching bad meanings to the word 'Hindu' in the Persian language. Alberuni, the first great Muhammadan scholar and writer who visited India as a prisoner with Mahmud of Ghazni, has very

ably discussed the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muhammadans. His work on India is a most valuable storehouse of information about the condition of the Hindus in that period and should be read and studied by every student of Indian history. He possessed great intellectual and critical power. He has compared the Greek philosophy with the Hindu philosophy in his book. He tells us that Sanskrit was the language of the educated people in India and that he tried his best to learn Sanskrit in order to study Hindu philosophy and learning. Though he did not succeed in his object, the free quotations which he gives from the Darshanas and the Gita, show that he had gained sufficient knowledge for his purpose. He has given five reasons which led the Hindus to hate the Muhammadans.

1. The difference in language.
2. The difference in religion. He says that although among themselves the Hindus tolerated all differences on philosophical questions, their hatred was directed against the foreigners, whom they called "Mlechchha" (unholy). They not only strictly forbade all social connection with them, but would not even sit near them or eat and drink from their hands. They believed that the very touch of the foreigners would pollute them (the Hindus).
3. Differences in names, habits and manners.
4. The fourth reason was that formerly Buddhism had spread all over Khurasan, Faris (Persia), Irak, Musil, and Syria. But King Gushtasp was such a staunch supporter of the Zoroastrian religion that he persecuted the Buddhists and drove them out of his Empire. They sought refuge in India and spread this hatred against "us". Again, the invasions of Mahmud, his work of destruction, had intensified that hatred, as a consequence of which Hindu learning had fled from the parts conquered by him to such distant places as Benares and Kashmere, where it might be safe from his onslaughts.
5. The last reason, as he describes it, was the peculiar characteristic ignorance of the Hindus. They believed that there was no country like theirs, no religion like theirs, no sciences like theirs, and no government like theirs. They could never imagine that other nations too could be civilised and advanced in different

branches of learning....Their ancestors, however, were not so ignorant or narrow-minded as that generation was.

The causes that are so intelligently described by Alberuni as early as 1000. A.D. continued to work actively under the succeeding invasions and the reigns of the several dynasties on the throne of Delhi. Although these dynasties occupied the Imperial throne, they could not consolidate their government and their actual rule did not extend far beyond the country round Delhi. They were looked upon as mere foreigners by the mass of the people. The Moguls, and particularly Akbar among them, were the first to organise Muhammadan rule in India. With them came a change of policy which created a radical change in the attitude of the Hindus towards these newly settled foreigners. In spite of the difference in religion, a process of amalgamation began. In their desire to help this process the Hindus gave way almost completely. The Rajputs, who represented the Hindu ruling class, gave up their old prejudices and agreed to have full social intercourse with the "foreigners."

If the policy of conciliation initiated by Akbar had been allowed full play, the ties of a common motherland would have proved stronger than religious fanaticism. The Indian Muhammadans, like the Indian Buddhists, would have become Hindus while remaining Muhammadans in their faith.

The crisis came almost suddenly on the imprisonment of Shah Jahan. The unification of the two elements in the population of India seemed near at hand. If Dara Shukoh had got possession of the throne, the subsequent history of India would have been entirely different. Just as the conquering Normans after 150 years' rule in England, became Englishmen, the Muhammadans would have become a part of the Hindu people, without either party giving up its religious beliefs. But Aurangzeb's ambition and his fanaticism, caused and encouraged by his ambition, changed the direction of forces. It would be a long story to relate how the dormant elements of hatred were again awakened among the Hindus in the movements of the Mahrattas and the Sikhs; and how finally, supported by the Rajputs, they succeeded in breaking

the Mogul Empire to pieces. The conflict was a severe one and it exhausted all their energy, although it left them masters of a greater part of India including Delhi. Thus ended the second great struggle; but no sooner had this ended, than began another struggle with a new race which had landed on the shores of India for trade at the time when the Moguls had begun the work of consolidating their rule. This race was destined to supersede them both. The wars of the Mahrattas and the Sikhs with the British constitute the third great struggle and form the modern period of Indian history. The overthrow of the hopes and aspirations of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, have brought them down to a common level of equality. The process of conciliation that was inaugurated by the ruling classes in the sixteenth century has to be started afresh by the peoples now. Both the peoples can unite into one nation if they feel the community of their interests, forget all differences of the past and unite their hearts and wills for a common goal in the future. To a thinking mind, the past conflict with all its struggles for supremacy and the attendant sufferings and misfortunes can serve more as a bond of unity than as a reason for separation. If we learn that our past failures and regrets should make co-operation easier for the future, we can lay the foundations of a new nation in India. Before the strength of this idea, the differences of language and religion have to dwindle into nothingness. Countries can be pointed out which afford evidence of the triumph of this principle over the forces of disunion produced by variety of races, religions and languages.

Thus we conclude that the word 'Hindu' like other similar racial names, had a territorial origin. But a country is not represented by its rivers or mountains. It finds its self-conscious unity in a state. Hence a Hindu came to mean one who loved the state which represented the people of the country. In the absence of a state the love of national history serves as a bond of participation in a common political life, actual or potential. We may therefore say that everyone who is born in India and who loves her past and works for her future is a Hindu, whatever creed he may profess.

I think the Americans make the most correct use of the word 'Hindu.' All Indians, whether Hindus, Muhammadans or Sikhs, are called Hindus in America. I was once very much surprised, rather amused, when I was questioned by an American youth if the Hindus were Muhammadans. From this point of view the heated controversy in the Punjab, as to the Sikhs being Hindus, becomes entirely superfluous. The Sikhs should rest assured that in calling themselves Hindus they in no way compromise their religious beliefs. Hindu simply means a native and lover of India.

Now I take up the word "Hinduism." The word means the religion of the Hindus. I have said that the word was quite new simply because of the fact that the Hindus never had a religion in the European sense. Indeed the word was out of element with Hindu thought. It had no equivalent in the Sanskrit language. The analogy of other religions has misled us and we have in a way adopted this word, which has been coined to satisfy our anxiety for having a religion or in other words a common basis of faith for all the Hindus. The Hindu leaders have long been anxious to find out a definition of Hinduism. I remember that on the occasion of the Congress Session of 1901, held at Lahore, Mr. Tilak chose it as the subject of his lecture. He defined a Hindu as "a person who believed in the Veda." Personally I am a believer in the Veda, and I wish the definition were correct. It is true no doubt that the Hindus hold the Veda and the cow in great reverence. The cow is to them the symbol of the economic prosperity of the country. A simple regard for the life of the cow is the only condition which the Hindus expect their non-conforming fellow-countrymen to observe. The king of Gujarat imposed this rule as the only condition when he offered shelter to the Parsees who had been driven out of Persia. Similarly the change of policy on the part of the Mogul kings was marked by forbidding the slaughter of the cow in the country. But this is a matter of practice and not of faith. The Veda, in the eyes of the Hindus, stands for all the wisdom and knowledge of the ancient sages; but by the Veda, they do not mean the Samhitas alone. Shankar, for instance, regards the Veda as the final author-

ity and he always refers to the Upanishads as the Veda. An absolute faith in the Veda, therefore, can not be made a creed of Hinduism, though it must be admitted that the direct opposition to the idea is enough to characterise a man as a non-conformist. I am afraid, therefore, that any exact definition with a view to formulate a creed for Hinduism, would lead us to misread or misinterpret the history of the Hindu race. It would spoil all the beauty of Hinduism. It would be bartering the pearl for a robber's knife. No doubt we find that the creed-propaganda has led to the success of Muhammadanism as well as of Christianity. But their temporary and partial success does not prove that it is the right course. The evil consequences of the propaganda predominate over the small amount of good it has done. This notion of a creed was at the root of all intolerance and persecution. It caused so many religious wars and an immeasurable amount of bloodshed and misery in Asia and Europe. It is the source of the keenest hatred and heart burning at the present moment. It makes the followers of one religion hate all other men, however good or pious they may be, for the simple reason that they can not and do not share certain peculiar views with them. In short this slavery to creeds binds and clouds the human intellect and it will flourish only so long as humanity is sunk in ignorance. Pagan Europe was free from this creed slavery. Philosophy and learning flourished. Christianity was dominant in Europe for a period of one thousand years, which is justly regarded as the age of darkness and ignorance. The movement known as the Renaissance, revived the old Pagan learning and free thought, which led to the forces of the reformation and modern progress in Europe.

Hinduism is the only survival of the old free-thought systems of society. It is destined again to prevail when the mind of humanity expands and breaks through the fetters of creed and superstition. Says Sir W. W. Hunter—

"The Brahmins treated philosophy as a branch of religion." (It would be more correct to say that they treated the dogmas of religion as mere problems of philosophy.) "Now the universal problems of religion are to lay down a rule of conduct for life and to supply some guide to the next. The Brahman solutions of the practical questions involved, are self-

discipline, alms, sacrifice to and contemplation of the Deity. But besides the practical questions of religious life, religion has also intellectual problems, such as the compatibility of evil with the goodness of God and the unequal distribution of happiness and misery in this life. Brahman philosophy exhausted the possible solutions of these difficulties and of most other great problems which have since perplexed Greek, Roman, mediæval scholastic men and modern men of science. The various theories of creation arrangement and development were each elaborated and the views of the physiologists at the present day are a return with new lights to the evolution theory of Kapila whose Sankhya system is held by Weber to be the oldest of the six Brahman schools."

Hinduism is thus not a 'religion' like Muhammadanism or Christianity; but simply a *Dharma*, i.e., the Law, Duty or a Rule of Conduct for life. It is for this reason that the agnostic Kapila is as good a sage as the founder of the Theistic School of *Yoga* or of the pantheistic *Vedanta*. Buddha is raised to the position of an incarnation. Even Brihaspati (of the Charvaka School) is treated as a rishi.

Hinduism places before us the ideals of Rama and Sita, Krishna, Arjuna and Yudhisthira. No one knows what Rama or Yudhisthira *believed*, but every Hindu child is taught what they *did*. The Hindu

Dharma is embodied in Sanskrit literature and in the biographies of Hindu heroes. To preserve these monuments of the past, which constitute our ancient civilisation, is the main duty of a Hindu. Hinduism does not enquire into your beliefs because it is not a system of beliefs. It is not a creed because it is above all creeds. The creeds hang over the human intellect like clouds over the earth below.

Hinduism stands above the clouds in eternal sunshine. It gives complete freedom to human reason; and if any definition is needed, Hinduism can be defined as the negation of 'religion'. If earnest Hindu youths want a common philosophical basis upon which they should stand and a common intellectual idea for which they should work, "the emancipation of the human intellect" will serve for both. India is the only country in the world that has evolved a self-consistent theory of toleration and intellectual freedom. Let this distinguishing mark be our badge in the parliaments of religions wherever they may be held.

BHAI PARMANAND.

PROJECT FOR A HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL

THE problem of the education of Hindu girls is acknowledged by those who attempted it to be very complex. With all the efforts that have been made, the number of girls in Bengal (the most educated province as regards women) who go through a primary-school course is six and a half per cent! And the orthodox Hindu girl rarely goes deeper than this. Amongst Christian converts, in the missionary homes, a knowledge of English and a teacher's training are more or less common. Amongst the Bramho Somaj and Parsi sections of the community, too, many women have taken University degrees some with great distinction. But it is difficult to us to realise what a very small fraction of the population these two classes and all similar instances represent.

The overwhelming majority of Hindu

girls are orthodox. Yet the most conservative of the Hindus are eager for the education of their women. The chief difficulties seem to be practical. At the age of twelve or so most girls pass under the control of their mothers-in-law, and after this time, there must be no running out to school, even in the same lane. Hence the teacher would need either to be a member of the household, or to have the power to prevent marriage. If each home could be reckoned as including one well-educated lady, the problem obviously would have ceased to exist. In order to bring about such a state of things it seems wise to take hold of the other alternative. Why not begin with those girls who are denied alike the possibility of marriage, and the joys of motherhood—the young widows? If we could educate these in some efficient manner, having regard to those ends which

must be served by the whole nation, surely through them we could do the rest. But whatever we are to do in this direction, we must leave the religious and social traditions of the race undisturbed. It is thought wrong to break caste or the restrictions of the Zenana. The instant, therefore, we produce a denationalising tendency in the mind of a young widow, we are defeating our own end—to make orthodox women available for service amongst the orthodox. If the social customs of Indian women are ever to change, it can only be healthfully effected by those women themselves, when in possession of knowledge and the necessary practical faculty. All change of institutions, to be sound, must be by growth from within; never by addition from without. John Ruskin says "Imitation is like prayer; done for show, it is horrible; for love, beautiful." And adoption of European social standards here, without the ideals which have produced them, is like imitation done for show—fatal in many instances to the finest sides of Indian character.

So we see that a training which would leave a girl absolutely loyal to the association of her people, while it filled her with that passion for service which is the glory of Western development, might carry us a long way towards the answer to the Indian women-question of today. We might, if means could be found to do this on a large scale for young widows, produce a class of women free from personal ties, and able, as well as willing, to devote themselves to educational work amongst their own country women. These women would be allowed to live in the intimate companionship of the most orthodox and their children without fear or reproach on either side, so that simply by utilising a class that is now idle we should have added to the intellectual resources of the nation in a most important way.

Of course it is also apparent to those who know anything of psychology that the education which is to result in a development of faculty must be manual and practical, rather than merely verbal and literary. For many reasons this is peculiarly true in India,—where the knowledge of some means of earning a livelihood would need to be part of every women's stock-in-trade.

As long as a woman is helplessly dependent on a man, what sort of individual and social freedom is within her grasp? Therefore, any intelligent effort to accomplish the well-being of Hindu widows must include manual and industrial training. One of the main weaknesses of girls' education as at present organised is, that it exists only on two plans,—the Primary or Vernacular, and the Higher or University. The main requirements of a people, intellectually, probably lie midway between the three R's and the Higher Mathematics!

It is on consideration of facts like these that the project of the school for girls has been formed. It is proposed to buy a house and piece of land in Calcutta and there to establish an institution that shall serve the double purpose for training widows as teachers, and educating little girls. It is planned that these widow ladies and one or two Western women should co-operate in the training and education of the little ones. It would be our aim to provide school-life and teaching for girls which should combine to make fine women of them—fine enough either to become the wives or mothers of strong, serviceful men, or to be eager to go out in to other places, there to start fresh centres of educational activity for other Hindu women and children.

Education, to my thinking, is best described as all that empowers us to will rightly and efficiently. To-day, in India, if not in the vexed question of domestic institutions, undeniably in the field of thought, aspiration and national aims—we see the passing away of an old order, and the change to a new. An age of great opportunities is before the womanhood of that land. It is and will be theirs to guide and inspire the progress of husbands and sons and brothers. And they need knowledge. They can only be fitted to play their part well in such a period by an education that constitutes a practical, as well as a literary training. Eyes that can see, and hands that can do, are far more important elements of a robust humanity than the tongue of speech. And if these faculties can but be made the expression of a trained mind and will, we gain all the infinite results of self-discretion, power of combination, and intelligent activity. As a means to this end, I would found a school-course

upon the Kindergarten. I have already conducted an experimental school in Calcutta, where I have had ample occasion to note the suitability of Froebelian work to the Bengali child. Even apart from principles—which are, as we all know, of universal application—the occupations of the Kindergarten are a delight to these children and I see every reason to believe that many Hindu girls would do well as Froebel teachers. After this stage, it is my earnest hope to make some handicraft a permanent branch of the school-work. Embroidery or metal-work may be specially adopted to our needs. But under one form or another, we must adopt an art that shall offer an ennobling pursuit, industrial training, and a reliable means of livelihood.

The Bengali and English languages are also necessary for an advanced Calcutta education.—Bengali for obvious reasons, as the local Vernacular, and English, because it is at present the only universal tongue of the country. Literature, history and

geography, elementary mathematics and some scientific subject, complete what I should consider the necessary curriculum.

Thus the Hindu Girls' School aims at providing an education which shall be national in type, practical and industrial in quality, and productive of self-activity on the part of the educated.

I am well aware, of course, that the characters which we produce are a hundred times more vital to the working-out of our purpose, than any branch of study. And the guiding motive of the scheme of work which I have just sketched is my belief that through it one might be able to give Oriental girls some of what is best in Western thought and feeling, at the same time that they could realise in their own lives the highest ideals and traditions of the East. Strong men and women, of the type dearest to her own heart, India cries out for, and Education stands second only to Motherland, as the World's man-maker.

X.

A SUCCESSFUL SWADESHI CONCERN

ABOUT twenty years ago, when premises No. 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, contained only a one-storied building, there came to live there in a small room Dr. Praphulla Chandra Roy, who has since become famous as a Chemist. Behind and in front of the house there was open land, unbuilt upon. Here and there lay scattered about the grounds, earthen vessels of various shapes and sizes, casks and barrels, and so forth. Here sulphate of iron was being made with scrap iron and sulphuric acid, there attempts were being made to prepare citric acid from lemon juice, elsewhere again nitric acid was being distilled from nitre and sulphuric acid. On the roof raw bones procured from the butchers' shops were drying. Neighbours getting annoyed were raising objections and thinking of petitioning the Municipal authorities to put a stop to the nuisance. Attempts were being made to prepare from these bones medicines con-

taining phosphorus. Various other similar chemical processes were at work. Thus were the foundations being laid of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works.

Many a young man is heard to exclaim that industrial enterprises cannot be started and brought to a successful issue solely for want of capital. That may be true and partly true in some cases. But it is not the whole truth, nor does it represent the crux of the whole problem. "Tis dogged does it." To succeed in any industry, one must apply oneself to it with unflagging zeal and perseverance which will take no defeat. One must serve apprenticeship to one's chosen pursuit from very humble beginnings. One is sure to fail if one thinks of dazzling the world with stupendous success all at once.

Many joint stock concerns saw the light of day before and after the Swadeshi



Laboratory and Analytical Department, B. C. P. W.

agitation. Many of these are now defunct, many are moribund. What is the reason?

Coming from Rajputana with a "lota" and a rope for drawing water as almost their only capital, how have the Marwaris managed to monopolise the entire internal trade of Bengal?

Bengalis have learned to excel mainly as clerks and pleaders.

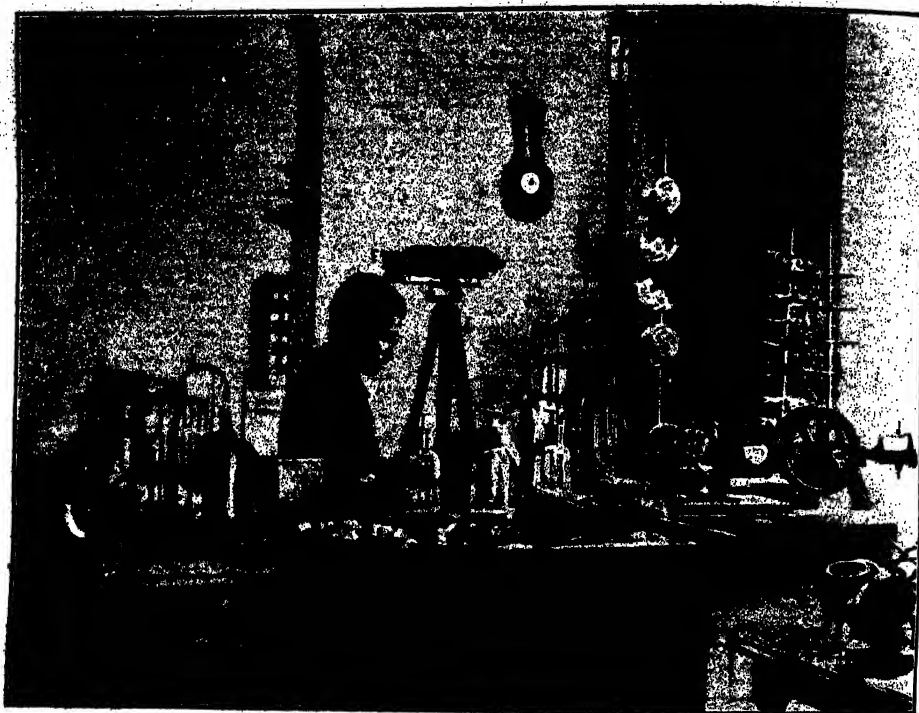
When Dr. Ray was laying the foundations of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, his monthly income was Rs 243 as. 8. He had then heavy paternal debts to pay, and, as is well known to poor students and others, the bulk of his income has always been spent in charity. For 7 or 8 years his salary was as stated above. Such was the capitalist who thought of starting a chemical industry in Bengal.

In the early days of this enterprise Dr. Ray found a valuable co-adjutor in another persevering, enthusiastic and patriotic young man. He was the late Dr. Amulya Charan Basu. He was a friend of Dr. Ray's boyhood. If Dr. Basu had not joined hands with Dr. Ray, it would have been a

much more difficult matter to make this industry profitable. Success might have come even then, but it would have come much more slowly. At the incipient stage neither Dr. Ray nor Dr. Basu cared for personal gain. Full of patriotic feelings, their only thought then was to make the business a success. The late Mr. Satis Chandra Sinha, Dr. Basu's brother-in-law, joined this firm immediately after taking his M.A. degree in Chemistry. He was a valuable acquisition; but unfortunately he lost his life soon after as the result of accidental poisoning. Mr. Chandra Bhushan Bhaduri and several other gentlemen have also laboured to make the business a success.

When Drs. Ray and Basu saw that the business had outlived the experimental stage, they converted it into a limited liability company. But the founders had to overcome many difficulties before this stage could be reached.

At present many allopathic physicians sometimes prescribe indigenous medical preparations. This innovation is due entirely to the exertions of the Bengal Chemical and



Scientific Apparatus Testing Room, B. C. P. W.

Pharmaceutical Works. During the infancy of this enterprise no allopathic practitioner had faith in the genuineness of indigenous preparations. The main object of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works was to manufacture these preparations. But in order to make the concern a success from the business point of view, the Works began to manufacture patent medicines like Atkin's Syrup, Parish's Chemical Food, etc. By selling these the firm collected sufficient funds to tide over the period of struggle for existence. Many people now prepare aqua pythotis. But this firm was the first to manufacture it and make its virtues known to the public. In the old books of the firm, there are to be found vouchers showing purchase of "ājwān" worth 5 annas, but now the Company buys more than a thousand rupees' worth of this seed at a time.

Even after the firm had become a limited liability Company with Rs. 2,500 as capital, it had both its office and its works situated at 91, Upper Circular Road for 3 or 4 years. With the extension of the business, it became impossible to carry on any manu-

facture there. So the works were removed to 90, Maniktala Main Road, the office remaining in Upper Circular Road. It was now that the conductors thought of preparing chemicals. With great pluck and trained business capacity they began to make sulphuric acid. Since the appearance of their sulphuric acid in the market, that chemical has become cheaper by 25 to 30 per cent.

We had occasion to visit these Works some years ago. Feeling curious to know further developments we visited the factory again recently. Dr. Ray and Mr. Rajsekhar Bose, the able manager of the Works, very kindly showed us over the different parts of the building and explained everything.

Over extensive grounds stand their engine room, pharmacy, acid chambers, carpenters' workshop, laboratory, packing room, casting room, godowns, officers' mess, &c. The conductors have learned by experience that for convenience and economic working, the Works must be self-contained. For this reason, the factory has become a conglomeration of various kinds of business.



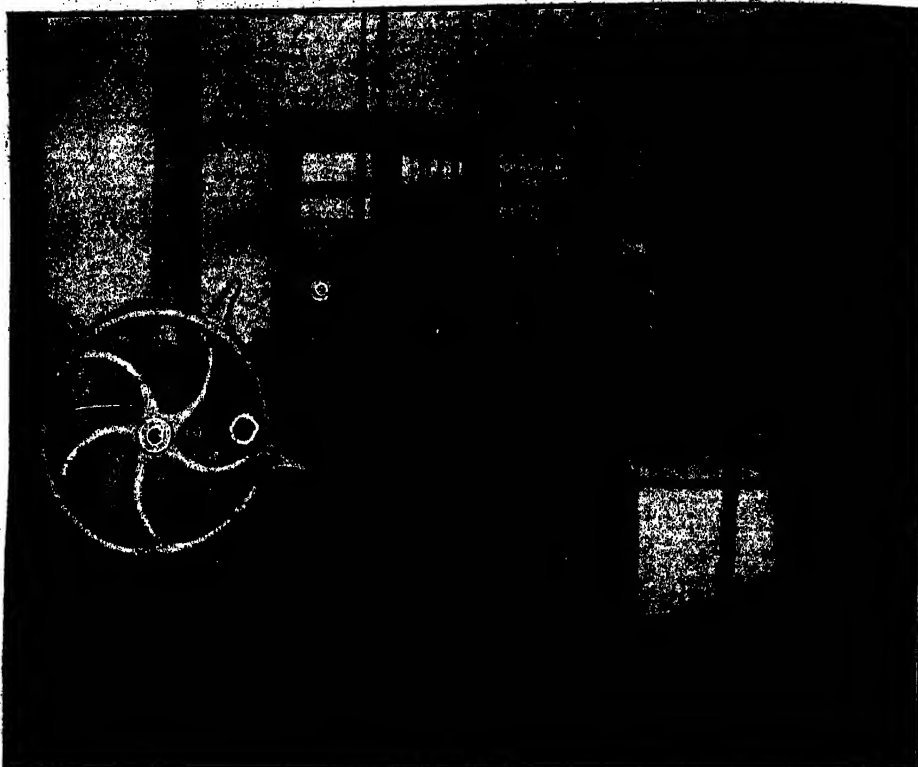
Workshop—Delicate Apparatus Department, B. C. P. W.

We first entered the press. As the Works have to print a large quantity of placards, handbills, catalogues, pamphlets, Bengali almanacs and calendars, labels, &c., obviously it was wise of the manager to have a printing establishment of his own. The firm make their own wood-cuts, stereos, and electros, too. The carpenters, workshop similarly helps them to make their own packing cases of all sizes. The steam saw serves to supply the firm with planks made on the premises from logs of wood.

Entering the workshop we found scientific apparatus of various kinds being made there. On enquiring into the origin of this department, we learnt that at first the firm had only a few machines and used to manufacture mainly their own pharmacy fittings and only a few scientific apparatus.

As regards the buildings, if the firm had got them constructed by contractors, perhaps that would have saved them much

trouble and not cost them more than they have done. But the conductors have gladly undergone the trouble as the cost of experience. By doing everything themselves, from the drawing up of the plans onwards to the construction of the buildings and the installation of various kinds of machinery, they have got an excellent and thorough training. As the result of this training and experience, they have won a reputation as the best laboratory fitters in the country. Various apparatus, furniture and fittings for laboratories are being constructed in the workshop. The firm have become experts in designing and furnishing laboratories. They have made arrangements in many laboratories in many places for manufacturing gas from petrol and kerosene oil. Their services have been requisitioned in connection with laboratories in Calcutta, Dacca, Mymensingh, Barisal, Khulna, Gauhati, Cuttack, Bankipore, Madras and Lahore; and everywhere



"Anose"—Infant Food Manufacture, B. C. P. W.

they have done their work with credit. In planning laboratories even distinguished professors of science consult them. Some of the delicate apparatus invented by Dr. J. C. Bose were constructed by them according to his instructions.

A large number of men work at their workshop. The firm have devised means for getting their money's worth from every employee. No one is able to idle away his time without being found out. No materials issued from the godowns can be wasted or misappropriated.

During the summer months there is a great demand for fans. We found a large number of hot-air fans being made. One has only to light a kerosene lamp and the fan is worked by the draft of hot air created thereby. Many other machines and implements were being made which were as ingenious as they were neatly turned out.

In the acid house, there are two big chambers of lead. They are made of lead

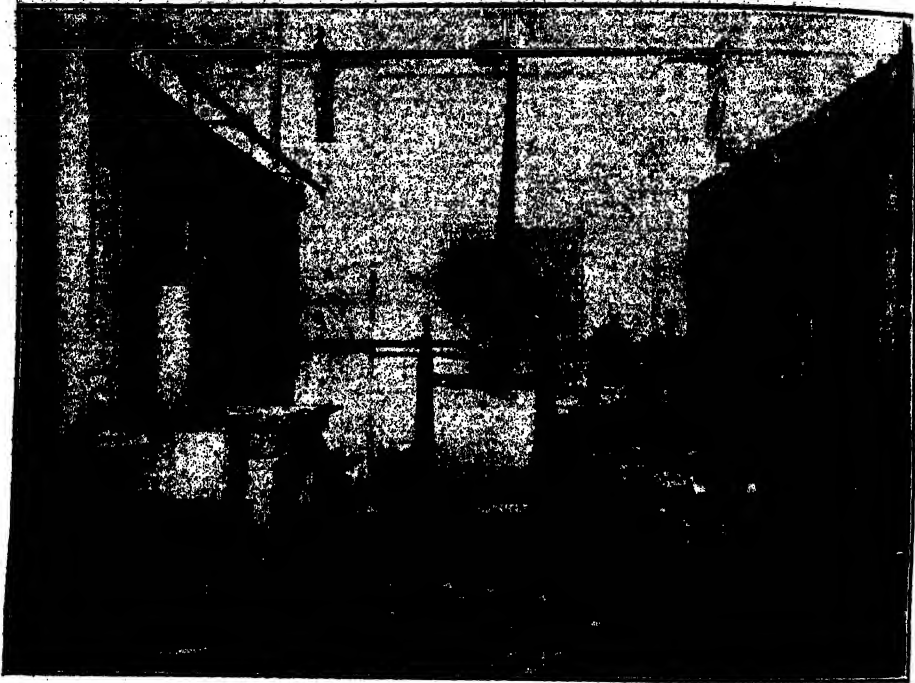
throughout. In soldering lead hydrogen gas has to be used. This work cannot be done except by expert leadmen. The Company have trained their leadmen themselves. The chambers have been made with such skill that specialists have pronounced it as their opinion that even if skilled leadmen had been brought out from England the work could not have been done better. The work of the chambers goes on day and night and every day some 4,000 pounds of acid are manufactured. Gilders and aerated water manufacturers purchase large quantities of acid. The Company supply acid to the Mint, the Government Telegraph Workshop, the Government Ammunition Factories, &c.

The sale of acid in this country is limited because there do not exist here many correlated industries. So much acid is consumed in Alum, Soda, Bleaching powder and Galvanizing factories, that for each of these factories an acid-making concern is

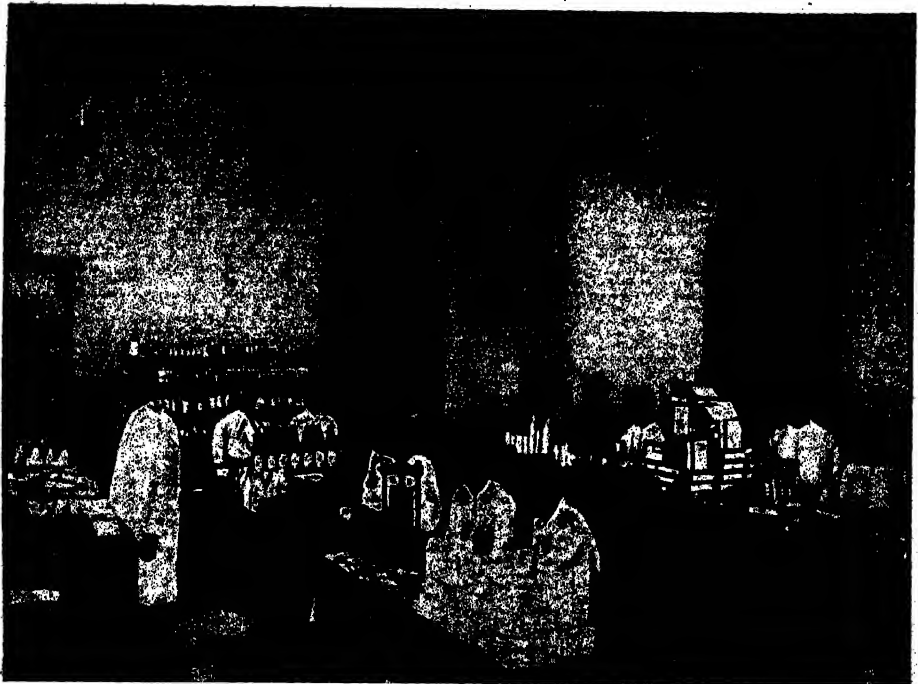


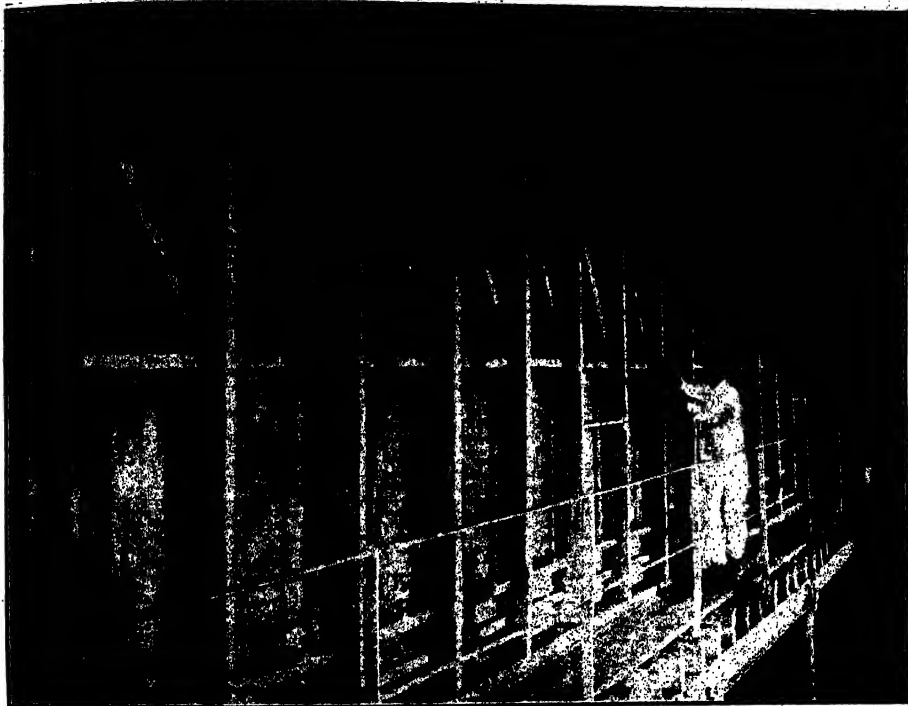
Workshop—Turnman's Corner, B. C. P. W.



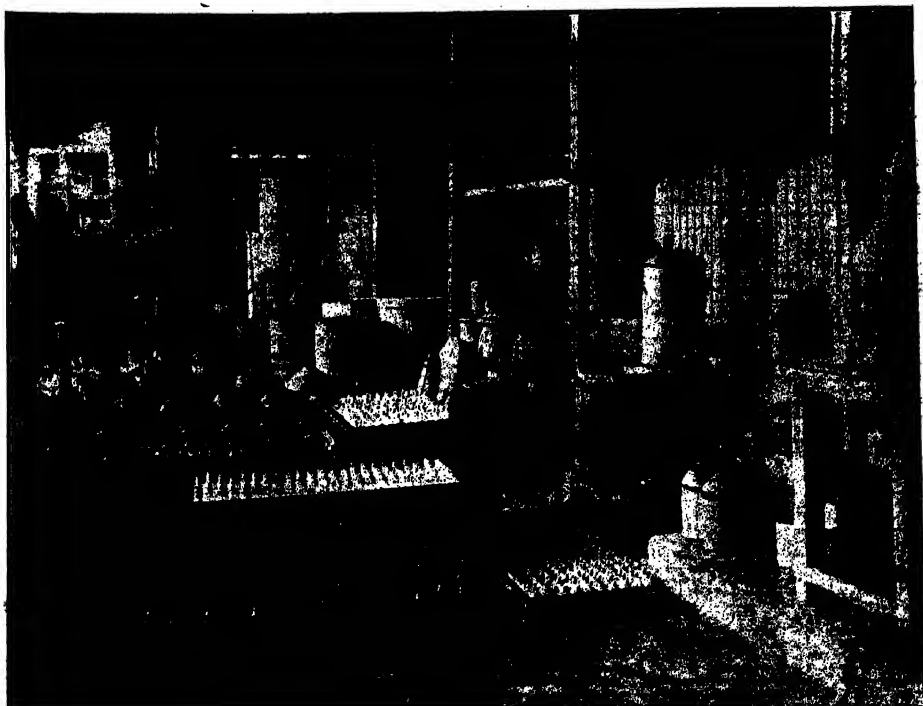


Pharmacy—Concentration and Extraction Pans, B. C. P. W.





Acid Works—Sulphuric Acid Chamber, B. C. P. W.





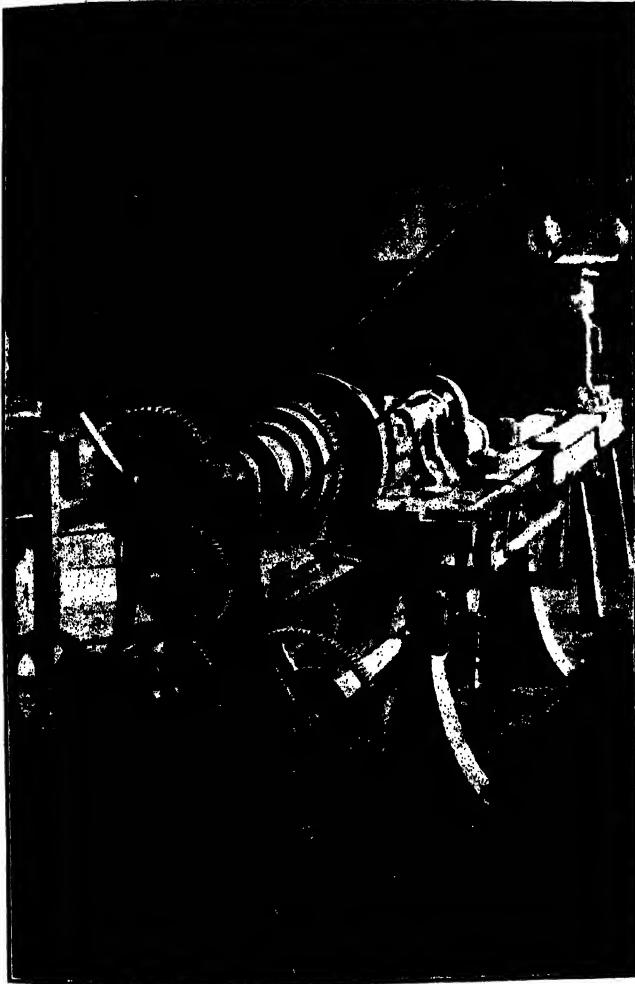
Workshop—Drilling Machine, B. C. P. W.

sure to have enough work. The reasons are many why these industries have not yet been started in this country and there is no early prospect of their being started. The main obstacle in the way of establishing Alum and Soda factories, for instance, is the excessive Railway freights. One can get out goods from England to Calcutta for much less than from the Central Provinces. Everywhere in Europe sulphuric acid is made from pyrites; the manufacture of that chemical from sulphur has become obsolete there. Pyrites are far cheaper than sulphur. But good pyrites have not yet

been found in India. It would have been convenient if pyrites could be imported from Spain, but after paying for their carriage by steamer, there is not much chance of making a profit. We learnt that Bombayites still import their sulphuric acid from England. Owing to the prohibitive railway rates, it is not practicable to send acid from Calcutta to Bombay. It would perhaps have paid if the firm could open an acid factory in Bombay.

On entering the Works, a wilderness of pipes at once arrests one's attention: Steam pipes, air pipes, unfiltered water pipes, filtered water pipes, &c., there is no end of them. It is also useless for a layman to try to remember the names of the various machines made use of,—Percolator, Extractor, Evaporator, Tincture Press, Filter Press, Disintegrator, and so on. Our familiar drugs, Bāsak, Guruchi, Kutaja, Neem, &c., pass through these machines, and come out with different colors, odors, properties and names. It is by these preparations from indigenous drugs that the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works have found their way to the hearts of Indians.

A time there was when students of medicine used to come to India for medical education, from Arabia, Persia, Tibet, China and Ceylon. Two thousand years ago Dioscordes came from Greece and received his medical training here. There is no doubt that Charak and Susruta flourished not less than 2500 years ago. In point of antiquity the Ashtāṅghridaya of Śaṅghata comes next, being 2100 years old. It is some

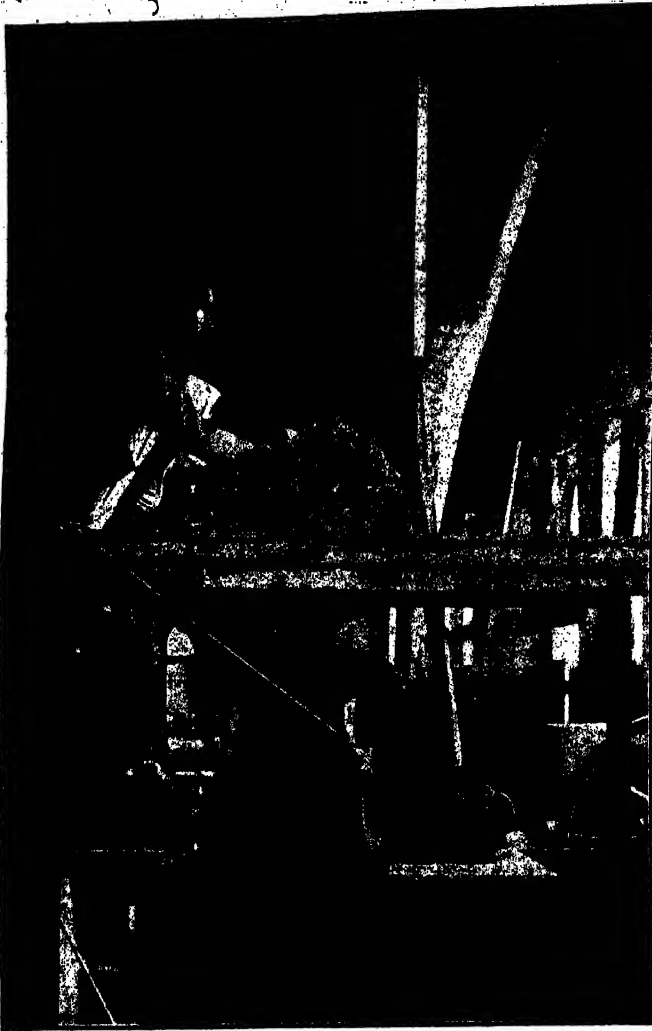


Workshop—Turnman's Corner, B. C. P. W.

ten centuries ago that there were Hindu medical men as court physicians at the courts of the Caliphs of Bagdad. From this time forward the Hindu medical system had its days of glory for several centuries. During this period it was that metallic medicines, alkalis and mercurial preparations found place in that system. In succeeding ages that scientific spirit of enquiry of Hindu physicians which had led the public to value the Ayurvedic system, underwent a sad decline. That system has reached its present backward condition, because its practitioners have for generations stuck to purely

traditionary methods. Even in the last century the system was in a better condition. The progress of allopathy bids fair to rob it of the little vogue that it still enjoys. Drs. Kanai Lal Dey, Uday Chand Dutt, Ainslie, Waring, Wise, &c., made praiseworthy experiments to ascertain the virtues of indigenous drugs and preparations. As the result of their investigations, they have in many cases confirmed the statements made in the Hindu materia medica regarding their properties. But as the indigenous preparations were not manufactured in their days according to modern scientific methods, their endeavours did not produce the results desired in the direction of bringing them into use. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works have deserved well of the public by taking up this line of work.

At present in their pharmaceutical department their activity is mainly confined to the manufacture of Indian medicines. For sometime they prepared tinctures with imported spirits. For the last two years or so the Excise Department, in pursuance of a new enactment, has been imposing such heavy duties on imported foreign spirits, that British-made tinctures sell cheaper here than foreign spirits. The duty on country spirits has not been enhanced, but its smell is so bad, that it cannot be used for tinctures. On account of these difficulties, the Company almost had given up the idea of manufacturing tinctures according to the British Pharmacopoea. But on account of the comparatively low duty on country spirits, they have decided to open a distil-



Disintegrator—For Powdering Drugs, B. C. P. W.

lery of their own and manufacture their spirits there. In addition to making rectified spirits for medicines there, they hope to make methylated spirits too. With this object in view the capital of the Company has been increased by two lakhs, making the total five lakhs. For the last few years, a dividend of 6½ per cent has been paid to the share-holders on a capital of 3 lakhs.

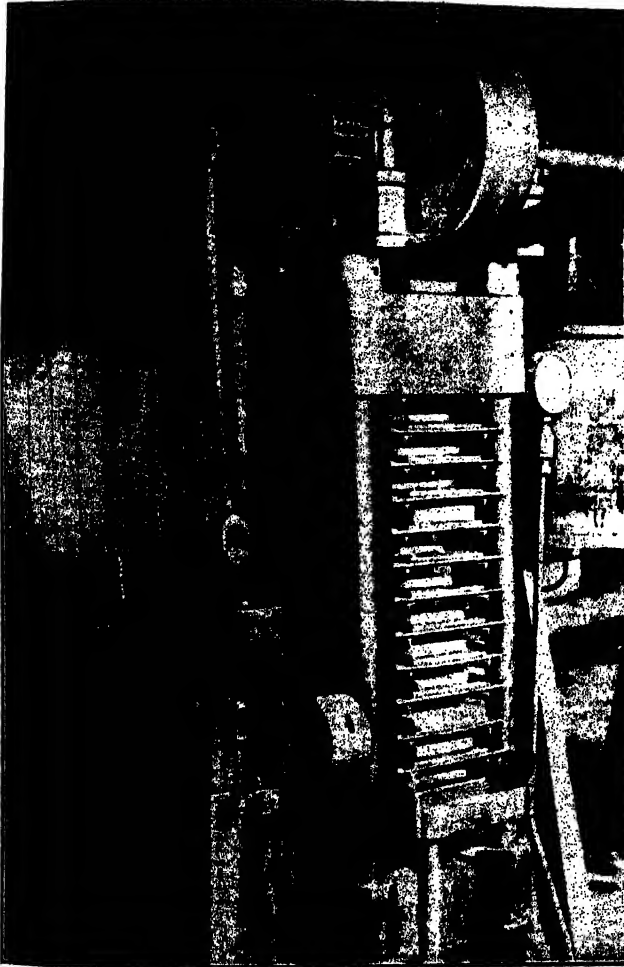
At present Mahuā worth many lakhs of rupees is exported to foreign countries. In Germany, cattle, sheep and pigs are fed on Mahuā. A considerable portion of the

open a distillery, they will purchase Mahuā worth some thirty to forty thousand rupees every year. At present Germany and Java are contending for supremacy in the Indian spirits market. The Dutch colonists in Java have reduced the price of their spirits considerably. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works hope to sell their spirits at even cheaper prices than Java spirits, and still make a profit. They have succeeded in everything that they have set their hands to. It is hoped that they will succeed in the spirits business too. Cheap spirits for medicinal use have not yet been manufactured in this country. So that the business would be a new one.

In their perfumery department, they prepare essences, hair oils, &c., from Indian flowers. In the seasons when particular flowers open, their employees go to Cuttack, Ghazipur, Kanauj, &c., with

machinery, and obtain extracts by special contrivances. From these extracts essences are made in the laboratory here with small machines. In these essences, other ingredients are also used, in order to make them suited to the taste of the public.

The Works being situated on a canal, it is very convenient to load and unload goods from ships and boats. Within and without the Pharmacy and the Acid shed everywhere trolley lines have been laid. This has made the conveyance of goods very easy. The works have obtained license to draw water from the canal, and have laid



Hydraulic Press-Oil Mill, B. C. P. W.

pipes accordingly. Whenever needed, water is pumped from the canal into the small lake or pond situated within the compound. There are several bullock carts for the conveyance of goods to and from the office and the Works. There is a private telephone connection between the office and the factory. No arrangement is wanting that may make for convenience, economy or safety. They have a fire-brigade of their own consisting of twenty men. The men have become well-trained in their work. Every week twice or thrice the alarm bell is sounded and the men are drilled. At any hour of the day or night, it does not require more than three minutes, after the alarm is given, to throw a copious jet of water on any given point. This was demonstrated in our presence. Occasionally, at dead of night, all of a sudden the alarm bell is given and the men are drilled in their work by torch-light.

May we have many such well-planned and well-managed successful Swadeshi concerns.

COMPULSORY ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

I—THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

THE subject of compulsory and free elementary education has been brought to the fore in our country by the untiring efforts of one single individual. It required a public man of the eminence and ability of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to

achieve this heroic result. In 1910 he set the ball rolling by moving a resolution on the subject in the Imperial Council. Next year he introduced a little private bill; after a more or less perfunctory discussion the bill was circulated for opinion among local Governments and public bodies. In

March of this year it again came up before the Council and was hotly debated there. A motion to refer it to a Select Committee was carried to a division and defeated, 13 voting for and 38 against it. It would be entirely superficial to judge from this that nothing was gained; for the whole country was roused from indifference into a sympathetic watchfulness, the need for the spread of popular education was admitted by the authorities in unmistakeable language, a definite progressive policy was formulated by the Minister for education, and the ultimate success of the cause of free and compulsory elementary education was assured.

In this and the next article we propose to give a connected history of the subject, showing how the policy of the Government first took shape and was gradually developed leading to an account of Mr. Gokhale's Bill with the arguments *pro* and *con* advanced in the two debates in the Viceroy's Council in March of last year and this year. Any special points not covered by the debates will be referred to in footnotes.

"Throughout all ages," observed the Education Despatch of 1854,* "learned Hindus and Mahomedans have devoted themselves to teaching, with little other remuneration than a bare subsistence; and munificent bequests have not unfrequently been made for the permanent endowment of educational institutions." The Court of Directors acknowledged their own responsibilities in the matter of Indian education in the following terms:

"It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may under Providence derive from her connection with England."

Regarding mass education in particular, they observed:

"Our attention should now be directed to a consideration...which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected; namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts; and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed for the future to this object,

* The Despatch is said to have been drafted by John Stuart Mill.

for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure."

This, it will be seen, is the first definite announcement of a liberal and progressive policy in the matters of elementary education. The next great landmark is Lord Ripon's Education Commission of 1882. The Commission made several recommendations in 1883, of which the first two were:

(i) "While every branch of education might justly claim the fostering care of the State it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in still larger measure than heretofore."

(ii) "An attempt be made for the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province."

It will be observed that the second resolution called attention to the need for legislation for the diffusion of elementary education. No such legislation has, however, been undertaken as yet. Mr. Gokhale's Bill was an attempt to remedy this defect, but it was not passed into law.

Lord Curzon's Resolution on Indian Educational Policy, dated 11th March 1904, contained a further definite declaration of the Government's intentions on the subject. The resolution states:—

"The Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State. They undertake this responsibility, not merely on general grounds, but because, as Lord Lawrence observed in 1868, 'Among all the sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people.'"

"On a general view of the question the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary

* How true this is, may be illustrated from an incident which came within the writer's personal knowledge. About a couple of months ago, his little boy told him that a gang of Government emissaries were about with a view to seize little children and carry them off to Sara Ghat, there to be sacrificed before the spirit of the new bridge. On being questioned, the boy said that he had heard the story from other school boys (mostly sons of peasants); the servants in all seriousness confirmed it; the barber who ranges over the whole countryside repeated the tale in mysterious accents; a female member of the family said that she had received a letter from her mother (an orthodox illiterate lady) in another district warning her to keep a careful watch over the children; and the frank incredulity of the writer was regarded by the illiterate section of his household as the pernicious result of a foreign education.

education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon Provincial revenues and that in those Provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation."

'The indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education' and 'the calamities of famine and plague' are referred to as impediments to the expansion of elementary education; but the resolution adds, that 'these, however, are minor obstacles, and would soon be swept away if the main difficulty of finding the requisite funds for extending primary education could be overcome'. 'The wider extension of education in India,' truly observes the Resolution, 'is chiefly a matter of increased expenditure; and any material improvement of its quality is largely dependent upon the same condition'.

In 1907, the Government of India issued a circular letter to all local Governments advocating that fees should be abolished as far as possible in primary schools and primary education should be made largely free. There is reason to believe that the circular was not productive of much good, for lack of funds prevented the introduction of the scheme in most places.

The enunciation of policy to which it is next necessary to refer occurs in the speech of Mr. Orange, Director-general of Education, in connection with Mr. Gokhale's Resolution of 1910. He said :

"Are we content to remain where we are? Are we satisfied with the rate at which we are progressing and ought we to be satisfied? To these questions the Hon'ble member (Mr. Gokhale) answers No, and I also most emphatically answer No.....I am not by any means against the principle of free primary education, and I am disposed to think that anything like universal primary education in this country would be incompatible with the retention of fees.....In my opinion, the stage which we should next endeavour to reach is one in which the increase of our expenditure will become less a matter of chance and more a matter of calculation, that we may put before ourselves some defined standard up to which we may hope within some reasonable and not too distant limit of time to arrive in the diffusion of educational facilities; that the cost of reaching this point may be more or less definitely ascertained, and that the provision of the funds required may become part of a settled financial policy."

It would be useful here to glance at the

island kingdoms of the East and the West to appreciate what was being done in other countries during all these years for promoting universal national education. In England from 1840 to 1870 administrative and legislative efforts were alike directed towards greater efficiency of teaching and the provision of trained teachers. In 1870 a law was passed which required the compulsory provision of educational facilities in every locality and empowered local authorities to introduce compulsory attendance. In 1876 a further law was enacted requiring parents to send their children compulsorily to school. In 1880 the whole fabric was completed and it no longer remained optional with local authorities to introduce compulsion but the law made it obligatory on them to do so. In 1881 England made education free. The modern educational system of Japan dates from 1872, when the Emperor issued the famous rescript: 'It is designed henceforth that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, or a family with an ignorant member.' In 1890 education was made strictly compulsory, and in 1900 Japan made education practically free.

The total amount spent on education by the Government of India and the public bodies together, including the amount raised from fees (Rs. 1½ crores), is six crores of rupees, of which the State contributes nearly 2½ crores. The military expenditure of the Government, it may be stated here for purposes of comparison or rather contrast, is about 32 crores of rupees a year. Out of every hundred rupees budgetted for expenditure this year, Rs. 4 has been allotted to education and Rs. 24 to military charges. The expenditure on primary education in particular, is now about 1½ crores a year, a large portion of this having been incurred since 1910. Ten years ago, it was 63 lakhs only, of which a paltry 17 lakhs came from the coffers of the State. During the quarter of a century which elapsed between the Viceroyalties of Lord Ripon and Lord Minto, the expenditure on primary education had advanced by roughly speaking 57 lakhs a year, whereas during the same period military expenditure had advanced by about 13 crores a year and land revenue by 8 crores a year. The number of pupils in primary

schools was 32 lakhs in 1901, and 40 lakhs in 1910. In the former year there were only 5 lakhs of girls in schools in all India. In the course of a quarter of a century the progress of primary education in this country is represented by an advance from 1·2 per cent to 1·9 per cent of the total population. Assuming that there is no increase of population in all India—an obviously impossible assumption—at this rate nearly a century will be required for every boy and nearly six centuries for every girl of school-going age to be at school.* Regarding the extent of elementary education, the Resolution of 1904 observes :

"It is commonly reckoned that fifteen per cent of the population are of school-going age. According to this standard there are more than eighteen millions of boys who ought now to be at school, but of these only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education. If the statistics are arranged by provinces, it appears that out of a hundred boys of an age to go to school, the number attending primary schools of some kind, ranges from between eight and nine in the Punjab and the United Provinces, to twenty-two and twenty-three in Bombay and Bengal.† In the census of 1901 it was found that only one in ten of the male population and only seven in a thousand of the female population were literate. These figures exhibit the vast dimensions of the problem, and show how much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognised as indispensable in more advanced countries."

The statistics collected by Mr. Gokhale exhibit the subject in its true bearings at a glance. Here is the passage :

"Whether we consider the extent of literacy among the population, or the proportion of those actually at school, or the system of education adopted, or the amount of money expended on primary education,

* Referring to this aspect of the question, Principal James of the Presidency College, Calcutta, in his book on *Education and Statesmanship in India* (1911) says that 'the contrast between what has been done and the doctrine of free compulsory education is grotesque.' His conclusion is that compulsory education is beyond the horizon and free education on any comprehensive scale of doubtful expediency. It is however fortunate that the limited vision of a schoolmaster does not obscure the policy of Sir Harcourt Butler, the Education Minister. Mr. Gokhale's scheme, as will be seen hereafter, is a mere beginning in the direction of free compulsory education. In reply to the objection which he anticipated that the scheme was not comprehensive enough, he quoted the poet's lines :

'I do not ask to see the distant scene :
One step enough for me.'

† This does not include the *beel* tracts of Eastern Bengal, which are the most 'backward' with regard to education in all India.

India is far far behind other civilised countries. Take literacy. While in India, according to the figures of the census of 1901, less than six per cent of the whole population could read and write, even in Russia, the most backward of European countries educationally, the proportion of literates at the last census was about 25 p.c., while in many European countries, as also the United States of America, and Canada and Australia, almost the entire population is now able to read and write. As regards attendance at School, I think it will be well to quote once more the statistics which I mentioned in moving my resolution of last year. They are as follows :—'In the United States of America, 21 p.c. of the whole population is receiving elementary education; in Canada, in Australia, in Switzerland, and in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion ranges from 20 to 17 p.c.; in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Norway and in the Netherlands the proportion is from 17 to 15 per cent; in France it is slightly above 14 p.c.; in Sweden it is 14 p.c.; in Denmark it is 13 p.c.; in Belgium it is 12 p.c.; in Japan it is 11 p.c.; in Italy, Greece and Rome it ranges between 8 and 9 p.c.; in Portugal and Russia it is between 4 and 5 p.c.; whereas in British India it is only 1·9 p.c.' Turning next to the systems of education adopted in different countries, we find that while in most of them education is both compulsory and free, and in a few, though the principle of compulsion is not strictly enforced or has not yet been introduced, it is either wholly or for the most part gratuitous, in India alone it is neither compulsory nor free. Thus in Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and Japan, it is both compulsory and free, the period of compulsion being generally six years, though in some of the American States it is now as long as nine years. In Holland, elementary education is compulsory, but not free. In Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania, it is free, and in theory compulsory, though compulsion is not strictly enforced. In Turkey too, it is free and nominally compulsory, and in Russia, though compulsion has not yet been introduced, it is for the most part gratuitous. Lastly, if we take the expenditure on elementary education in different countries per head of the population, even allowing for different money values in different countries, we find that India is simply nowhere in the comparison. The expenditure per head of the population is highest in the United States, being no less than 16s.; in Switzerland, it is 13s. 8d. per head; in Australia, 11s. 3d.; in England and Wales, 10s.; in Canada, 9s. 8d.; in Scotland, 9s. 7½d.; in Germany, 6s. 10d.; in Ireland, 6s. 5d.; in the Netherlands, 8s. 4½d.; in Sweden, 5s. 7d.; in Belgium, 5s. 4d.; in Norway, 5s. 1d.; in France, 4s. 10d.; in Austria, 3s. 1½d.; in Spain, 1s. 7½d.; in Servia and Japan, 1s. 2d.; in Russia, 7½d.; while in India, it is barely one penny.*

No wonder that the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, following his chief, Sir H. Butler, should say in the Council: 'I have a very great horror of these analogies whether transmarine or otherwise, for they betray that

* In Baroda, the expenditure per head is 6½d.

India is in a plight which is hopelessly incapable of justification.....Here is Mr. Gokhale's retort:

"The Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir Harcourt) Butler declines to accept my analogies and says that the state of things in this country is different to what it is elsewhere; and as regards Baroda, he says that it is governed autocratically and that makes a great difference. Western countries will not do, because they are governed democratically! Baroda will not do, because it is governed autocratically! I suppose the Hon'ble member will not be satisfied unless I produce the analogy of a country governed bureaucratically; and as there is no other country governed as India is, he is safe in insisting on such an analogy, and I must say I give it up."

The system of free compulsory education originated in Germany and rapidly spread over Europe and America. Three movements have combined to give mass education the place it occupies at present among the duties of a State—the humanitarian movement which reformed prisons and liberated the slave, the democratic movement which admitted large masses of men to a participation in Government and the industrial movement which brought home to nations the recognition that the general spread of education in a country even when it did not proceed beyond the elementary stage, meant the increased efficiency of the worker. Elementary education of the mass of the people means something more than a mere capacity to read and write. It means for them a keener enjoyment of life and the more refined standard of living. It means the greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual. It means a higher level of intelligence for the whole community generally. Mr. Orange says:—

"But even if the case rested solely upon material considerations, those who know best the present difficulties which beset the improvement of agriculture among an insufficiently instructed peasantry, or the building up of great industries with the labour of illiterate artisans, advise us that when we do face the cost of a great system of popular education in this country, we shall find the expenditure on it to be not wholly, and not ultimately, unproductive."

Again, says Lord Curzon's Resolution of 1904:—

"To the people themselves the lack of education is now a more serious disadvantage than it was in more primitive days. By the extension of railways the economic side of agriculture in India has been greatly developed, and the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world, and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is

at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have at the same time increased with the development of schemes for improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the legal position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition."

The latest pronouncements on the policy of the Government were made in the course of the debate in the Imperial Council on Mr. Gokhale's Bill on the 18th and 19th March of this year. We shall close this article with a few extracts from the speeches of official and non-official members to indicate the present attitude of the authorities in regard to this momentous question.

Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's opening speech:—

"No one is so simple as to imagine that a system of universal education will necessarily mean an end to all our ills, or that it will open out to us a new heaven and a new earth. Men and women will still continue to struggle with their imperfections, and life will still be a scene of injustice and suffering, of selfishness and strife. Poverty will not be banished because illiteracy has been removed, and the need for patriotic and philanthropic work will not grow any the less. But with the diffusion of universal education the mass of our countrymen will have a better chance in life. With universal education there will be hope of better success for all efforts, official and non-official, for the amelioration of the people,—their social progress, their moral improvement, their economic well-being. I think, my Lord, with universal education the mass of the people will be better able to take care of themselves against the exactions of unscrupulous money-lenders or against the abuses of official authority by petty men in power. My Lord, with 94 per cent of our countrymen sunk in ignorance, how can the advantages of sanitation and thrift be properly appreciated, and how can the industrial efficiency of the

* It will be of interest to many to know what Swami Vivekananda, 'a living epitome of the national life' as Sister Nivedita calls him, thought on the subject: "...to Vivekananda, the absorbing question was, how to give secular education to the People. He saw, of course, that the energy and co-operation of the whole nation was necessary, if material prosperity was to be brought back to India. And he knew well enough that the restoration of material prosperity was an imperative need....He also felt, probably, that only by the spread of knowledge could the country as a whole be kept steadfast in its reverence for the greatness of its own inherited culture, intellectual and religious. In any case, new life could only be poured into the veins of the higher classes, by a great movement of forth-reaching to the democracy....The sublimated common sense that men call genius, was to the full as likely to occur in the small shopkeeper, or in the peasant taken from the plough, as in the Brahmin or the Kayasth."—*The Master as I saw him* (1910), pages 373-74.

worker be improved? With 94 per cent of the people unable to read or write, how can the evil of superstition be effectively combated, and how can the general level of the country be raised? My Lord, His Majesty the King Emperor, in delivering his message of hope to the people of this country before he left Calcutta was pleased to say: 'And it is my wish too that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with what follows in its train—a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health.' No nobler words were ever uttered. May we not hope that the servants of His Majesty in this country will keep these words constantly before their minds and will so discharge the responsibility which they impose that future generations in this country will be enabled to turn to His Majesty's declaration with the same fervent and reverent gratitude with which the people of Japan recall their Emperor's famous rescript of 1872?"

The Hon. Mr. Sharp :

"The Hon'ble Mr. Juinah, if I heard him aright today, asked 'Do you seriously say that education will breed sedition?' Who said that? What did the Hon'ble Member for Education say last year? I quote from memory—'Ignorance is our greatest enemy; and we pray for light to expose and shatter this insidious foe.' We are not keeping the people back; we are not keeping them in ignorance and darkness; we desire intelligent friends. It is the social system of India which keeps people in ignorance and darkness; and it is British rule which has given them light and some knowledge...For sixty years the Government of this country has been preaching this doctrine of mass education—the aim to which freedom and compulsion alike are only a means...And for sixty years the Government of this country has evoked very little response—until quite recently. I think that everybody in this Council must have been profoundly struck with the extraordinary revulsion of feeling which has occurred in the last few years among the educated classes in this country in regard to mass education. Towards that revulsion of feeling Mr. Gokhale's propagandism has substantially contributed. He has brought round many of his fellow-countrymen, men of his own class and of his own mode of thought, to the views of Government in this matter. There is still, however, much difference of opinion among them."

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :

"We are really working for the same object. I should rejoice no less than they [the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and those who support his motion] to see a condition of things in India in which elementary vernacular education could be free and compulsory. The Government of India are deeply concerned to bring about such a condition of things. We are

* This is what Principal James says at page 94 of his book, on the policy of the Government on the subject of mass education: "As regards aims and policy, then, there has been consistency of statement and a growth in the extensive perception of the responsibility involved from 1854 to 1904. But recognition of the greatness of the problem and affirmation of the duty of accepting responsibility for it, though valuable as incitements to effort, leaves things just as they were, until words and intentions take shape in action."

convinced of the necessity of breaking down illiteracy in the country. Every mile of railroad opened displays at once the need of more elementary education and throws into sharper relief the drawbacks of popular illiteracy. For more than fifty years from the time of the Despatch of 1854 to the Resolution of Lord Curzon's Government in 1904, and since then, the British Government of India has preached persistently the need for diffusion of vernacular elementary education. And we have not confined our interest to words only. In 1902 we gave a recurring grant of 40 lakhs a year for general education, including primary education. We followed that up in 1905 with a sum of 35½ lakhs a year as a recurring grant for primary education alone. In the distribution of the allotments of nonrecurring grants last year, a very considerable sum was set apart for primary education, and the greater part of the 50 lakhs recurring grant which was announced by command of His Imperial Majesty at Delhi has already been devoted to the same object. We must all feel, we all do feel, the splendid services which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has rendered to the cause that we have at heart. He has created an enthusiasm for elementary education in classes which have hitherto been indifferent to its diffusion. We welcome his support in this matter, although we cannot agree with him as to the measures to be adopted.....I must oppose the farther progress of this Bill on the ground that it is premature and calculated to damage the cause of elementary education. But this does not imply any hostility to the principles which underlie it. Our mind is fixed to spread and to improve elementary education. We believe that great progress is possible, that India in varying degrees is at last waking up to the advantages of elementary education. We see that there has been real progress under the voluntary system. In the last ten years the number of public elementary schools alone has increased from under 98,000 to over 120,000 and the number of boys at school from under 3½ millions to over 4½ millions.....I grant you that we are not satisfied—we are profoundly dissatisfied with the general rate of progress; but we are advised by all our experts that it can be enormously accelerated by the provision of funds to finance schemes of advancement. We are working out those schemes with Local Governments....We hope to finance those schemes with liberal grants from Imperial revenues. On the solemn occasion of the Delhi Durbar, in the most solemn manner, we have recognised the predominant claims of education on the resources of the Indian Empire and announced our firm intention to add to the fifty lakhs recurring grant further grants in future years on a generous scale. We desire to spread schools throughout the land and to raise and make more practical the whole character of our primary education. Primary education cannot do everything. It cannot, as my Hon'ble friend said, create a new heaven and a new earth. It cannot on a sudden lift the veil and open up new avenues to prosperity. There are limits—we have touched them in the West—to what education can put in that Nature has left out and to what education can take out that Nature has put in. But it can do much. It can fit the masses in this country to cope on more equal terms with the forces—the strong on-pressing forces—of material progress. It can—in time it can—create greater adaptability to agricultural and industrial

advancement. It can enlarge the minds and brighten the outlook of the people and foster progressive desire which is the root of the economic growth of a community. There are many difficulties ahead. But we shall not flinch, we shall not falter in the way. Though our views may differ as to means, we are all united as to the end,—the Government of India, the Local Governments, the Departments of Public Instruction, and enlightened public opinion are single-eyed as to the end in view. We are determined, resolutely determined, to combat ignorance through the length and breadth of this ancient land, up and down and to and fro, and though the struggle may be long and arduous, I do believe, my Lord, with all my heart I do believe, we shall prevail."

The Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao :

"The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has set up the goal of universal literacy as recognised in Western countries and in Japan. Has the Hon'ble Member for Education this same goal in view as a result of the policy of expansion he has outlined? Otherwise there is no agreement between him and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. If he has the same goal, as I hope and trust he has, how does he propose to reach it? What is the alternative he proposes, when he rejects the proposal of compulsion as contained in this Bill? According to the policy of diffusion which he has set forth, when does he hope to reach the goal and attain the level to which Japan, England and other civilised countries have risen? I am afraid that, so long as he is content merely with this policy of expansion, we can never hope to see, even in the distant future, even after a century or more, India placed nearly on the same footing as other civilised countries.....It seems to me that the Government of India feel some nervousness in committing themselves to legislation in this matter, as it would bind them to a definite policy on which they cannot go back, whereas if the matter is left to executive action, they would have a

free hand to shape their policy according to their pleasure or necessity. Now, Sir, if there is one matter more than another, in regard to which we want the Government of India to lay down a definite line of policy and be bound by it, it is in the matter of education, vitally affecting the future of India, a concern, above all others, to be preserved from the mutations of policy or the idiosyncrasies of the authorities for the time being."

Mr. Gokhale, with his usual "sweet reasonableness," took a more hopeful view of the Education Minister's speech. In his concluding remarks the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale observed :

"...it goes much further than any pronouncement on the part of Government has previously done. The Hon'ble Member [Sir H. Butler] stated at the beginning that no one would rejoice more than himself if primary education became free and compulsory in the country, and that it was the policy of the Government to so work that that desirable consummation should be brought about. That commits the Government of India, first, to an approval of the principle of free and compulsory education, and secondly, to so conduct their educational operations that the time for making education free and compulsory would be hastened and not indefinitely put off. That, taken with the determination announced at the close of the speech, amounts to a practical promise that sooner than many of us imagine, the State will help us to reach the goal which we have before our eyes, the goal of free and compulsory education."

In the next article we shall deal with the Bill itself, and the arguments advanced both in its favour and against it.

POL.

THE KRISHNA OF THE BHAGAVADGITA*

WE have seen in our first lecture that the story of Krishna is more or less mythical and legendary. In our second lecture we have seen that if all that the *Mahābhārata* and the Puranas say about him is true, he cannot have been an incarnation of God. In the present lecture let us for a moment forget the conclusions of our first two lectures. Let us take it for granted that Krishna, the Krishna who uttered the *Bhagavadgita*, was a historical person, and that he did not bear the objectionable character which our poets ascribe

* The third of the Raja Surya Rao lectures on the Religion and Philosophy of the *Bhagavadgita*.

to him. With these suppositions in our mind, we have now to ask the question, "In what sense did Krishna believe and declare himself to be God incarnate?" and the similar question, "In what sense did Arjuna and the author of the *Bhagavadgita* accept him as such a divine being?" It seems to me that it is not worthwhile to enter into the system of philosophy and spiritual culture given in the *Gita* before answering these questions, for their right answers seem to be, as will gradually be seen, the very key to that system. Those who have not answered these questions, or have answered them wrongly, seem to have read the *Gita*

to little profit. However, before taking up these questions, we may as well dispose of another, one which too is important, though not so important as the other two. That question is whether the author of the *Gita* believed Krishna, the Krishna who speaks in his book, to be a historical person, or he is only a creation of his devout imagination. Now, I confess that it is not possible to answer this question satisfactorily and that we can only make a more or less reasonable guess. As we have seen in our first lecture, the *Bhagavadgita* is a more or less late addition to the original *Mahabharata* and that before it was added to the original poem, Krishna had already had a place in it. The Krishna legend, then, in some form or other, was known to and not invented by the author of the *Gita* and his contemporaries. Whether he accepted it as a legend or as history, we have no means of deciding. It cannot indeed be said that the critical spirit which now leads us to sift historical evidence before accepting it, was absent in his days. Some of our ancient writers display this spirit in a keen form, but how far they applied it to matters historical, I cannot say. It is still more doubtful how far the author of the *Gita* imbibed that spirit. That he was a philosopher, admits of no doubt; but the whole of his tenth chapter and the beginning of his fourth chapter betray a strong Puranic tendency in him,—a tendency to accept legend as history. It seems likely therefore that he accepted Krishna as a historical person and the main incidents of the Kurukshetra war as historical. It may also be that when he wrote, he found Krishna already deified and shared in the popular belief. But even if this much be admitted, it does not follow that Krishna's colloquy with Arjuna in the battle-field was one of the incidents that had come down to the author of the *Gita* as a tradition. That may very well be a creation of his poetic imagination,—a creation intended to teach and impress on the minds of his readers some of the highest lessons on spiritual life. That this is so, seems to be probable, as I already hinted in my first lecture, from a comparison of the third *valli* of the first chapter of the *Kathopanishad* with the *Gita* story. That the composition of the *Kathopanishad* preceded that of the *Gita* and that

the author of the latter was a diligent reader of the former, we have already seen in our first lecture. Now, the *Kathopanishad* text I refer to are the following* :—

"Know the self to be the charioteer and the body to be the chariot, the understanding to be the driver and the sensorium to be the reins. Wise men have described the senses to be horses, the objects taken into them to be the roads, and the self, endowed with the senses and the sensorium, to be the subject (lit. the enjoyer). The senses of him who is unwise, with a mind always uncontrolled, are unmanageable like the naughty horses of a driver. The senses of him who is wise, with a mind always under control, are manageable like the good horses of a driver. He who is unwise, of an uncontrolled mind, and always unholy, does not attain that (i.e. the highest) place, but attains mundane existence. He who is wise, of a controlled mind, and always holy, attains that place from which one is not born again. The man whose driver is wisdom, and whose reins consists of the sensorium, reaches the end of the path—the highest place of the All-pervading. The objects are superior to the senses, the understanding superior to the sensorium, and the great soul (the cosmic soul—Brahma) superior to the understanding. The Undeveloped (seed of the world) is superior to the great soul, and the Supreme Person superior to the undeveloped. There is nothing superior to the Person; He is the end, the highest goal."

Now, it seems to me that the author of the *Gita*, as he meditated on this passage of the *Kathopanishad*, the last part of which he reproduces in substance at the end of his third chapter, the idea of writing his great work arose in his mind. The body as a chariot, the individual self as the occupier, Reason or the Supreme Being as the driver of the chariot, the senses as horses, the world of sense as the road to be travelled over, the attainment of perfection by him who is guided by the voice of God in Reason and the misery of him who trusts himself to to the irrational guidance of his senses and sensuous impulses,—all these facts of the spiritual life seemed to him capable of being represented allegorically as Krishna driving the chariot of Arjuna and imparting to him the highest wisdom,—wisdom that should teach him not to trust himself to the guidance of momentary impulses, such as he might be conceived to feel at the first sight of the battle-field, but to follow the advice of him, Krishna, Arjuna's friend and the friend of the whole world. It may be that the story of Krishna's serving as Arjuna's charioteer and of his saying

* We omit the original texts and give only the English Translation.—Ed. M. R.

something to cheer and guide him at the beginning of the battle, had preceded the author of the *Gita*, and that the latter worked upon that story as a nucleus and developed it into a regular poem by drawing upon his own imagination and spiritual experiences. But whoever may have first conceived the fundamental idea of the poem, whether it was the author of the complete *Gita* or some predecessor from whom he got it, the original source seems to have been the *Katha* passage extracted by me. The *Kathopanishad* itself, I may remark by the way, owed its first inception to *Sūkta* 135, *Mandala* x, of the *Rigveda*. It is thus— from the imagination of our earliest poets—that most of our later stories—those of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and the *Puranas*—have arisen. A true estimate of the value of our later literature and of its teachings cannot be formed without a study of the first product of our national genius, the *Rigveda*. Emerson says of Plato in his relation to later European writers, that he makes great havoc on their originalities. The same thing is true of the *Rigveda* in its relation to all later Hindu scriptures.

However, I have now answered the question proposed by me as to the belief of the author of the *Gita* about Krishna. The answer briefly is that probably he believed Krishna to be a historical person, perhaps even as an incarnation of God, but that the story of Krishna's uttering the *Gita* in the battle-field as Arjuna's charioteer is a creation of his devout imagination. But how is such imagination justifiable in a pious man, such as the author of the *Gita* undoubtedly was, if we are to judge him by the lofty teachings embodied in his work? How could he record his own thoughts and experiences as the words of God himself? Now, the answer to this question would also be the answer to the questions propounded by me first in this lecture, namely, "In what sense did Krishna, if he was a historical person, believe and declare himself as God incarnate?" and "In what sense did Arjuna, in case he is historical, and the author of the *Bhagavadgita* accept Krishna as such a divine being?" These questions, therefore, I now proceed to answer.

My answer is that Krishna could declare himself, and Arjuna and the author of the *Gita* could believe him, to be God incarnate

only in the sense in which the national scriptures had taught them to do so. The representation of an individual as identical with the universal Self, as we find it in the *Gita*, is not a unique instance in our national literature. Since the days of the *Upanishads*, it has again and often been taught that the fully awakened soul, one which has been blessed with a knowledge of its true relation to the Absolute, sees that it is essentially one with the latter and fearlessly declares itself to be so. The typical and classical example is that of Indra in the *Kaushitaki Upanishad* in his colloquy with Prataardana. This is discussed and expounded in the *Vedānta Sūtras* and this exposition forms the accepted key to all declarations of identity with Brahman on the part of the *avatāras* in later Sanskrit literature. The *Sūtras* exposition refers to the case of Vāmadeva in the *Rigveda*, implying that Vāmadeva spoke in the same spirit as Indra, and later writers all accept this reference as correct. But it seems to my humble judgment, that the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* is here guilty of an anachronism and credits old Vāmadeva with a wisdom which he really did not possess. The exposition of the old texts of the *Rigveda* in the light of later philosophical knowledge is indeed a common practice with our ancient and mediæval commentators and exponents; but this practice cannot be acceptable to those who have come to a definite conclusion as to the order in which Hindu sacred books were composed and in which the different stages of Hindu thought were developed. To them the interpretation of Vāmadeva's declaration of identity with Manu and Surya in the light of the Monistic philosophy of the *Upanishads* must appear far-fetched and tortuous, for the simple fact that when that declaration was made or conceived, Hindu thought had not attained to the Monistic height to which it rose about the time the *Upanishads* were composed. The *Kaushitaki* passage referred to, and other passages more or less similar to it in the *Upanishads*, specially the *Chhandogya* and the *Bṛihadaranyaka*, must therefore be accepted as instances of the earliest recognition of the doctrine so prominently appearing in the *Gita* that the fully awakened individual self can speak from the stand-

point of and in the name of the Absolute Self. Before, however, I set before you the typical *Kaushitaki* passage, with its exposition by the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* and their chief commentator, Sankaracharya, I shall quote and explain the *Rigveda* text which I pronounce useless for our purpose. It occurs in the 26th *sukta* of the 4th *mandala*, being the first *rik* of the *sukta*. In a footnote attached to the *sukta* in Mr. R. C. Datta's edition of the *Rigveda*, he says that it is declared by the ancient compilers as uttered in praise of the Self or Brahman by Vāmadeva or Indra, but that there is really no mention of the Self anywhere in the hymn. In the first part of it, in the first three *riks*, Indra sings his own praises, already sung in several previous *riks*, and in the remaining four, Vāmadeva speaks of the bringing of *soma* by Syena, the divine hawk. I transcribe the first three *riks* with translation, in which I follow Mr. Datta's Bengali rendering. Reading them with an unbiassed mind, one feels no doubt of the correctness of Mr. Datta's interpretation.

"1. I am Manu, I am Surya, I am the learned sage Kakshiban. I have adorned the sage Kutsa, the son of Arjuni. I am the wise Ushana; look at me. 2. I have given the world to the Arya. I have poured rain for sacrificing men. I have brought roaring water. The devas follow my intentions. 3. I, intoxicated with *soma*, have utterly destroyed many cities of Sambara. When I protected, in his sacrifices, Divodasa, who entertained guests, I gave him a hundred cities."

I now come to the *Kaushitaki* passage which I have pronounced to be the real key to the truly sastric doctrine of divine incarnations. It forms the fourth chapter of the *Upanishad* and is in fact the most important chapter of the book. Of this chapter I say in the introduction to the second volume of my Devanagari and English edition of the *Upanishads*:

"In the person of Indra, liberated by the knowledge of his identity with Brahman, it teaches the unity of all things in an undivided consciousness. The Idealism it expounds is a most sound one, recognising in unmistakable terms the distinction and correlativity of both the objective and subjective aspects of Reality. Whatever may be said of the crudity of the language,—the language of an age in which refinement of expression could scarcely be expected,—it cannot justly be said, after reading this ancient exposition of Idealism, that the Idealism of the *Upanishads* is a system of subjective Idealism—a system which remained to be corrected and supplemented by

modern European systems, as some European critics of Vedantism represent it."

Now, I extract here only a small part—just what is necessary for our present purpose—of the dialogue between Indra and Pratardana, and then proceed to Sankara's comment on it in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*:

"Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa, went to the beloved abode of Indra by means of fighting and strength. To him said Indra, 'Pratardana, let me grant you a boon.' Pratardana said, 'Do thou choose one for me, one which thou deemest to be the most beneficial to man.' Indra said to him, 'No one chooses a boon for another. Do thou choose for yourself.' Pratardana said, 'In that case that boon would be no boon to me.' Now, Indra did not swerve (from his promise to grant a boon), for Indra is truth itself. He said, 'Know me. This I consider to be the most beneficial thing for man that he should know me..... I am the vital breath. I am the conscious self. Worship me as life, as breath. Life is breath and breath is life. Breath itself is immortality. For life lasts so long as breath exists in the body. It is by the vital breath that one obtains immortality in the other world. By reason he obtains true conception. He who worships me as life, as immortality, obtains full life in this world. He obtains immortality and indestructibility in the heavenly regions.'"

Now, I have already referred at some length to the exposition and discussion of this passage in the *Vedānta Sūtras*. The discussion extends to four aphorisms, 28th to 31st, of the first *pada*, first chapter, of the *Sūtras*. The main object is to show that the *Prāna* mentioned in the *Kaushitaki* passage means not any individual person or thing, but the Supreme Brahman. To obviate the objection that in case 'Prāna' stood for Brahman, Indra would not have spoken of himself as 'Prāna' as he does in the passage, the 30th aphorism says:

"*आत्मन् इन्द्रात्पदेनो वाच्य इवम्*"

That is "Indra speaks of himself as *Prāna* by looking on himself with a sight enlightened by the scriptures, as Vāmadeva did."

In exposition of this aphorism, Sankara says:

"Indra, a deva, looking on his own self as the Supreme Brahman by the vision of the sages, according to the *sastras*, says 'Know me,' just as the sage Vāmadeva, seeing the same truth, felt, 'I am Manu, I am Surya.' In the *Sruti*, (i.e. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*) it is said, 'The worshipper becomes one with the god he truly sees.'"

Here, then, is the *Gita* doctrine of the Logos, the manifestation of God in the fully awakened man which enables him to see that God is his very self, and makes him

speak in his name. It is from this standpoint, in the light of this consciousness of the indwelling Spirit of God, that Krishna or the author of the *Gita* personating himself as Krishna, speaks throughout the book. In thus speaking in the name of Krishna, the author of the *Bhagavadgita* does not perpetrate a fraud, for Krishna to him is not an individual different from other individuals, but the Universal Spirit living as the Inner Self—*Antar Atma*—of every rational being. In uttering his lofty teachings, he attempts to transcend the limitations of his finite individuality and speak from the standpoint of the Absolute, the Infinite. That the Krishna of the *Bhagavadgita* ignores his finite individuality, all that belongs to him as a particular person living and moving in a particular time, at a particular place, and under particular circumstances, and speaks from the standpoint of the Universal Spirit which is in all,—a standpoint which every one possessing the needful enlightenment can occupy, is evident more or less from every part of the *Gita*. How to obtain this enlightenment, may be said to be the one question which the *Gita* answers in various ways in all that it says on the higher life. I proceed to indicate some of the passages in which this truth is taught, the truth namely, that the divinity claimed by Krishna is the common reward of all earnest aspirants and devotees, that he who speaks to us as our teacher in the book is not a hero or demigod who once trod the earth and has now left it, and who spoke only to a favourite friend and disciple, but that he is everywhere and in every one of us, and is as ready to speak to us now as he ever was to any one else.

Now, the oft-quoted seventh and eighth verses of the fourth chapter seem indeed to teach a doctrine of special incarnation, the incarnation of the Supreme Being as a particular person, and are often cited as supporting that view. But read in the light of numerous other passages clearly bearing a different import, these texts will be found to be in no way opposed to the spirit of those passages. Krishna says:

"Whenever there is a decay of virtue, O Bhārata, and an ascendancy of vice, I create myself. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, and for the establishment of righteousness, I am born in every age."

In the 6th verse Krishna had said:

"Though I am unborn, of an imperishable nature, and the lord of all things, yet, ruling over my own nature, I am born through the power of my *Māyā*."

Now, this verse throws light on the meaning of 'birth' as applying to God. It recognises that he cannot be born in the ordinary sense, that he cannot be limited or confined by the objects he upholds and regulates, and that he cannot be subject to, but must always transcend, Prakriti, Nature, that is, his own creative power, to which finite beings are subject. If he is said to be born, therefore, it must be in an extraordinary sense. This extraordinary sense is brought out by the phrase *atmamāyaya*, through my *Māyā* power,—that divine power which makes possible what seems impossible to us. Sankara explains '*sambhavamāyama*' thus:

"I am born, that is, I appear to be embodied, to be born, through my *Māyā*, but not in reality like ordinary beings."

We see, then, in what sense birth and incarnation must be understood when they are applied to the Supreme Being. In the ordinary sense he is never born, he never incarnates himself, for these processes necessarily imply limitation. To take a body in the ordinary sense is to be limited by the senses,—the *janedriyas*—in one's perceptions, and by the organs,—the *karmendriyas*—in one's actions. Inasmuch as the Lord can never do this, even though he is omnipotent, for it involves an impossibility, a contradiction, as much as the circling of a square or the squaring of a circle, he is never born, he never incarnates himself. '*Atmanam srijam-yaham*' and '*Sambhavamā*' in the seventh and eighth verses can therefore only mean manifestation and inspiration, and these processes imply relation to a finite consciousness. The Lord is eternally manifest to himself, but when he is said to manifest himself at a particular time, on a particular occasion, this can take place only in relation to a finite being, one who is born and incarnated in the usual sense. Finite beings of ordinary power and insight do not know God truly. He, though present in them, is not manifest to them. They neither see him nor feel inspired by him, but only blindly believe in his presence in and around them. But when he manifests himself in a man of singularly keen insight and inspires him with his love and righteousness, then occur

what we see in periods of spiritual upheaval,—the protection of the good, the destruction of evil-doers, that is, of evil itself, and the establishment of the kingdom of righteousness. When this divine manifestation and inspiration takes place in a man's life, he becomes divine—*Brahmibhuta*, in the phraseology of the *Gita*,—spiritually absorbed and made one with God. He sees God within and without and sees nothing that can be separated from God, for he is, and is now clearly seen to be, all-in-all. That this *Brahmabhava*—becoming divine—is possible to all, and has been attained by many, is admitted in almost the next verse, the tenth, of the same chapter, which says :

"Free from passion, fear and anger, absorbed in me, taking refuge in me, purified by the fire of wisdom, many have attained my state."

That those who are thus made divine—*Brahmibhulah*—by spiritual absorption in God, do not in any sense become extinct, and are not lost in God in the sense of physical absorption or merging, is clear, if it were not so already, from the plural number used by Krishna or the author of the *Gita* in speaking of them. As we have already seen, the manifestation of God as a process necessarily implies his relation to a finite spiritual being, one who, however dependent on him, must nevertheless be distinguishable from him. As we shall see more clearly the further we proceed in the studies we have undertaken, an unqualified Dualism or an unqualified Monism solves no problem either of philosophy or of religion. Unity and difference are found to be inextricably involved in all phases of life and reality, and it is a source of great satisfaction to find the author of the *Bhagavad-gita* alive to their truth in every part of his noble treatise. Even in his Krishna, of whom he throughout speaks as the Absolute, he admits by implication, as we shall see later on, the existence of a finite individuality.

However, proceeding farther and coming to the sixth chapter, we find there Krishna teaching us how to concentrate our thoughts on him and describing, as far as it can be described, the result of this concentration. To my mind, this description of *dhyana-yoga* makes it clear, more than any other passage in the *Gita*, what the author means by 'Krishna.' It is not any historical

person whose exploits are sung in the ancient poems that we are told to think of. Nor is it any external deity, any not-self, however great and glorious, that we are directed to believe and imagine as keeping us company. What we are told to do, is to draw away our thoughts at the first instance from all external things, all things imagined as external, for there are really no external or extra-mental things according to the *Gita*—and to fix them on what we call our own self, what in us is the centre and source of all thought and knowledge. We are told to see the Self by the self and to rejoice in the Self. We are to be in that condition "in which the mind, restrained by concentration, becomes quiet, and seeing the Self by the self rejoices in the Self." Slowly, but with a firm resolution, drawing our mind away from its wanderings, we are to fix it on the Self and not to think of anything else. When, by such deep concentration and undisturbed introspection, the true nature of the Self has been realised, *dhyana-yoga* is said to be complete. It is said to be a state of intense joy, "having gained which no other gain is thought to be greater; established in which one is not moved even by a serious affliction." It is a state in which the Absolute is not merely seen—one can see an object conceived as distant from or out of touch with one's self—but is actually touched—touching is the most appropriate word which the author of the *Gita* finds for expressing our direct perception of the Supreme Reality. "Thus always concentrating his mind, the *yogin*, freed from sin, enjoys with ease the intense joy of touching Brahman. "Now, when the true nature of the self has thus been seen by direct vision, it can no more appear as it does to those to whom such *yoga* is unknown, a small thing confined to the body. It then appears in its true nature as all pervading, as the common Self of all rational and sentient beings. The *Yogin* therefore sees the Self, his own true self, everywhere, and in his dealings with others, in thinking of them, speaking to them, and behaving with them, becomes more and more altruistic, for, seeing the same self everywhere, the joys and sorrows of others become his own joys and sorrows. So the Krishna of the *Gita* says :

"He whose mind has been steadied by meditation,

who looks on everything with an impartial eye, sees the Self in everything and everything in the self. He who sees me in everything and everything in me, never loses sight of me, and I never lose sight of him. (That is, I always bless him by revealing myself to him.) He who, established in unity, worships me as existing in all things, lives in me in whatever condition he may be. He who looks on all joys and sorrows as his own, is deemed the highest *yogin*."

Coming to the seventh chapter, we find Krishna describing the objective world, both gross and subtle, as his *apra prakriti*, lower nature; and the subjective world, the world of consciousness, as his *para prakriti*, higher nature. He says:—

"Earth, water, fire, air, ether, sensorium, understanding and egoism—this is my nature divided eight-fold. This is my lower nature. Now hear of my higher nature, O mighty-armed,—it is that which has become this individual self—that by which this phenomenal world is supported."

In the tenth chapter Krishna enumerates a number of prominent objects in nature and prominent persons in history, as he conceives history, and identifies himself with them. But he does not forget that these are only his more prominent manifestations, and that things not prominent are also his parts or manifestations; and so at the end of the chapter he says:—

"Whatever is glorious, beautiful and strong, know that to be a product of a part of my power. Or, what is the use of your learning these details? Just learn that I stand supporting all this by a portion of myself."

In the eleventh chapter, in some respects the most remarkable chapter of the book, Krishna reveals himself to Arjuna in his *visvarupam*, world-form. Historically, the chapter is of course worthless, the occurrence related being not only miraculous, but positively impossible. No human *guru*, however great, could show to his disciple the whole world, or even such a small portion of it as a battle-field, in his own person. It must be seen, if it is seen at all, in one's own self. But spiritually, as a record of spiritual experience couched in poetic language, it is of inestimable value. To see the world in God, specially that scene of the world-drama in which we ourselves and those with whom we have to deal, are actors, is an experience which most people in the world never have in the course of their whole life, but the value of which is so great, that even momentary glimpses of it serve as landmarks or sign-posts in the

journey of life. Well does Krishna say to Arjuna:—

"But you cannot see me with these eyes of yours. I give you a divine eye; see my divine glory."

The imparting of such a power of God-vision could not of course take place in a moment. It comes only by days, months and years of thought, study and devotional exercises. But it is after all the gift of God, as the *Gita* truly represents it to be,—the toil-some process of struggle and aspiration on the part of the aspirant being the channel through which the current of divine grace flows in.

However, we now see what or who the Krishna of the *Bhagavadgita* is, and what or who he is not. We are not to seek him at Brindāban or Mathurā, Kurukshetra or Dwārakā. Even granting that an individual named Krishna lived and moved in these places at a certain period of the world's history, we have nothing to do with that individual. As, an individual, he is only one of those millions of forms through which the Universal Spirit manifests itself. Even the author of the *Bhagavadgita*, to whom perhaps legend and history were one, mentions the individual Krishna as only one of many forms co-ordinately with his disciple, Arjuna:—

"I am Vasudeva among the *Vrishnis* and *Dhananjaya* among the *Pāndavas*." (X. 37)

The author never tells us to meditate on the exploits of the legendary Krishna. In the spirit of the *rishis* of the Upanishads, he tells us, as we have seen, to seek God within us, and when we have found him there, to seek him without us. And really, when we see him within, we see him without too, for when he has been truly seen, within and without have become one. We may then see him in history too—in true history, not in myth and miracle, for these do not represent, but rather misrepresent, him. We may and should see him in history when we have learnt to read history,—to distinguish between the divine and the human part in it, between the human errors and sins on the one hand, and on the other the divine wisdom and holiness which are gradually manifested through them. To confuse the human and the divine, the imperfect and the perfect is not—as it seems to some of our ancient and mediæval writers,—the height of wisdom. It is the

result of a blurred and distorted vision of the truth. The *Gita* itself is not quite free from this defect, as we shall see in the course of our present study. True wisdom lies not in equalising or denying the existence of opposites like good and evil, divine and human, perfect and imperfect, infinite and finite, and so on, but in freely recognising and successfully reconciling them. We shall see that the *Gita*, notwithstanding its minor defects, is a valuable help towards the attainment of this wisdom.

Now, I never expected, when I began to set forth, in this lecture, the Hindu doctrine of the Logos, that I should be able to state it so as to command either your clear apprehension or your full conviction, and to free it from difficulties. Even if this could at all be done, it would not be possible to do so in the course of a single address. The doctrine, what each one of us calls our own self, is, in its reality and fullness, the Supreme Self, the self of the world, is a doctrine which I have set forth at some length and in a reasoned form in three of my works, *Brahmajijnasa*, *The Vedanta and its Relation to Modern Thought*, and *The Philosophy of Brahmaisim*. And if I am permitted, I shall try to give a fresh reasoned statement of the doctrine in the course of the following lectures of the present series. What I have said today is that this doctrine is really the scriptural Hindu doctrine of the Logos set forth in the *Bhagavadgita* in a very imposing form. When we realise the Supreme Self as our own self, we become entitled to speak in its name as Krishna does in the *Gita*. But such realisation does not extinguish our individuality, our finiteness, for though the divine presence, the tide of the divine life, fills us in these moments, it does not exhaust itself, does not fully manifest itself, in us. Its fullness is and will ever remain ideal and potential to us. This truth, however, is not explicitly recognised in *Bhagavadgita*. But though not explicitly, the *Gita* recognises it implicitly by teaching

that even in highest stages of wisdom, *bhakti* or reverential love to God remains ever as an element in it,—a truth which Absolute Monists do not recognise. Krishna never teaches Arjuna to call himself Krishna. Arjuna is always Arjuna, always the worshipper of Krishna, loving him and loved of him, but never Krishna himself. This means that the finite, as finite, is never the Infinite, but always the child of the Infinite. The Krishna of the *Bhagavadgita*, when truly understood, is seen to be the Infinite and the Absolute in us; and the Arjuna of the *Bhagavadgita*, when similarly understood, is seen to be the finite and the relative in us. That the finite, even in the most exalted of men, sometimes misses the presence of the Infinite in it, is explicitly recognised in the *Anugita*, as I showed in my second lecture. Krishna, when asked by Arjuna at the end of the war to repeat what he had told him at its commencement, confesses that he has lost the state of *yoga* in which he uttered those lofty sayings, and cannot therefore repeat them fully. Christianity recognises this truth by making the Son of God exclaim on the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" I am sorry, however, that the limits of this lecture forbid the very tempting task of expounding the Christian doctrine of the Logos as set forth in the fourth gospel and the epistles of St. Paul, and comparing it with the Hindu doctrine. I simply content myself with quoting, as a fit conclusion of my address, the grand though mystical words in which the Evangelist John propounds his doctrine, a doctrine which, when properly understood, will be found profoundly true and will lead to a cessation of the long-standing feud between Hinduism and Christianity.* Dear Brethren, the Word is still with us and will ever be with us. May we know him and be united to him for ever and ever!

SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN.

* We omit the extract from the fourth gospel.—Ed. M. R.

ISLAM IN CHINA AND HIGHER ASIA

BY RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA DAS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE sacred language of Islam is Arabic. Mohammed called it the language of the angels. And the Arabic Koran is to this day the text-book in all Moslem schools of Turkey, Persia, Afganistan, Africa, and India, Turkestan, Java, Sumatra, New Guinea, Russia, and China. As a written language it has millions of readers in every part of the Moslem world; and yet to the three-fourths of the believers Arabic is a dead language and as such is least understood. Still all public worship and all prayer must be in the Arabic tongue. At the waters of the Nile the cry "Allah-hu-Akbar" is sounded forth, ever carrying the Arab speech westward across the Soudan, the Sahara, and the Barbary States, until it is last heard in the mosques of Morocco and Riodeoro. (Rev. S. Zwemer, D.D.)

The spirit of Islam is able to raise humanity to an exalted state. It does not recognise heights and depths in the social conditions of life. Whoever embraces Islam, be he a Hottentot of Africa or a Châmâr or Chandâl of India, can claim, nay, assert his equality with the noblest and richest of his faith, in the land. Such is not the case with any other religion of the world. There are no depressed or untouchable classes among the Mohammedans anywhere. Islam is one vast common-wealth both spiritually and socially, presided over by Mohammed, the Servant of God. It preaches universal brotherhood in spirit as well as in practice.

The official title by which Islam is known in China is *Tsin-ting kiso*, or the "True and Pure Religion." It was granted by the Buddhist Emperor Kublai Khan in 1275 A.D. at the request of Saiyyid Ajal when he was appointed Governor of Yunnan.

It is stated in Tibetan history that Buddhism flourished in Transoxania which

contained Shambhala, the utopian city of the Mahayana Buddhists. A certain King named Samudra Vijaya arrived at Shambhala in the year 622 A.D. This was the time when Mohammed had fled to Medina and the Islamic era had commenced. Samudra Vijaya must have been a royal personage from India as his name implies, who had travelled to that remote centre of Greek and Parthian Buddhism, in search of knowledge. This real or pretended King's coming to Shambhala has some coincidence with the Persian King's taking refuge in the same country; for it is affirmed that Yezdegerd, on the fall of Selucia, and the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in 636 A.D., had retired into Transoxania or Ferghana.

Tibetan historians relate that in 622 A.D. along with the Hejira in Arabia a new epoch was opened at Shambhala by her Buddhist King which lasted 403 years. This period being written in the secret symbolic writing of the Indian Buddhist is called *Me-Kha-Mrgyatsho* (Fire-Sky-Ocean⁴).^{*} At the termination of this epoch the cycle of 60 years, which was current in the Deccan, south of Narmada, as *Vrihaspati chakra*, and which was used by the Greek and Parthian Buddhists, is said to have been introduced in Tibet by Chilu Pandits in 1026 A.D. The first year of this cycle called *Prabhava* in Sanskrit and *Ra-byun* in Tibetan corresponding with 1026 A.D., the era itself came to be known as *Rab-byun* in Tibet. Before the introduction of this Indian Vrihaspati-cycle, the Tibetans had the use of the Chinese cycle of 12 years in their country from the time of the marriage of King Srong-tsan with Princess Wenchang, the daughter of Emperor Tai-Tsung in 639 A.D. With that marriage connection Chinese civilization

* To be read from right to left.

and learning came to be known in Tibet and from that time Tibet became a formidable power as to become a terror both to the Caliphs of Arabia in the west and to the Emperor of China in the East. The kingdom of Tibet about the time of Caliph Harun-al-Raschid extended from the great wall of China to Bokhara.

Firuz, the son of Yezdegerd, called in Chinese annals *Pi-lu ssu*, appealed in 650 A.D. to China for aid. Emperor Kao Tsung, the son and successor of Tai Tsung, sent an embassy to Caliph Othman to plead the cause of the fallen power. In response to this embassy, the Caliph sent one of his famous Generals to the Chinese Court, who was received with great honour at Changan (modern Sian-fu in Shensi). The following is the record of this event in the annals of the Tang dynasty which ruled in China between 618 and 907 A.D.

"In the year 651 A. D. the King of Arabia (called *Tah-shih*, Great West *i. e.*, Caliph Othman) sent, for the first time, an envoy with presents to the Chinese Court, and at the same time announced that the House of *Tah-shih* had already reigned 34 years and had three Kings." *i. e.*, Mohammed and the two Caliphs, Abu Bekr and Omar.

The Chinese historian, Ssu-Makwang, notes the constant fighting which took place between the Arabs and other powers in Transoxania during the first six years of Kao-Tsung's reign, and at somewhat later date the utter defeat of the Persians and the Greeks. Firuz, hopeless of regaining the Persian throne, accepted the post of the Captain of the Guard to the Chinese Emperor in 674 A.D. Some years later his son also came to Sian-fu and was appointed Guard of the Imperial Horses.

The political changes which had taken place through Arabia's overthrow of Persia, and the way in which the new power had arisen, are clearly outlined in the following quotation from the Tang history:—

Tah-shih comprises territory which formerly belonged to Persia. The men have large noses and black beards. They carry a silver knife or silver girdle. They drink no wine and know no music. The women are white and veil the face when they leave the house. There are great temples. Every seventh day the King addresses his subjects from a lofty throne in the temple in the following words:—"Those who have died by the hand of the enemy will rise again to heaven; those who have defeated the enemy will be happy." Hence it is that the *Tah-shih* are such valiant warriors. They pray five times a day to the heavenly spirit.

India and Tibet at this time being

distressed by the Arabs under General Mohamed Kasim applied for aid to China, the embassies bringing among their presents many coloured birds "which could talk." China responded, and sent an army of 200,000 men, commanded by a nephew of the Emperor. The famous Kutaiba, General of Caliph Walid, led the Arab forces against the formidable armies of India, Tibet and China and came out victorious. Kutaiba now flushed with success, sent an embassy to the Chinese Court. The Chinese record of this event runs as follows:—

"In 713 A.D. an envoy appeared from *Tah-shih* bringing as presents beautiful horses and a magnificent girdle. When the envoy was being presented to the Emperor Hsuan Tsung, he refused to perform the prescribed obeisance, saying 'In my country we only bow to God (T'ien Shen) and never to a prince.'"

The Mohammedan army was at this time at the zenith of its power both in Europe and Asia, and could not but be feared by China. An enemy which compelled Tibet and India to turn to China for aid, and at the same time humbled China in the north-west, was not a foe to be despised. Accounts of several embassies from the Abbasside Caliphs to the Chinese Court are recorded in the Tang annals, the most important of these being those of A-bo-lo-ba (Abul-Abbas), the founder of the new dynasty, that of A-pu-cha-fo (Abu Giafar), the builder of Bagdad, and that of A-lun (Harun-al-Raschid).

During the reign of Emperor Su Tsung, (763-780 A.D.) the son and successor of Tai Tsung, the Tibetans who had become very powerful, invaded China with an army of 300,000 men and occupied her two capitals *Chang-an* (Sian-fu) and *Honan-fu*. The Emperor sought aid from the Caliph Abu Giafar. It is stated that about this time the Tibetans had extended their power to the borders of Bokhara and become a menace to the Arabs. The Caliph readily sent a contingent of 100,000 men drawn from the garrisons of Turkestan. With their help the Chinese Emperor drove the Tibetans back to their strongholds beyond the great wall and recovered his capitals. These Arab troops remained in China, married Chinese wives and thus became the real nucleus of the Chinese Mohammedans of to-day. It is stated that the Chinese Government of the time had to double the tax upon tea in order to raise funds for paying these troops, whose service

was considered indispensable on account of the protracted troubles with the Tibetans, who never kept their engagements and treaties with the Chinese—howsoever solemnly they might have been contracted.

The Tibetans so exasperated the Chinese and the border kingdom of Nan-chao (modern Yunnan), the Ouigur Tartars and also some princes of India (Kashmir, Nepal and Magadha) by their military depredations, that in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. the Emperor had to appeal to Caliph Harun-al-Raschid for aid. The Caliph despatched a second army of more than 100,000 troops. One contingent of these men joined with the Ouigur Tartars on their march towards China. The Arabs met the Tibetans at Bokhara of which they had got possession and defeated them in several battles. The bold Arabs pushed on forward and joining the Chinese and Yunnan forces on the Szechuan border completely defeated the Tibetans who with their Commander Mahting-thi had surrendered to the victorious Chinese. In the Nanchao Records it is also related that at the outset, i.e., in the spring of 801 A.D. the Tibetans had destroyed one of the enemy's camps by cutting the bank of the Lu river in the night, and fought two battles in succession in which the enemy was defeated and totally dispersed, and that thereupon the K'ang (Samarkand) and *Heh-i-Tahshih* (Black-robed Arabs) with their *Tufan* commander surrendered and that 20,000 suits of armour were captured. The troubles between Tibet and China lasted for some time, for in 821 A.D. a treaty of peace was concluded between the two Governments and its texts inscribed on stone monoliths at Lhasa and Chang-an in Tibetan and Chinese languages. At this time Tibet was ruled by King Lang-darma (called Tamo in the Chinese Records), who had by a strong hand suppressed Buddhism and who in his turn was assassinated by a certain Buddhist priest while he was reading the text of the Treaty recently concluded and inscribed on the stone monolith at Lhasa.

The Arab troops who fought in Yunnan and Szechuan with the Tibetans settled in those provinces marrying Chinese wives. These were joined by later recruits from Turkestan who came there for trade and for

employment in the military service under the Chinese Government. In this manner Mohammedan settlements increased in number, especially in Yunnan.

COMING OF ISLAM TO CHINA BY THE SEA-ROUTE.

Loading their ships at Siraf in the Persian Gulf, to avoid the storms of the open sea, the Arab merchantmen used to set sail for China. Muscat in the Gulf of Oman was the first port of call, where water and cattle were taken on board, and thence the ships bravely ventured out into the open sea, when after running before the monsoon for a whole month, South India was reached. Starting again and skirting the south coast of Ceylon, another stretch of open sea was crossed until the Nicobar group of islands was attained. Here, after bargaining with the unclad native by signs and touches of the hand because he understood not the Arab's language, the vessel proceeded down the Straits of Malacca. Rounding the south coast of the Malaya peninsula, a straight run of ten days due north brought the travellers into the Gulf of Siam. Thence after another 10 days or 20 days the Isle of Pulo Condor was reached where fresh water could be obtained. Thence, after another month's run up the China Sea, the hardy Arab navigators arrived at Kan-fu, the ancient and the famous port of Hang Chowfu. It is possible that the Arabs had established a factory at Canton 200 years before the Hejira. Throughout the T'ang dynasty (618 to 907 A.D.) the Mohammedans seem to have been favourably treated as traders, doubtless on account of the profit accruing to China. They were protected, allowed to build houses and mosques of a different architecture from the Chinese, and were even permitted to live to some extent under their own rulers, thus evidently enjoying a measure of extra-territorial privilege. Soliman, the merchant who came to China in 851 A.D., related that at Kan-fu, which was the principal port for merchants coming from the west, there was a Mohammedan appointed judge over those of his religion, by the authority of the Emperor of China, and that he was the judge of all the Mohammedans who resorted to these ports. The merchants of Irak who traded thither were in no way

dissatisfied with his conduct or his administration of power which he was invested with, because his action and the judgment he gave, were just and equitable and conformable to the Koran and the Mohammedan jurisprudence. When merchants entered China by sea, the Chinese seized their cargo and conveyed it to warehouses, and so put a stop to their business for six months and till the last merchantman arrived. Then they took three in ten, or thirty per cent of each commodity and returned the rest to the merchants. If the Emperor wanted any particular thing, his officers had a right to take preferably to any other person whatever, yet payed for it to the last penny it was valued at; they discharged this business immediately and without the least injustice.

It is stated in the Moslem tract entitled Hsi-lai Tsung P'u (A record of the coming of Islam) that the great Emperor Tai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty in his sleep dreamed of a man with a turban on his head, chasing a monster with black head and no hair, enormous mouth and projecting teeth which were rushing into the palace. The turbaned man was interpreted to be the Prophet of Arabia (Tah-shih) and the monster was Satan representing idolatry. An officer named Shih-Tsang was despatched to Mecca where he interviewed Mohammed. The Prophet in sending him back bade three preachers accompany him, two of whom died *en route*, the third named Wan-Ko-ssu alone reaching China. So impressed was the Emperor with Mohammed's power that he requested him to send a contingent of eight hundred men, unencumbered with families. The Prophet gladly responded to the wish of the Emperor. These men on their arrival, were provided with Chinese wives and settled in the country. Wan-Ko-ssu is said to have made three voyages, to Arabia and back, by sea. After his third journey he died at Canton where his remains were interred in a cemetery which he had selected for himself.

Liu Chih, the great Chinese Moslem historian, in his *Life of Mohammed*, (published in 10 volumes in 1721 A.D.), recites at length the story of the coming of the Prophet's maternal uncle, Saad Wakkas (also called Wan Kossu) with three other per-

sons to China, in company with the Chinese ambassadors who had been sent to Arabia in consequence of the dream. He makes this arrival to be in the second year of Mohammed's prophetic career. The Mosque of *Holy Remembrance* (*Huai Shen Ssu*) is said to have been erected at Fan-chou (modern Canton) with the Emperor's leave, and Saad Wakkas, after his return to Arabia, came back to China some twenty years later, being charged by the Prophet to settle in China until death. Regarding the same man the book *Kawang Chou Chih* relates:—

"When sea-going vessels began to resort to Canton during the T'ang dynasty, Mohammed the King of the country of Medina, belonging to the Mussalmans in western parts, sent his maternal uncle to travel in China. He built the plain pagoda and the Mosque of *Holy Remembrance* and they were hardly finished when he suddenly died and was buried in that region.

"The moslem tomb is situated beyond the northern gate of Canton. It was erected in the 3rd year of *Chang Kwan*, 629 A.D., the sepulchre being built dome-shaped and like a bell."

Referring to the same person and temple there is an inscription engraven on the wall surrounding the cemetery where the tomb lies. It quotes from the "Annals of the holy one" to the effect that the first sage came to China in 629 A.D., and that he was received by the Emperor and permitted to construct a mosque at Canton and reside there.

M. de Thiersaut, a great authority on Chinese Mohammedans writes as follows:—

"The real sage, as his Chinese co-religionists designate him, was Wahb-Abu-Kabcha, a maternal uncle of Mohammed and that in the year 628 A.D. called in the Arab History 'the year of the mission' he was made an envoy to bear presents to the Emperor of China, and to announce to him the new doctrine. Wahb-Abu Kabcha came by sea to China in the year 629 A.D. and landed at Canton; he then went to Chang-an, the capital of the empire, where he was received by the Emperor Tai Tsung from whom he obtained authority to build a mosque at Canton and at the same time liberty for his co-religionists to profess their religion in China. Having accomplished this mission, he returned to Arabia in 632 A.D. hoping to find the Prophet, but upon his arrival he heard of his death, which caused him profound grief. After resting some time, while Abu-Bekar edited the Koran from the scattered leaves left by Mohammed, he took the sacred book and set out once again for China. Hardly had he reached Canton when he died worn out by the fatigues of the journey. He was buried in one of the suburbs of the city, where his tomb remains to this day, an object of veneration to all 'the faithful' of the Far East. It is to him that the Mohammedans owe the construction of the most ancient mosque in China" (De Thiersaut, Vol. 1, pages 43—45).

The old Arabic manuscript entitled *Akbar-ul-Siwal Hind* or "Observations on China and India," dated 1173 A.D. and translated into French by M. Eusebius Renaudot in 1673 A.D. contains the records of the journey and experiences of two Arab travellers to China in 851 A.D. and 878 A.D. In the second part of the book entitled "The Discourse of Abu Zeid-al Hasan of Siraf" there is recorded a conversation, which one of the travellers had with a venerable Arab who had been to China and had had an interview with the Emperor of China at Chang-an. The story runs as follows:— There was formerly a man of the tribe of Koreish, whose name was Ibn Wahab, descended of Hebar, the son of Al Asud and he dwelt at Busrah. This man left Busrah when it was sacked and came to Siraf where he saw a ship ready to set sail for China. Taking his passage on this ship he came to the port of Can-fu (modern Can-pu), leaving which after two months' journey he reached Cumdan (Chang-an) where the Emperor's Court then was. Being informed that he was of the family of the Prophet the Emperor gave him an audience and made to him rich presents wherewith he returned to Irak. The Emperor asked him many questions about the Arabs, and particularly how they had destroyed the kingdom of the Persians. Ibn Wahab answered that they did it by the assistance of God and because the Persians were involved in idolatry, adoring the stars, the sun and the moon, instead of worshipping the true God. To this the Emperor replied that the Arabs had conquered the most illustrious kingdom, of the whole earth, the best cultivated, the most opulent, and of the most extensive fame.

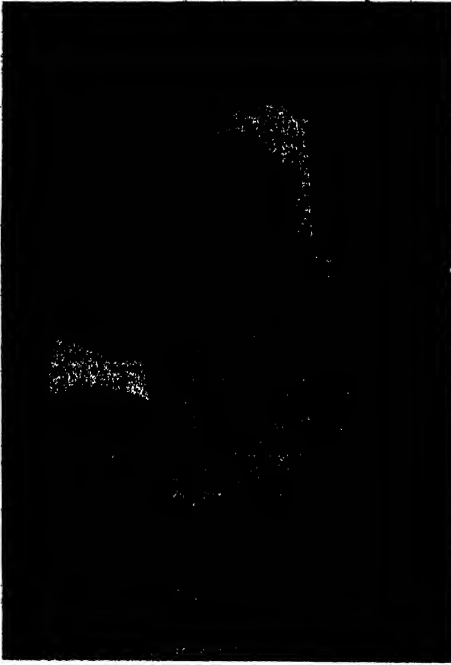
In the records of the Sung dynasty (960—1280 A.D.) there is mention of some twenty embassies from *Tah shih* (Arabia) to China. One of these Arab ambassadors obtained the hand of one of the princesses of the Liao, who ruled in North China, for the son of his royal master. It is not stated if all these embassies came by the north-west land route or by the sea route. It is, however, to be noted that within this long period the Arabs had colonised in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, India, Ceylon and the Burman coast, and any number of their merchantmen were sailing in the Indian and the Chinese seas.

The beginning of the 13th century was marked by the conquest of the Mongols under Jenghis Khan whose hordes swept over the centres of Moslem culture and civilization and by that of the Afgans under Mohammed Ghory and Baktyar Khiliji in Northern India. Both Arabic and Chinese records tell us that—

"There is no event in the history of Islam that for terror and desolation can be compared with the Mongol Conquest. When the Mongol Army had marched out of the city of Herat, a miserable remnant of 40 persons crept out of their hiding places and gazed horror-stricken on the ruins of their beautiful city with a population of over 100,000. In Bokhara, so famed for its men of piety and learning, the Mongols stabled their horses in the sacred precincts of the mosques and tore up the Korans. Such too was the fate of Samarkand, Balkh and many other cities of Central Asia which had been the glories of Islamic civilization and the seats of learning,—such too was the fate of Bagdad that for centuries had been the capital of the Abbaside Caliphs. After Jenghis Khan's death his grandsons, Mangu Khan and Kublai Khan, patronised the Mohammedans conferring on them high official posts. Kublai founded the great Yuan dynasty which reigned on the throne of China from 1260 to 1368 A.D. The Mongol Emperors greatly patronised the colonization of China by foreigners from the west. During this period a flood of Mohammedans of all kinds, Arabs, Persians, Bokharists, converted Turks and Ouigurs passed freely to and fro, and scattered themselves gradually all over China itself in a way they had never done before."

These strangers mixed with Arab colonists of the 8th century and formed that body of the Chinese Mohammedans who are designated to-day by the name of *Hui-Hui*. The records of the Yuan dynasty give many biographies of distinguished Mohammedans who were employed in the Imperial Service. Such were Sayyid Adjal, a reputed descendant of the Prophet and the subsequent conqueror and governor of Yunnan. His son Nasir ud-din mentioned by Marco Polo, distinguished himself in a war against Cochin China and Burmah. Ahoma (Ahmed) became the right hand of the Buddhist Emperor Kublai Khan. That the Mohammedans were numerous in China at this time (1270 A.D.) is clear from an order commanding them to serve in the Imperial army. During the Ming (native Chinese dynasty) the Moslems did at first receive some high favours and positions under the Government. But latterly those residing and trading at Canton were ordered to quit Canton and that in 1465 A.D. some of these established themselves at Macao, a

Portuguese possession. During this dynasty many Arab commercial expeditions visited China. With those came hosts of Mollahs



A Chinese Mahomedan Mollah of the Yunnan Province.

who greatly improved the social condition of the earlier settlers. Many mosques were built in the different Arab settlements all over the country and Islam was both taught and practised by the Chinese Mohammedans. With the commencement of the Tah-tsing (Manchu dynasty), the history of Mohammedanism entered upon a new phase. With the Manchu rule Mohammedan rebellions commenced. From the T'ang down to the close of the Ming dynasty for a period of 1000 years the Chinese Mohammedans never disturbed the peace of the Empire. Writing in the year 1735 A.D. Du Halde said :—

"There is no occasion to speak of the Mohammedan sect settled about 600 years ago in divers provinces where they live in quiet, because they take no great pains to extend their doctrine and make proselytes. In ancient times they increased their numbers solely by the alliance and marriages they contracted but for some years past they have made considerable progress by the help of their money".

The Mussalmans who are so militant and aggressive in other parts of the world and who had fought both for and against China during the Tibetan Wars of 758 and 801 A.D., in Kansu and Yunnan seem never to have pressed in the least degree their claims to religious recognition in China. Particularly, remarkable is the fact that at no period in Chinese history, up to the conquest of Kashgaria 150 years ago, is there the slightest mention of Mussalman religious trouble. The sacking of Canton by the Arabs and Persians in 758 A.D. is the only disturbance of which anything is known, and that was not on religious grounds. In that rebellion 120,000 Mussalmans, Jews, Christians and Persians are said to have been killed.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE CHINESE MOHAMMEDANS.

There is almost universal testimony to the fact that there are comparatively few opium-smokers among the Chinese Moslems. Their women never smoke. The Hui-Hui stands in almost similar relation with the Chinaman as does a Hindu with his Mussalman neighbour in India. He abstains from pork and wine. He is less inclined to planting or selling of opium than the Chinese. He will avoid using the eating and cooking utensils of the ordinary Chinaman because there is the defilement of pork in them. The name of pig will seldom drop from his lips which animal he will call as "the black one" in the manner an Indian Mussalman calls it *Kala Harin*, black deer. In most parts of China the Hui-Hui are said to prefer river-water to well-water as they are unwilling to drink from the same well as their Chinese neighbours. The Chinese Mohammedans are keen honest businessmen and very persevering in trade. Many among them are horse-dealers and carriers and mule-cart-drivers. Many among them scruple not in receiving stolen goods and cattle. They monopolise the beef-trade and they are mostly inn-keepers and money-changers and bankers. They are bad farmers and agriculturists. They live chiefly in colonies, either in separate villages and towns or in sections of the city. At Nanking only they are scattered because the Chinese authorities have refused to allow them to segregate. The Chinese Mohammedans still regard

themselves as belonging to an alien people and so, superior to their Chinese neighbours. They are generally stronger and more overbearing in disposition. Arabic is generally used for inscriptions which adorn their homes, and these are frequently written with white ink on blue paper instead of black on red paper as is customary with the Chinese. They greet one another with Arabic salutations. They prefer military to civil rank, yet there have been Mohammedan viceroys and governors, and not a few have arisen to the highest positions in the military service. Their attitude as students or as officials towards the worship of the Emperor and of Confucius, is that of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excuse themselves by saying that they only do so outwardly and not in heart. In prostrating themselves before the Emperor's tablet they will avoid touching the floor with their head which they do when worshipping Allah. Every mosque is obliged by law to have a tablet to the Emperor called Wan Sui pai-tzu meaning "the Emperor, the immortal, may he live for ever". This tablet is worshipped with incense and two candles placed before it. It is placed on a table near the door of the mosque and is either removed during divine service or has a small piece of paper with Chen-chu (Allah) placed in front when the profound salutations are made. Their customs of marriage and burial, etc., differ from those of the native Chinese. They never marry their daughters with native Chinese families, though a Moslem will marry a Chinese wife, who by marriage is supposed to become a Moslem. The age of puberty for a boy is 15 and 14 for a girl. During marriage they have to kneel facing towards Mecca and repeat the words of witness and then be mated. At their marriage ceremonies the *Ahong*, an inferior Mollah, officiates, reciting passages from the Koran. The usual Chinese custom of worshipping heaven and earth is not performed by them. In the bridal procession the bride is carried on a sedan-chair, her mother's and mother-in-law's sedan chairs following and preceding that of hers. The betrothal card has the name of the girl in Arabic and there is an Arabic certificate of marriage. After marriage the husband may not go upon a

long journey for at least one year. He cannot take a concubine without his wife's consent. The funeral customs of the Hui-Hui are more distinct from those of the Chinese than in the case of marriage. At the funeral the body is to be carried out of the house head first but en route to the burial ground the feet foremost. After death, the body is ceremoniously washed by mosque officials who appropriate the garments of the deceased as part of their perquisites. The body is then carefully swathed in white bandages. In doing so all but the poor use a kind of incense which is sprinkled over the cloths used. It is carried in a bottomless coffin to the grave and their left bare with its face towards Mecca. In addition, musk and camphor are placed in the grave where the body lies, the wealthy using considerable quantities. The Mohammedans have their own burial grounds, the mounds raised over the graves at least one foot high are rectangular and not round as is commonly the case with the Chinese. The sides of the Mohammedan graves are boarded up or lined with stone or bricks. A stone may be erected on the mound but no personal name (Ming) may be engraved thereon.

In the matter of food no meat is eaten by the Chinese Mohammedan unless it has been killed by the *Ahong* in approved Moslem fashion.

ISLAM IN HIGHER ASIA.

The Mohammedans in China are called Hui-Hui or Hui Tzu, the converted people. Chinese Moslems interpret the name to signify Return, Returned or converted. It is written with the square symbols—one square inside another. It is evidently a corruption of the name Hui Ho by which the Ouigur Tartars were known to the early Indians and the Chinese. Hui Hui were a powerful people of Uttara Kuru as mentioned in the Mahabharata. So late as 622 A.D., during the T'ang dynasty the Hui Ho formed a powerful nation in northern Mongolia. Their capital was on the border of Solong river (Selenga). It has been proved by Clapraht that these Hui Ho and Ouigurs are the same people. Subsequently the Hui Ho had their Capital near the place where afterwards Karacorum was built. In the middle of the ninth century the power of

the Hui Ho in Mongolia was broken and they were dispersed and Karacorum was deserted. It is now a sand-buried city.

Vambery affirms that in 1865 A.D. about one million Tungans were spread throughout Ili as far as Hami and that they were all Chinese who had preserved their language, and who had been converted to the Shafite sect by an Arab taken there by Timour (Tamerlane) from Damas in Central Asia during the fifteenth century. These Chinese were, he believes, the ancient military colonists called Tun-ren which the Chinese employed to guard their frontiers. Many Manchu and other colonists who were sent by the Emperor Kien Lung in 1770 A.D. to repeople the country, embraced Islam.

Chinese Turkestan is a great Turkish country. Its most important cities are Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, Turfan, and Khoten. The population of these cities with the surrounding towns and villages is estimated at 10,000,000. Of this number 2,000,000 are Tagians of Mongolia (of the Galcha stock who stand in an intermediate position between the Iranic and the Indian branches of the Aryan family). The remainder are all Moslems.

Kuldja is a prosperous and healthy city at the centre of Ili province. It has a population of 70,000 souls, of whom 40,000 are Moslems.

The Turks of China live in Salar which is a district in Kansu. They number 100,000. They are descended from those Moslems who were scattered towards China proper when Tamerlane in 1400 A.D. invaded Kashgaria and the surrounding country with Moslem troops drawn from Samarkand, Kokand, Tashkand, etc.

The Turkish Moslems of Peking are not connected with the Salar Turks. They are descended from the Moslems of the Chinese Turkestan who were brought to Peking 200 years ago and settled in a corner of the Manchu town. This part of Peking is called *Chin tze i. e.*, the place of the Turks. There are now 2000 families who all receive pension from the Government.

In Tibet Islam has made very little progress. When I was in Tibet in 1879, 1881 and 1882, I did not find many Mussalmans in Lhasa, Shi-ga-tse, Gyantse and Che-thang. According to Mr. J. R. Muir there are now 2000 moslem families at

Lhasa and 2000 more scattered over Chiamdo, Garthok, Bathang, Ta-tsen-lu etc. At Suching on the border, he says, Mohammedanism is making some headway among the Tibetan proselytes. Moslem population in Tibet and its borders is estimated at 100,000 souls.

The Moslem population of Manchuria has been estimated at 200,000. In Mongolia and the valley of the Amour there are about one hundred thousand Moslems.

Excluding Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet the maximum population of China in the 18 provinces according to Mr. Marshall Broomhall is as follows:—

The 18 Provinces of China Proper:—

1. Kansu	...	...	3,500,000
2. Shensi	...	...	500,000
3. Shansi	...	...	25,000
4. Chihli	...	...	1,000,000
5. Shang-tung	...	...	200,000
6. Honan	...	...	250,000
7. Kiang-su	...	...	250,000
8. Szechuan	...	...	250,000
9. Kweichow	...	...	20,000
10. Yunnan	...	...	1,000,000
11. Hupet	...	...	10,000
12. Kiang-si	...	...	2,500
13. Anhui	...	...	40,000
14. Chekiang	...	...	7,500
15. Hunan	...	...	20,000
16. Kuangtung	...	...	25,000
17. Kwang-si	...	...	20,000
18. Fukien	...	...	1,000
TOTAL			7,121,000

MOHAMMEDAN REBELLIONS IN CHINA.

The first outbreak of the Mussalmans took place in 1648 A.D. just four years after the Manchu dynasty had come to power. A Mohammedan named Mi-Lo-yu of Lanchow in Kansu raised a revolt and murdered both the Governor of the province and the Commanding General of the Chinese troops. He made himself the master of Lanchow, Hochow, Ninghai-fu and besieged the capital. The Governor of Shensi marched against him, defeated the Mohammedans and cut Mi-Lo-yu and his assistant Ting into pieces. Two years later there was another outbreak at the prefectural city of Kun-chung, when many Mohammedans were slain. The third uprising of the Moslems took place in the year 1731 A.D. when the Emperor Yung-Chen, forbade the slaughter of oxen in the interest of agriculture. In China from time immemorial the custom of employing oxen in agriculture prevails,

in consequence of which great attention is paid in breeding them. The cow is never milched and the calves are never starved. Milk and its preparation are therefore, unknown in China Proper. Beef is seldom taken by the higher classes. The killing of cows by the Mohammedans was resented by the native Chinese whose representations at last induced the Emperor to forbid it. The Mohammedans protested that being unable to eat pork, by reason of their religion, such a decree subjected them to much inconvenience. This called forth the issue, of the following conciliatory edict from the Emperor:—

"In every province of the Empire, for many centuries past, have been found a large number of Mohammedans who form part of the people whom I regard as my own children. I make no distinction between them and those who do not belong to their religion.... They bear as good a character as my other subjects, and there is nothing to show that they are dissatisfied with my Government. It is my wish, therefore, that they should be left in the free exercise of their religion whose object is to teach men the observance of a moral and the fulfilment of social and civil duties.... If then the Mohammedans will continue to conduct themselves as good and loyal subjects, my favour will be extended towards them just as much as towards my other children.... From among them came how many civil and military officers, who have risen to the very highest ranks..... When the magistrates have a civil case brought before them they should not concern themselves with the religion of the litigants. There is but one single law for all my subjects. Those who do good shall be rewarded and those who do evil shall be punished."

In 1785 A.D. some 6000 Salar Mohammedan families, living near Hochow in Kan-su, rose against the local authorities. The Government took some very strict measures against them, which they endured till 1863 A.D. and the Salar Moslems rose *en masse* against the Government, shortly after the Mandarin of Hiao-yi had put all the Mohammedans of the village of Tsinkia to sword. This rebellion extended to Hami and Urumchi in Sinkiang on the Mongolia frontier and inflamed the Tungan Moslems who defeated the Imperial troops and decapitated General To. Every effort on the part of the Imperial troops failed until the famous General Tso-Chungthang appeared upon the scene about 1870 A.D. and quelled the rebellion and thereby won back the several provinces of Central Asia which had been severed from the Chinese for a period of seven years.

The revolt of the Chinese Governor Yakoob Beg in Turkestan in 1864 is well known. He proved himself an able and astute ruler. His independence which lasted for 12 years was recognised by Russia in 1862, and subsequently by the Sultan of Turkey and by Great Britain. The Sultan of Turkey rejoicing at such Moslem successes conferred upon him the title of Emir-al-Mumien or Commander of the Faithful, a title formerly borne by the Caliphs of Bagdad. In 1874 Lord Northbrook sent Sir Douglas Forsyth as envoy to his court. The redoubtable Tso-Tsungthang with a very large army unexpectedly crossed the Tien-shan range by unknown passes, and suddenly appeared before the walls of Aksu. All resistance collapsed and by the 17th December 1877, Kashgar, the capital, fell before the Chinese troops when the reconquest of Eastern Turkestan was practically complete. I need not dwell upon the reconquest of Yunnan by the Chinese Government which is so well known. Rebellion after rebellion dating from 1818 convulsed that ill-fated province until 1873 when it was denuded of its Mohammedan population. How many hundreds thousand families died in the four rebellions it will never be known.

In conclusion, I may add that in my study of the Chinese people of whom I saw much during my residence at Peking in 1885, when they had scored a victory over the French in Tonquin, I have noticed one important trait in their character. It is industry. No people in the world can compete with the Chinese in works of skilled labour; even a Chinese cooly driving rickshaw at Singapore under the torrid sun (5" over the equator), and subsisting on two pence, will earn at least one dollar a day. An Indian cooly subsisting on two annas will not earn 4 annas a day. With characteristic laziness he will enter into *Nirvana* should he get any chance of not working. The Chinaman on the other hand will never sit idle and weep when he has no work to do.

China awakened to science may, in my opinion, prove a real menace to European commerce rather than a yellow peril in matters military as many conjecture she might in future be.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our

space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

The Problem of the Sruti Scale.

The theory put forward by Mr. N. B. Divatia in his article on Hindu Music appearing in the April number of *The Modern Review* deserves some comment. It is interesting to note that the writer, while recognising the fact that the theories advanced by several writers on the problem of the Sruti Scale are unsatisfactory, lays claim to discover what he calls a working hypothesis arrived at by *a priori* methods and based on sound scientific principles; but on examination of this hypothesis, we are forced to this conclusion that Mr. Divatia's theory is as unsatisfactory as those which he criticises, even inspite of the pretensions made towards a scientific classification based on Ganot's treatise on Physics. Mr. Divatia, however, suggests that his scheme needs verification under the testing of vocal music in the laboratory. It is a great pity that writers like him do not take pains to put their theories to the proper test before pushing them into print. If such writers were only able to sing the Srutis to any key, much of their theory would probably not have seen the light of day at all.

For, what is this working hypothesis which Mr. Divatia asks us to accept on the ground of its being based on acoustic principles? It is this:—That the Hindu scale of Srutis coincides exactly with the scale as evolved by European acoustics in its relation to Music, with the exception, however, of one Sruti which he has attempted to fix by the introduction of an interval known as the comma. If the scale were simply the product of Mr. Divatia's imagination, it was certainly a matter deserving of some praise. But he takes his stand on the Sanskrit works, quotes the Sangit-Parijat as corroborating his statements, and supplies the missing links with the aid of Ganot. This is what is, according to him, an *a priori* method, and it is really amusing to see that it does not stand the critical test.

In the first place, the scale of the Sangit-Parijat, as given by Mr. Divatia, is not quite accurate. Read the chapter on the fixing of the positions of the 12 notes, and you find that slokas 416 and *et seq.*—when correctly interpreted, suggest the respective positions of the Vikrats on the stem of the Vina, quite different from those given by Mr. Divatia. Taking the length of the wire as 36 inches, Ahobala fixes his $\tilde{\text{ri}}$ (natural) at a point midway between sa and ra natural, that is, 33 inches from the bridge; and dividing the distance between sa and $\tilde{\text{ri}}$ into three parts, fixes the $\tilde{\text{ri}}$ komal at a point 34 inches from the bridge. Marking the positions as given in the Sangit-Parijat, we fix them as in the following diagram—

36	34	33	30	28	27	25	24	22	21	20	19	18
ह	रि	रि	न	न	न	प	द	द	नी	नी	ह	
komal			(tivra)	(tivratama)		(komal)	(komal)					

The corresponding ratios, when worked out, will vary from those given by Mr. Divatia, in the case of the two $\tilde{\text{ri}}$'s and the two sa 's and the tivra notes ra and $\tilde{\text{ri}}$. The intervals are $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{2}{5}$, while Mr. Divatia gives them as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{2}{5}$. Pāṇḍit Ahobala's slokas clearly point to the fact that the 'divisions' on the lengths of the wire, in fixing the positions of the Vikrats, are mostly equal. He makes no pretensions towards fixing the positions by means of vibrations and ratios; and the inevitable result is that the ratios are complex, and the musical intervals not uniform. To say this may certainly not be edifying, but that is the truth.

But Ganot, in dealing with the question of sharps and flats, says that the notes intermediate to the 7 notes of the gamut are obtained by raising or lowering them by an interval of $\frac{1}{2}$. He shows that the sharp of a note is not the same as the flat of a succeeding note, e.g., C sharp is $\frac{1}{2}$, while D flat is $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$, and that in order to render practical execution more easy in respect to all possible transpositions, it was necessary to introduce the temperate scale on the principle of considering the sharp of a note as equal to the flat of the succeeding note. Thus the location of these sharps and flats does not correspond with the Srutis or notes in the Parijat. There is another fact which Mr. Divatia has lost sight of, and that is E sharp ($\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{2}{3}$) is higher in pitch than F flat ($\frac{1}{3}$), and B sharp ($\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{2}{3}$) higher than C flat ($\frac{1}{3}$). But Mr. Divatia overlooks the overlapping of the notes if it can be so called—and borrows the same order as given by Ganot, and uses it for his scheme of Srutis.

Thus Mr. Divatia is ambitious enough to take up Ahobala's groundwork, imperfect as it appears to be, and to build on it a structure with the help of Ganot; and with what result? The groundwork is not strong enough to bear the weight of the superstructure—scientific, as he calls it,—and the whole thing falls to the ground like a house of cards. How curious it is indeed that the number of sharps and flats given by Ganot is 21, just one less than the number of Srutis given in the Sanskrit works! Herein lies the gist of Mr. Divatia's *a priori* method, and the scientific theory. As regards the respective positions of the notes, Mr. Divatia presumes, without the necessary authority, that they are the same in Ganot and Sangit-Parijat. One cannot help feeling some compassion for these Sanskrit writers for the manner in which the present-day enthusiast of a musical theory rides roughshod in the region of practical musicians. It is, after all, an absurd show. It may be that the theories and rules of the Sanskrit writers do not bear a scientific and

critical examination along the line of musical intervals and simple ratios, but that is by no means a fair way of judging their works. To interpret them in this light is perhaps the greatest injustice which an admirer of Hindu music can do. Poor Ahobala is safe without these guides, and needs no help from Ganot for the present.

Turn to the Pythagorean scale, which, passed from Greece to Italy, and held sovereign sway up to the 16th century. Even this scale, formed as it was on the basis of the law of the fifths, had to be modified, in course of time, to suit the law of simple ratios. But nobody seriously attempts to prove that it is now the just scale. It stood the test, and satisfied the musical susceptibilities of the West for several centuries, although it is now found that some of the ratios are not simple. This is by the way.

The chief reason—which Mr. Divatia advances for his theory—the allotment of the Srutis finds an exact correspondence in the scale of the 21 notes given by Ganot—fails altogether, because Ganot's scheme rests mainly on the introduction of the musical interval $\frac{3}{2}$, while that of Ahobala, the author of the Sangit-Parijat appears to be based on the divisions being equal on the length of the wire, so far as the intermediate Srutis are concerned, the musical intervals being consequently not only not the same or uniform, but different from $\frac{3}{2}$. It is not necessary to pursue this inquiry any further by referring to Mr. Deval's scale which is equally disappointing in so far as it is pretended to rest on Sangit-Parijat. It is indeed high time for these theorists who have a fancy for musical intervals and simple ratios, to clearly recognise the

difficulties in the way of interpreting the Sanskrit works according to acoustic tests before starting new theories and asking the public to accept them.

S. N. KARNAD.

Hindustanee Kayasthas and their social customs.

It is a strange irony of fate that the foremost journal of the motherland should do injustice to the 'Hindustanee' Kayasthas. The social customs, referred to in the latest issue of the *Modern Review*, do not coincide with those that actually obtain among them. Drinking is no longer a recognised social institution, except among the few members of the old school, who will, of course, not yield to intermarriage and interdining. Again the fact that "in many a Hindustani Kayastha family, grown-up daughters do not appear before their fathers, nor grown-up sisters before their elder brothers," does not rest on any solid foundation. I do not represent Bihar, of which I have no personal experience; but, I am sure that this unhealthy state of affairs does not obtain in any form at least in the Punjab and U. P. Of course, there are certain other differences; but they can easily be disposed of to much advantage. The barrier of language too is not an impenetrable one. Both Hindi and Bengali can be learned up in a few days, having descended from the one same mother—Sanskrit.

RAJ NARAYAN.

We do not want to be dogmatic, as we know the "Hindustani" Kayastha community, not from the inside, but by report. We advocate fusion of races and castes throughout India.—Editor, *Modern Review*.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Mundas and Their Country: by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., with an introduction by E. A. Gait, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S. Published by the City Book Society, 64 College Street, Calcutta and Printed at the Kuntaline Press, Calcutta. Cr. 8vo.; cloth, gilt lettered. Pp. 546+appendices+i-lxxxiii (with 48 photo illustrations). Price Rs. 6 or 9s. 6d.

This neatly printed and well bound book is a storehouse of information regarding the Mundas and the country they inhabit. Since Col. Dalton's "Descriptive Ethnology" is not now-a-days easily available, this work of Babu Sarat Chandra Roy will be the only book of reference regarding the Mundas. The author has looked up carefully all available records and has executed his self-imposed task with scholarly ability. The book deals with (1) The Origin of the Kol Tribes, (2) The Traditional History of the Mundas, (3) The Early History of the Mundas, (4) The Medieval Period of Mundari History, (5) The Modern History of the Mundas and (6) The Ethnography of the Mundas. Besides these regular chapters, there are four interesting appendices wherein the legendary

history of the Mundas and the land tenures of the Ranchi district have been given in some detail.

From the very enumeration of the subject matter of this book the readers of this Review will see that a very considerable portion of the book appeared in this magazine for months together. The author has mentioned it in the preface that this book was written in the intervals of his business. It is a pity that such a capable man as the author is could not devote his whole time to the work of Ethnological Research in India, for which there is a pressing need in this country.

Mr. Gait, who is now undoubtedly a great authority on the subject of Indian Ethnology, has written an introduction for the book which is by itself an interesting and instructive study. This distinguished member of the Civil Service has very rightly remarked that "In this country, which contains so many primitive tribes possessing peculiar rights and customs of the greatest anthropological interest, it has long been a reproach to educated Indians that the task of collecting information regarding them has been left almost entirely to Europeans." I do not know who is to blame whether our own people or the Universities for it

fact that the subject of anthropology is not studied in our colleges, though India is the home of divers races and tribes. We cannot afford to forget the characteristic saying of an eminent anthropologist that "there will be plenty of money and people available for anthropological research, when there are no more aborigines."

The question regarding the origin of the Mundas is still an unsolved problem, and as such I do not offer any remarks in respect to the suggestions and opinions of the author. Moreover, I have been expressing my views on the subject in the pages of this very Review in my papers relating to Indian Anthropology. My opinion regarding the origin of the Dravidians and of the Mundas, though foreshadowed in previous papers, will be published in the July number of the "Modern Review."

It is very significant to note that more than one-eighth of the Mundari inhabitants of the Ranchi district are Christians and their number is 177,000. Mr. Gait informs us that the Mundas are greatly indebted to the Christian Missionaries for their escape from utter ruin and for the education and support they have received from them. "There is no doubt," writes Mr. Gait, "that the great success of the Christian Missions in obtaining converts is due largely to the secular benefits which the Mundas thus obtain." What a sad reflection it is upon us that we fail to save our own men, whom we cannot exclude when building our Indian nationality. The author informs us that once the gospel of Nimai's love touched the hearts of the Mundas; but when the great Vaisnava Reformer died, his followers forgot the Mundas and their land. No unifying force is emanating from our society to work out our national salvation. The Brahmo Samaj may take note of what the Christian Missionaries have accomplished in the hilly tracts of the aboriginal tribes, by extending Christian love and charity to the people.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus Nos. 32 and 33, Vol. vii, Part iii.—The Bhaktiratnavali. Translated by a Professor of Sanskrit (retired). Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. x + viii + 153 + vi + 4. Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 12. Foreign £1. Price of this part Rs. 3/-.

This is the third part of the Bhakti Sastras, the other two parts being Bhakti-Sutras of Narada (No. 23. Vol. vii—Part i) and the Sutras of Sandilya (No. 25. Vol. vii—Part ii). Each part is complete in itself. The Bhaktiratnavali (the necklace of devotional gems) has been abstracted from the Srimat-Bhagavata and contains 405 verses of the original book. The author of the *Bhaktiratnavali* was Vishnupuri and he wrote also a commentary on the same and called it '*Kantimala*.' The book has been divided into 13 chapters, viz:—

1. First string—Salutations and treatment of Bhakti in a general way (116 verses).
2. Second string—Causes that generate Bhakti—Association with good men (64 verses).
3. Third string—Details of the path of devotion (32 verses).

4. Fourth string—Virtue of the hearing of the praise of the Lord (45 verses).

5. Fifth string—Hymning of the praise of the Lord (57 verses).

6. Sixth string—Remembrance of the Lord (26 verses).

7. Seventh string—Shampooing the feet of the Lord (31 verses).

8. Eighth string—Worship of the Lord (9 verses).

9. Ninth string—Bowing to the Lord (4 verses).

10. Tenth string—Servitude to the Lord (4 verses).

11. Eleventh string—Intimate companionship and friendship of the Lord (2 verses).

12. Twelfth string—Consecrating one-self to the Lord (2 verses).

13. Thirteenth string—Taking Refuge in the Lotus Feet of the Lord (13 verses).

The book under review contains:—

(i) The Sanskrit Text of the verses.

(ii) An English Translation of the same.

(iii) The original commentary on the same by Vishnupuri.

(iv) Notes (Explanatory and critical) in English mainly based on the commentary of Vishnupuri.

(v) An Introduction (10 pages) in English by the Translator.

(vi) Appendix i. (Extracts from the Introduction to the Metrical Translations from Sanskrit writers by Dr. J. Muir).

(vii) Appendix ii. Extract from Sir Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarkar's papers on the origin of the Bhakti School published in the Indian Antiquary for January 1912.

(viii) An alphabetical Index to the verses.

(ix) Errata (4 pages).

Is the Bhakti cult of purely Indian origin and growth? "The orthodox view is that the *Bhakti-marga* is the butter churned out of the ocean of the milk of the Veda." But a discordant voice has been raised against this view. So long ago as 1873, the October issue of the "Indian Antiquary" published a paper with the heading "Traces in the Bhagavat-Gita of Christian writings and ideas". This paper is a reproduction of the appendix to Dr. Lorinser's Bhagavat-Gita. Therein the learned German orientalist produced in parallel columns writings from the Bhagavat-Gita and the New Testament which bear remarkable resemblance in sense and spirit. Dr. Lorinser then endeavours to show that early Christian apostles and Missionaries visited India and the doctrine of faith and monotheistic worship was introduced into India by their agency. This view found support in some influential contemporary European orientalists.

But a voice of dissent was raised from an unexpected quarter. That indefatigable worker in the field of Sanskrit studies whose labors have done so much to help European scholars with abundant supply of materials to work on them—the compiler of five volumes of original Sanskrit Texts—Dr. John Muir—whose antecedents in India were characterised by the spirit of a Christian Missionary and therefore not pro-Hindu, brought out in 1879, a volume of "Metrical Translations from Sanskrit writers" and prefixed to it a lengthy and learned introduction. Therein he discussed the subject of Dr. Lorinser's paper in the "Indian Antiquary" referred to above. Dr. Muir's views have been reproduced in Appendix i.

In Appendix ii an extract has been given from Dr. Bhandarkar's paper on the Origin of the Bhakti School which was published in the "Indian Antiquary" for January 1912. His conclusion is—"We have epigraphical evidence of the Bhakti School during the three or four centuries before Christ."

The Bhaktiratnavali is the essence of the Bhagavat and contains all the important verses on Bhakti. Those who cannot go through the 18000 verses of the original scripture, will, with no difficulty, be able to master the Bhakti-ratnavali which contains only 400 verses.

This is an excellent edition of the Bhakti-ratnavali, and will it is hoped be largely used by Bhakta scholars.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus No. 34. Vol. V.—Part viii.

The Vedanta Sūtras of Bādarāyana with the commentary of Baladeva. Translated by Rai Bahadur Śrīśa Chandra Vasu. Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad: Pp. 653—740. Annual subscription;—Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £1. Single copy Re. 1-8.

This part contains Sūtras III. 4.36—IV. 3.15 with meanings of every word, the translation of the Sūtras and of the commentary of Baladeva.

This part also has been well edited and translated.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT-BENGALI.

Bhaktiratnavali: translated by Manmohan Banerji, B.L. 1318. Howrah, Karmayoga Press.

The author of the book, Vishnupuri, was a celebrated saint who flourished about six centuries ago. He compiled an anthology from the *Srimadbhagabat*, which was translated into Bengali verse by Lauria Krishnadas, of Sylhet, a reference to whom is to be found in Dines Chandra Sen's History of Bengali Literature. The book under review is also a metrical rendering of the wellknown anthology. The original Sanskrit verses and their Bengali translation have been printed side by side. The translator is a member of the Provincial Judicial Service, and has the gift of poetry in him. He has handled various metres with excellent effect and his verses closely follow the original. Even independently of the original, the verses are sweet and pleasant to read. There is nothing far-fetched, stilted or unnatural in his rendering. As a devotional composition the book occupies a high place in Vaishnav literature, and the translation fully sustains the reputation of the original. Two good indices have materially facilitated the work of reference. The biographical sketch of Vishnupuri might have been more carefully written and the printing and paper might have been better. In the second edition an introductory essay on the place of *Bhakti* in religious culture might fittingly be added. The book which contains more than 300 pages, is well bound in cloth and will, we trust, have a good sale.

P.

HINDI.

A History of Modern India, British Period, Part I, Vol. I, by Mr. Govind Saktharam Sardesai, B.A., translated into Hindi by Pandit Tagarnath Prasad Shukla. Published by the Hindi Grantha Prasarak Mandal, Allahabad and Khandwa (C. P.). Crown 8vo. pp. 318+9+4. Price Re. 1.

It is a fortunate thing that books on history are being published in Hindi. This book is of an introductory nature, and concerns itself with the Portuguese regime in India. There are many new facts in the book and many English books have been laid under contribution. A list of these has been subjoined to the book. The writer has preferred this arrangement to giving references to these books in the footnote. As a considerable part of the book deals with the early commercial relations between the Europeans and the Indians, the students of political economy will also find much of interest in the book. The book has been very elaborate and this has necessitated many facts not directly connected with India to be introduced. The Portuguese regime has also been treated at length and a chapter devoted to the *resumé* of the Portuguese rule. The writer thinks that the Portuguese rule in certain parts of India taught two lessons of importance to the British: Firstly, to follow a policy of neutrality in the matter of proselytism, and secondly, to discourage the increase of a mixed (Eurasian) race. The Portuguese failed also from their cruelty and instances of this are recorded in the book. Obviously the book is the first of its kind in Hindi and must receive encouragement at the hands of the patrons of the Hindi literature. The printing and binding are nice. The book is dedicated to the Maharaja of Baroda and a haltone of the prince constitutes the frontispiece.

Padyapravandha by B. Maithili Sharan Gupta, printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pages 153. price as. 10. To be had of B. Ramkishore Gupta, Chirgaon, Fānsi.

The writer of this collection of poems has made a deserved name for himself with respect to the form of poetry which he has made his own. The collection consists of the poems published, off and on, in Hindi periodicals especially the *Sarasvati*. It goes without saying that the chief attraction of the poetry part of the *Sarasvati* has always consisted in the poems of B. Maithili Sharan Gupta; and the Hindi readers will no doubt welcome ardently this nice little publication which if it finds a place in their shelves, will go a great way in providing entertainment for them in their leisure moments. In the whole field of the Hindi poetry, if any approach is made to the standard of English poetry, it is in the poems of the talented author. However, they are apt, sometimes, to be unduly didactic, and in some few instances, even prosaic. But there is no question that they rightly hold their place of superiority over poems by modern Hindi writers. They only admit of improvement which no doubt the poet must be striving for. The poet has the genuine poetic fire in him and his genius has illuminated not a few passages in the collection. Hindi poetry can only be called in its infant stage as yet, and its poverty can only be removed if poets of the type of the author spring up. It has vast potentialities, as is shown by the collection before us; and

the poet deserves due encouragement from the lovers of Hindi poetry. The printing of the book is nice and constitutes an attraction in itself.

URDU.

Tankire Hasardastan or Khamkhanai Jawaid, vol. II, by Lala Sri Ram, M.A., Munsif, Delhi, Royal 8vo. pp. 564 and 74 and 13. Prices: Bound edition—finer paper Rs. 4-8, ordinary paper Rs. 3-8. Paper cover edition—Rs. 2-12. To be had of Manager, Daftar Khamkhanai Jawaid, Nai Sarak, Delhi.

This is the second volume of the lives of Urdu poets over which the author has been working for many years. In this volume, have been embodied, the lives of such dead and living Urdu poets whose names commence with any of the letters *sai* to *hai* of *Horooof Fihajji*. Naturally the treatment of the biographies could not be elaborate, short notice of each poet having been given. However, the work must have cost the author much pains. The author has tried not to leave out any poet of recognised fame. He has characterised the diction of every poet and the extracts from poems, which he has subjoined to serve as samples, are typical. In fact the author has made a point of adding these sample lines, which tell us much about the peculiar style of each particular poet. A better arrangement would have been to be a little more detailed in the case of the more noted poets. However, the author has followed his own plan and has been eminently successful in it. This book will rank with the *Firhang Asafia* of Moulavi Syed Ahmad of Delhi, inasmuch as both have cost their authors tedious labour for long periods of time, though the objects of the two books are different. The book under review has also like the *Firhang* been dedicated to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The printing and get-up of the book are very nice, which is found only occasionally in the Urdu books, and that only in the case of certain *diwans*. The author has to be congratulated on the partial termination of his stupendous labour.

The Commentaries on Yajurveda by Swami Dayanand, translated into Urdu by Mr. Dharm Pal, B.A., and printed at the Satvak Machine Press, Lahore. Demy 8vo. pp. 436. Price Re. 1-4.

The author is the well-known convert to the Arya Samaj by the Shuddhi ceremony, and the editor of the famous Urdu organ of the Samaj, named *Indra*. The rendering has been in simple and idiomatic Urdu, and the words chosen are appropriate. The book will prove of much use to those who have not sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit to read the Yajurveda in the original Sanskrit. That the translation has been free constitutes one of its merits. The price of the book is not much, in view of the time and energy spent over it by the author.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Lalit nan Kavyo; Published by Lakshmichand Uttamchand Master & Co., Rajkot. Paper Cover. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 0-8-0 (1912).

Lalit is the *nom de plume* of Mr. Janam-shanker Manas-shanker Buch. For the last fifteen years, his songs have been made familiar to the reading public of

the province by means of monthlies, and from almost their very appearance. They have met with a hearty welcome. They have now been collected in a small book with just a short introduction by Mr. Nanalal D. Kavi, setting out in a series of suggestions, rather than direct statements, the merits and defects of the poems. Lalit has got a style peculiar to himself, he handles his words, not in the manner of a fullgrown individual speaking to another fullgrown individual but as a mother talking to a lisping child, to a child rocking in the cradle. He would not say "good" but "goody-goody." This gentleness, bordering at times almost on effeminacy, wedded to a stream of expression peculiar to Kathiawad, from where the poet hails, is the outstanding feature, or call it the charm, of his poems, which are meant more to be sung than read. When you hear them recited by the writer himself, accompanied by the ting-ting of the little cymbals he carries with him, you are reminded of the *Bhajans* of Mira Bai and at times the fervour of Narsinh Mehta, the two great pioneers of *Bhajan* poetry in Gujarat. For ourselves, we have great pleasure in stating, that we like them immensely, and look forward to continuous and better work from Lalit. The poems are very short. There is no room there for the full working out of an idea. They are mere flashes of lightning, but during the time a flash lasts, it illumines everything.

Vadodra Rajya ni Sahitya Sena, by Chhaganlal Thakordas Modi, B.A., Educational Inspector, Baroda State. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Paper bound. Pp. 88. (1912). Price nil.

This little pamphlet, which was distributed at the Gujarati Literary Conference held at Baroda during the Easter Recess, gives details of the different ways in which the enlightened Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda has been encouraging Vernacular Literature, Gujarati, Marathi, Sanskrit, &c. The large sums which he has at various times sanctioned for this purpose together with the results secured by the expenditure, show that His Highness never stints his resources for this purpose. He has just capped his generosity by declaring a grant for this very object of two lacs of rupees. The list given at the end, of the books published by the help of the State, is instructive in showing that the encouragement given is not restricted to any one branch, but is general and comprehensive.

Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, by Pran-jivan Jagjivan Mehta, L.M. and S. (Bombay), M.D. (Brussels), &c. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Printed on superior paper. Pp. 89 and 121, (1912).

A work of this kind was a great desideratum, so wrote the present writer in *East and West*, in an article which he contributed to it, while reviewing the Rev. Mr. Doke's work in English. It was still more badly wanted in Gujarati, and we are glad, that a special friend of Mr. Gandhi has accomplished the task by translating the English work into Gujarati. It is prefaced by an introduction, which is in the nature of a small supplementary book on the subject. Dr. Mehta has seen South Africa, the field of Mr. Gandhi's labours, and has been ever since 1898 in active correspondence with him. As a result whereof, he is able to put in his own independent performance,

many facts and incidents which run beyond the ken of Mr. Doke. Mr. Gandhi's views on the present state of India, social, economic and political, as discussed in his letters, are, to say the least, very fresh and original. Many of them, such as that Railways have done great harm to the country, that modern civilization has demoralised the people, that the present system of education has undermined the foundations of health and family ties of students, would be condemned as heresies, but one has to remember that Gandhi is a follower of Tolstoy, and that he supports his conclusions by facts and arguments. The translation is indeed well done, and we welcome both the introduction and the translation, which together fully bear out the object of the writer, viz., to present the Spartan hero of South Africa as he is.

Sindh upar Swari, (Invasion of Sind) by Chuntlal Vardhman Shah, printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Thick card board

cover. Pp. 228, with 2 maps of Sind, old and new. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1912).

The very fresh invasion of Sind by Mahmud Kasim is the theme of this novel. Dahir Rai, the Hindu King, was a great believer in Astrology. He was told by an astrologer that whoever married his sister would become a king and so to prevent the catastrophe he married her himself. Such folly is still known in Sind, as Daheri. Falling a victim to such statements the other Hindu Kings of Sind did not come to his assistance, because they were told that ultimately the banner of Islam was to float over Sind. Therefore they saw no good in offering resistance to the Musalman invader. The narrative is interesting and the scenes well described. It will serve to make the history of Sind, in earlier times, better known in Gujarat, where until now, very little interest is taken in the affairs of that part of the Presidency.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Decentralisation and Provincial Autonomy.

It is seldom that administrative problems and measures have not a history behind them. One of the most important problems now before the public is that of decentralisation and provincial autonomy. The question seems to have engaged the attention of the British authorities more than half a century ago. For we find that Major G. Wingate, in the course of his evidence, on 13th July, 1858, before the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India), was asked :—

"7771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a central Government, and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous ?—Yes, I think that if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if the question were simply agitated in one division of the empire ; if a question were agitated throughout the whole length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only.

"7772. Mr. Danby Seymour]. Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing, at the same time ?—Yes."

It seems Major G. Wingate was afraid of a community of feelings and interests growing up throughout India, or, in other

words, of the peoples of India becoming a nation.

We do not know what proportion of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy at present hold views similar to those of Major Wingate and what proportion do not ; nor do we know what has led to the recent discussions of the problems of decentralisation and provincial autonomy. We only know that in recent times the Swadeshi agitation has been the only agitation which has reached even the masses throughout India.

Lord Curzon indeed wanted that Calcutta opinion should not prevail throughout Bengal, but that "independent" centres of opinion should grow up in different parts of the province. Lord Hardinge has betrayed a similar jealousy of the predominance of Calcutta and Bengal opinion.

If Major Wingate's policy were to be followed to its logical conclusion, then all the different provinces of India would have to be governed by rulers appointed from "home" and responsible to the British Parliament and Ministry alone, the post of Viceroy and Governor-General would have to be abolished, and there would have to be different and independent armies for the different provinces. Of course, the legislatures and the laws would also have to be independent. But we do not think any

practical politician can contemplate such sweeping changes. Already, we have had pronouncements made by "responsible" statesmen which would seem to show that the expression "provincial autonomy" was used by Lord Hardinge in a Pickwickian sense. We also find that so thoroughgoing a supporter of the Delhi changes as the *Indian Daily News* has begun to grumble that the new financial arrangements will not in practice leave much power to the provincial governments.

Moral. Do not shout before you are out of the woods.

A Project for a Hindu Girl's School.

We wish to draw the attention of our readers to the Project for a Hindu Girl's School published elsewhere in this number. This was the school which Sister Nivedita established at Bagbazar, Calcutta, in 1898 and which had been maintained by a friend and by her own contribution. It is proposed to maintain this school as a memorial to the Sister. Contribution should be sent either to

Swami Saradananda,
Udbodhan Office,
Bagbazar, Calcutta ;

or to

Dr. Kanjilal,
3, Madan Mitter's Lane,
Calcutta,

who would acknowledge receipt of all remittances.

Education of Indian Women.

Speaking at the last Madras Social Conference held at Kumbakonam, the Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer is reported to have said :—

The question, however, was what kind of education should be imparted to women. He did not think it would do to educate Indian women to become window-smashers and hooligans. What was necessary was education in Indian literature and Sanskrit. This would in no way unsex Indian women, and the late Sister Nivedita had entertained the same view.

We are not aware that anywhere in India or in any other country in the world, any education is or proposed to be given to women which is calculated to make them window-smashers and hooligans. If in any country "educated" women have become window-smashers and hooligans, have not "educated" men, too, become hooligans

and bomb-throwers there? Would it be logical, therefore, to say that the education given to men in schools and colleges in the West, produces hooligans and bomb-throwers? We do not propose to discuss in this brief note whether the same sort of education should be given to women as to men ; indeed there should be some difference. But we do not in the least admit that any branch of learning which, if taught to men, would make them useful and high-souled citizens, would, if taught to women, unsex them or make them hooligans and window-smashers necessarily. We require, indeed, to define what are to be held as the essential characteristics of the female sex.

The speaker either does not know Sister Nivedita's ideal of what sort of education should be given to Indian women, or he has not been fully and correctly reported. Her idea was that, while nothing should be done which would diminish in the least the feeling of reverence and the spirit of self-sacrificing service which characterise Indian women, *their education should be thoroughly modernised* : they should, therefore, be taught, besides their vernacular literature, English, mathematics, geography, history, science, and some handicraft or industry which may enable them to be self-supporting, if need be. This will be clear from all her writings on the subject, as also from the "Project for a Hindu Girls' School" published in this number. This has reference to the education of the generality of Indian women. As to the higher education of women, it is clear that a woman like Sister Nivedita, who was herself so learned and highly cultured and extensively read, could not possibly hold that even the highest learning would unsex Indian women.

Our idea is that we should not be carried away by preconceived notions, but should allow educated women themselves to have their say on the subject. We have also great faith in the need of experiments. The Universe is not built on such weak foundations, that the teaching of, say higher mathematics even, to some women, would produce utter chaos. If any woman want to learn any branch of learning which men learn, let them learn if they can, and let us observe the results, and let women also observe the results. Neither men nor women entirely live for themselves ; nor does any

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sex live entirely for the other sex. Just as women cannot and do not demand that the education of men should be only such as would suit the convenience of women,, so men also should not demand that the education of women should be only such as would suit the convenience of men. "The subjection of women" should not proceed further than it has done, or exist longer than it has done.

Ranade on the defects and duties of Hindus and Musalmans.

The late Mr. M. G. Ranade thought that—

Both Hindus and Mahomedans lack many of those virtues represented by the love of order and regulated authority. Both are wanting in the love of municipal freedom, in the exercise of virtues necessary for civic life, and in aptitude for mechanical skill, in the love of science and research, and daring and adventurous discovery, the resolution to master difficulties, and in chivalrous respect for womankind.

He was of opinion that Hindus and Musalmans should join hands.

If the lessons of the past have any value, one thing is quite clear, *vis.*, that in this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mahomedans join hands together Joint action from a sense of common interest, and a common desire to bring about the fusion of the thoughts and feelings of men so as to tolerate small differences and bring about concord—these were the chief aims kept in view by Akbar and formed the principle of the new divine faith formulated in the Din-i-Ilahi. Every effort on the part of either Hindus or Mahomedans to regard their interests as separate and distinct, and every attempt made by the two communities to create separate schools and interests among themselves, and not to heal up the wounds inflicted by mutual hatred of caste and creed, must be deprecated on all hands. It is to be feared that this lesson has not been sufficiently kept in mind by the leaders of both communities in their struggle for existence and in the acquisition of power and predominance during recent years.

As regards the directions in which these two communities should strive for improvement, he said :—

Both Hindus and Mahomedans have their work cut out in this struggle. In the backwardness of female education, in the disposition to overleap the bounds of their own religion, in matters of temperance, in their internal dissensions between castes and creeds, in the indulgence of impure speech, thought and action on occasions when they are disposed to enjoy themselves, in the abuses of many customs in regard to unequal and polygamous marriages, in the desire to be extravagant, in their expenditure on such occasions, in the neglect of regulated charity, in the decay of public spirit, in not insisting on the proper management of endowments,—in these and other matters both communities are equal sinners, and there is thus much ground for improvement on common lines.

Bahaism.

The declaration of purpose put forth by Abdul Baha, the founder of Bahaism, is fully abreast of the best modern thought and effort. The Persian reformer proclaims the objects he has in mind in the *Kitab-i-Akdas* (the Holy Book).

The first of these is to bring about universal peace. He calls upon the nations to settle their differences by a board of arbitration. Second he pleads for a universal language, "the great source of concord." Third, he desires spiritual equality, *i.e.*, people of all nations to do away with caste and special classes and to meet on the broad platform of one eternal Father, all men his sons. Fourth, Abdul Baha lays special emphasis upon the worth and dignity of labor. Every one should work, every one have some useful occupation; for work is worship. Fifth, emphasis is to be placed upon universal education "for the poor, for the rich, for the girl, for the boy." (*The Christian Register*.)

The claims of knowledge.

There are not many men in India who are burdened with too much wealth, and who do not know how to get rid of it. But if any there be who wish to spend or bequeath money for objects which are not vicious, they cannot find better recipients of their charity than poor students, educational institutions, and libraries. Free studentships, schools and colleges, free libraries, should be founded by donors according to their means and inclinations. The importance of these in such an excessively ignorant and preponderatingly illiterate country as India, cannot be overrated, seeing that even in the United States of America an exhortation like the following finds place in the *Christian Register* :—

Most people spend twice and thrice as much time in acquiring money as in disposing of it; but here and there, and now and then, some person is obliged to ponder over the problem of disburdening himself of his wealth. For instance, when he is making his will; and, if he feels distrustful of greedy relatives, or foresees his modest bequest to a hospital dwarfed by larger donations, let him select some town—his natal town, by preference—and establish there a perpetual lectureship. Could any other use of five or ten thousand dollars be more fruitful in educational and civilizing results? Reflect upon it, pen in hand, with or without your family attorney at your elbow! Note the beneficent "Lowell Institute Lectures" in Boston! And eight thousand dollars, in safe investments, would return three hundred and twenty dollars a year, which would pay for a course of six high standard lectures each winter. The admission tickets should be allotted free, on application, and the course should be under the control of persons of efficient position; for example,

the town-clerk, the minister of some church, the principal of the high-school, the president of the local bank, and the chairman of the public library trustees. Thus, through "The James Smith Lectures," you would hand down your name to a grateful posterity, who would never spend time in spelling it out on a bronze tablet or a marble slab.

A Model School.

The Herald of the Golden Age contains an account of the National Village School in Sussex which shows that in many respects it is entirely and admirably what all schools ought to be.

The first remarkable thing is the bright and happy look on every face. The Sussex rustic is proverbially dull (it may be remembered that John Wesley said he could do nothing with Sussex: they were so slow to kindle or flash), but there is no sign of dullness on any face here. Miss Johnson does not believe in congenital dullness, unless indeed there is actual mental deficiency. But there is plenty of dullness in the ordinary training that children receive and a still fuller share of dullness in the system under which teachers work.

The real difference between child and child in our melancholy educational system is that some withstand the deadening influences better than others. That is about all.

The next remarkable thing is the ceaseless activity of the children. In the ordinary school they listen, yawning, to lectures on History, Geography, Nature study, or what not, or work mechanical sums, write lists of spelling, or pieces of composition, or draw from flat copies. But in this school each is actively employed. It is a saying of Aristotle's that unimpeded energy is an essential element in happiness.

The third remarkable fact is that all the various activities are *forms of self-expression*. The child and his own interests are behind all he does, and numerous channels of self-expression are opened to him. Here are a few of them.

(1) Talking. This includes the free expression of opinion and experiences, the free asking of questions, formal debating, the making up of dialogues, etc.

(2) Written composition, including the making of notes by the children for their own use, descriptions of nature, making up of stories, verses, etc.

(3) Reading aloud by individual children to the rest of the class.

(4) Recitation of poetry.

(5) Singing, including the old English folksongs, which are partly dramatic.

(6) Morris dancing, which is also partly dramatic.

(7) Ordinary dancing.

(8) Acting, including the dramatic treatment of History, Geography, even Arithmetic; also the dramatic interpretation of Shakespeare, dialogues, scenes from Dickens, etc.

(9) Drawing with pencil, brush, and chalk.

(10) Clay modelling.

(11) Informal gardening, including observations of plant life.

(12) Informal carpentering, including the making of such useful things as sheds and fences.

(13) Informal cookery.

(14) Cutting out and making garments, including the making of simple fancy costumes for the girls, and armour (made of tea-paper) for the boys.

The teacher's one idea is to help the children to educate themselves. She gives them the three great gifts: material, stimulus, and guidance. The rest they must do for themselves. Her fundamental assumption is that real education is self-education, and that for self-education we must have the power of self-expression, and that to foster self-expression is the first and last duty of the teacher.

How History is taught there.

The children teach themselves history by dramatising historical episodes.

The treatment of history is in the main dramatic. When they come to such an episode the older children dramatise it. They consult some historical manual or novel and make up their own dialogues, costumes and other accessories. They then act the scene according to their own interpretation, with the stimulus and guidance of the teacher's criticism. The rest of the class look on, with their history books before them, qualifying themselves unconsciously to act as understudies, and, in due course, to play their own parts. The child who has acted history will always be interested in it, and will absorb its spirit, atmosphere and more significant facts.

But this is not all the advantage. At the same moment the children are training the sovereign faculties of imagination and sympathy, and the result is dramatic power generated by sympathetic interest.

Nature-Study.

Nature-study is a prominent feature in the work of this school.

When a lesson is given on, say a holly leaf, each child has its own leaf and a lens. They note the characteristics and try to account for them. They ask questions and often give their own answers. Observation is still further developed by nature rambles and by drawing natural objects, and the search for beautiful quotations. In this way are developed the more emotional qualities, subtle feeling for the general life of nature and sympathy with other forms of life than our own.

Drawing.

In this school the children have been forced under wise guidance to educate themselves in drawing, and the results have been excellent.

"In this school the teaching of Drawing reaches the highest educational level I have hitherto met in our elementary schools, and the results are the genuine expression of the children's own thoughts. Flat copies are not used and the children evolve their own technique. The development of thought carries with it the development of skill, and this is clearly seen in the drawings, which show good form and proportion, some knowledge of light and shade, a delicate and refined perception of colour, and a wonderful power of dealing with the difficulties of fore-shortening. The central law is self-effort. The children decide what to draw,

how to draw it, and the materials to be used. Under their teacher's influence the children become acute critics. In her own words,—“I gave each child an ivy-leaf and said ‘Now look well at it.’ We talked about its peculiarities, looking all the time, and then I told them to draw one, looking still at the leaf. Then I examined results. A good many, of course, were faulty. In these cases I did not say ‘No, you are wrong: this is the way,’ and go to the black-board. I said ‘In such and such a part is yours the same as the leaf? What is different? How can you alter it? I make *them* tell me their faults. There was no blackboard demonstration.”

The scholars may sometimes be seen seated in the lanes, depicting some object that has attracted their attention.

Discipline.

Regarding discipline in this school, Mr. Holmes, late Chief Inspector of Schools, England, says:—

“Were I called on to report on the discipline of this school my report would be brief. There is no discipline. There is no need for any. Apart from his love for his teacher and his pride in his school each child is so happy in his work that the idea of being naughty never enters his head. And if there is no need for punishment it is equally true that there is no need for rewards. With the example of this school before me I cannot but hope that some day we shall begin to ask ourselves whether it is wise or right to make the school a training ground in egotism and vanity. The world will draw the child all too soon into its vortex of competitive selfishness.”

Moving Pictures in the Classroom.

Mr. Thomas A. Edison thinks that the moving picture can make schools interesting for the children, which school-books have hitherto failed to accomplish. “The easy way to appeal to the young is through the eye; why take the harder ways?” This idea has led him to think of making an experiment with education by photographic film in the Orange Schools. The method to be adopted is explained by him at some length in *World To-Day*. Mr. Edison says:—

“See how we teach geography. The teacher, we will say, is trying, with the aid of books, to give children who were never outside of New York City some idea of the great continent of Africa. The children are told that there are Kaffirs in South Africa. There may be a picture or two—small and lifeless things—to show how the Kaffirs look.

“But when all is said and done the children do not know much about how the Kaffirs look and less of how they live. And when the child has been drugged almost to death to memorize the ‘principal products’ of Africa, the lesson is ended.”

Mr. Edison is going to try to teach geography in a very different way. “One of the best moving-picture

operators in the world’ is now in Africa with directions from the great inventor to start at Cape Town and “take everything between there and the mouth of the Nile.” Then, in due time, the children will see not only Kaffirs actually at work and at play, but the biggest beasts of the jungle, the velds, the rivers, and all the wonders of Africa—“do you believe many children will play sick while these pictures are being run off?”

Not only geography but most other subjects of study are to be taught with the help of moving pictures, which will take the place of most books used below the ninth grade. To quote Mr. Edison's own words again:—

“I do not know how I could teach grammar with moving pictures, but I can teach reading, writing, spelling, geography, arithmetic, and physiology. I can even teach history and some branches of science with moving pictures. One of the best films we ever made was of the battle of Lexington. I sent men to the scene and reproduced the battle as nearly as I could as it occurred. In the same way I have shown Washington crossing the Delaware. Many other historic scenes could as easily be reproduced.

“And one of the most interesting pictures I ever made illustrated a chemical process. I simply poured certain chemicals upon a glass and let coloured crystals form. Seen with the naked eye, this would not amount to much. But I magnified the crystals until they were as large as slices of bread, and when they popped up from the glass they looked almost like covers flying from the manholes over a sewer.”

The Literary Digest, from which these extracts are taken, says that as yet in America no institution of learning has included the cinematograph as a part of its equipment. But in Versailles, France, there is an important school that has actually installed a moving-picture apparatus and has been making good use of it. Mr. F. Honoré describes the out-fit and the many ways in which it is used at some length in *L'Illustration* (Paris, January 13). Possibly, he thinks, the schools are afraid of the moving pictures as connoting frivolity. *The Literary Digest* translates his words as follows:—

“The programme of the International Congress of Mathematics which is to meet in 1912 includes a discussion on the dangerous tendency of certain teachers to make the study of mathematics attractive. And in the same way some old pedagogs, greatly attached to intellectual gymnastics, fear that the moving picture machine may make the study of science too easy.

“This opinion, I hasten to say, is not wide-spread in the university. The introduction of the cinematograph into the official curriculum would appear to be delayed chiefly by the initial expense, which the Department of Education considers somewhat heavy.

“But while committees discuss and bureaus reflect,

a professor at Versailles has acted; and thanks to the initiative of Professor Bruckert, lectures in natural science at the *Lycée Hoche* are now accompanied by moving pictures. And this model plant, which we believe to be the first in France, has been installed so cheaply and practically that all our schools, it would seem, might easily offer the same facilities.

"In botany, the projection microscope shows, with enlargements of 300 to 2,400 diameters, the innermost structure of the plant cell, while the cinematograph enables us to follow the unfolding of a bud or the pushing of roots through the soil. Views of this kind, taken automatically at about 20 minutes' interval, are projected at the rate of ten per second, or about 14,000 times faster than the reality. Despite this formidable increase of speed, the evolution of the phenomena, hitherto practically impossible to observe, appears in its smallest details with laboratory precision.

"In geology, the working of mines and quarries, and kindred industries, may be explained as in an excursion through the region to be studied, or a visit to the actual factory.

"In zoology, the animals appear alive—from the whale and the elephant down to the infusoria; this manner of showing the life-history of a cocoon will doubtless tend to restore to study the long hours once lost in secretly raising silk-worms; while the procession of blood-globules through the capillaries will demonstrate in thirty seconds, and in a definite way, the circulation of the blood."

When we were pupils of Dr. J. C. Bose at the Calcutta Presidency College, about a quarter of a century ago, he showed us the circulation of the blood in the wing of a living bat, much enlarged, by a different means.

As regards the expense of installing a cinematograph Mr. F. Honoré says:—

"As I said at the outset, the question of expense has hitherto been in control. Without giving a detailed statement, a few figures may here be presented. The general electric plant at the *Lycée Hoche*, including the transformer, cost \$800. This is used in common by all the scientific departments and on certain days it is utilized in five physics classes at the same time.

"The plant devoted particularly to the natural science course cost only \$360. It includes a switch-board and cables, the cinematographic machine, and the projection-microscope. This last device sells generally for \$300; but Mr. Bruckert's cost him only \$80.

"The professor estimates that, in general, a demonstration-film ought not to exceed in length 40 yards, which, at 25 cents a yard, places its costs at \$10. Now it is said that a film properly handled can be used at least 200 times. Supposing it to be used ten times a year, it will then last 20 years, and cost 50 cents a year, or five cents a lecture—a negligible figure compared with the price of material and products used by students at each session of a class in experimental chemistry.

"As may be seen, the initial expense is spread over a long period. It will also vary from one institution

to another, according to whether continuous current is at hand, and to the way in which the plant is installed."

Public Spirit.

We often complain of the small number of public spirited men in our country. But it does not often occur to us that men who are oftenest before the public eye, by speech or writing, may not be public-spirited at all. No doubt, some men of this description do possess public spirit. But there are others whose names seldom appear in print who may be more public-spirited. We require to have a correct idea of public spirit, and to understand that with all citizens the possession of this virtue ought to be the rule rather than the exception. Says the *Christian Register*:—

Publicity is often sought by men and women who have no public spirit. To appear in public, to speak in public, to figure in the magazines as one who is in the eye of the public, to carry one's self so that he will be regarded as a public character, having his doings and sayings chronicled in all the daily papers,—all these things may be without the slightest exhibition or comprehension of public spirit. On the other hand, one may work quietly, avoid publicity, make no sensation, but seldom appear in public and never upon the platform and yet in the whole course of his daily life exhibit, in its finest form, public spirit.

The public-spirited citizen is one who regards himself as part of the social organism, responsible to it for his actions and the effect of his actions, conscious always that the social organism thrives only when the units of that organism are in good health and beneficent activity. Public-spirited men and women are those who take into account the private interests of their husbands, wives, children, homes, and houses, but reckon them as parts also of a community made up of many homes and many private interests. They are therefore directly and actively interested in all the institutions which serve the public,—the schools, churches, hospitals, libraries, museums, and, above all, the Government, especially in the departments of the Government which determine and control measures affecting the food, water, air, light, police, and whatever concerns the health and safety of the individual citizen.

He who is not public-spirited attends to his own business in his own way, makes his home as beautiful and as happy as he can, and beyond that takes advantage of the good work done by other men and women in providing for him a community in which there are innumerable good things which he can take or leave, as he pleases, with no further responsibility. He says in effect: If I want amusements, I will take such as I like. I will go to church if the church pleases me, I will seek pleasant companions where I can find them, I will pay my taxes if I have to; and for these and other things I will pay for what I use and leave the rest for those who like them.

Practically, this code of conduct, which is that of some very amiable, intelligent, and self-satisfied

people, is a relinquishment of the duties and responsibilities of the good citizen. This is neither public spirit, a good private spirit, or anything but a very mean and sneaking sort of refined selfishness. They who are ruled by it are not useful citizens anywhere.

Public spirit regards all public institutions and all forms of social organization with regard to their effect upon all the members of society. The poor, the sick, the criminal, the millionaire, and the labourer, the prosperous and the unfortunate alike, are to be served and well served, or society fails to do its duty. Regarding himself as a unit in the social organism, vitally related to every other unit, a public-spirited citizen asks what will best serve the real interests, not only of the enterprising and the prosperous, but also of those who are unskilful, unthrifty, overweighted by the sin of others, too weak to hold their places in the press of competition, and too ignorant to use the advantages which lie within their grasp.

An Indian School in South Africa.

In the course of a letter to Mr. Ratan Tata, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the Indian Passive Resistance leader in South Africa, writes :—

Perhaps the most substantial result of the struggle is the establishment of a school at the farm, which is being conducted by me, assisted until recently by Messrs. Medh and Desai, two staunch passive resisters and assisted at present by a cousin of mine. The pupils number twenty-five, and the desire is not to admit more than fifty. No day scholars are accepted, and all must remain on the farm. The parents of most of the boys pay £1 10s. per month for their sons' board. The amount so received are credited in the passive resistance account. No school fees are charged. Manual training is combined with mental, but the greatest stress is laid on character building. No corporal punishment is inflicted, but every endeavour is made to draw out the best that is in the boys by an appeal to their hearts and their reason. They are allowed to take the greatest freedom with their teachers. Indeed, the establishment is not a school but a family, of which all the pupils are persuaded, by example and precept, to consider themselves a part. For three hours in the morning, the boys perform some kind of manual labour, preferably agricultural, of the simplest type. They do their own washing, and are taught to be perfectly self-reliant in everything. There is, too, attached to the school a sandal-making class, as also a sewing class, the latter under the supervision of Mrs. Vogl, who so successfully organised the Indian Bazar, held under the auspices of the Indian Women's Association last year. I need hardly mention that Mrs. Vogl's work is a labour of love. No paid servants are kept on the farm in connection either with the school or the kitchen. Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Sodha, assisted by two or three of the pupils, who are changed every week, attend to the whole of the cooking. Non-smoking, non-drinking and vegetarianism are obligatory on the farm. Mental training is given for three and a half hours at least, consisting of the Vernaculars of the respective scholars, English, Arithmetic, and so much of history and geography as may arise from the lessons in English or in the Vernacular. The medium of instruction is chiefly the Vernaculars, which are Gujarati, Hindi

and Tamil. The Tamil tuition, I am sorry to say, is of a very elementary character, there being no good Tamil teacher available. One hour in the evening is devoted to giving the scholars some idea of their respective religions, and, to that end, lessons are read from the Mahomedan, Hindu and Zoroastrian Scriptures. Readings from the last have been recently suspended, as two Parsee lads who were at the school have just left it. The classification according to religion to the date of writing this, is sixteen Hindus and nine Mahomedans, and the classification according to race is eighteen Gujaratis, six Tamils and one from North India. All the boys attend throughout the hour when the respective readings are given. An attempt is made to inculcate in them the spirit that they are first Indians and everything else after that, and that, while they must remain absolutely true to their own faiths, they should regard with equal respect those of their fellow-pupils. The life on the farm is reduced to the utmost simplicity.

The school is in the nature of an experiment. Though, therefore, it may be too sanguine to expect the boys to remain, when they grow up, agriculturists and simple livers, it may not be too much to hope that they will carry into their daily dealings, when they enter upon the battle of life, some of the lessons they are now learning.

The Results of the Conjeeveram Pandits' Conference.

At the recent *Parishad* which assembled at Conjeeveram the problems of Hindu social reform which were considered included sea-voyage, the marriageable age of Brahmin girls and the re-admission into the Hindu fold of repentant converts to other religions. Fifty Pandits have recorded their opinion on the above questions. Of those the majority consider that sea-voyage is not objectionable in itself but is only rendered so under certain special circumstances. As many as 46 are of opinion that the sin resulting from sea-voyage can be removed by the performance of suitable ceremonies. On the subject of the re-admission of repentant converts, 30 are of opinion that it is proper to readmit such of the converts as penitently desire to return to the Hindu fold, but their is great difference of opinion as to whether the converts are to be re-admitted into the caste to which they originally belonged. The question of the marriageable age of Brahmin girls was one that received the largest attention at the Conference. The Pandits admitted that there was provision in the Shastras for post-puberty marriage.

Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar convinced some of the foremost Pandits that the Shastras allowed the re-marriage of

virgin widows. They accordingly recorded their opinion to that effect and affixed their signatures to it. Vidyasagar published a lithographed fac-simile of this document as an appendix to his pamphlet on widow re-marriage. But the Pandits all denied that they had ever declared themselves in favour of the re-marriage of virgin widows. We do not know whether the South India Pandits are made of better stuff than their North India brethren of Vidyasagar's days. In any case it is good news that most of those who recorded their opinion have been intellectually convinced that certain reforms are not un-shastric. Moral courage and consistent conduct may follow in due course; though we do not think that social reform will await the pleasure of the Pandits. It has not done so up to the present.

Female Education in Mysore.

Mr. B. S. Iya, a Mysorean, writes to *The Leader* that female education was first organised in Mysore under the patronage of the late Maharaja Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar. The Maharani's College has turned out a few lady graduates of high birth, who are now acting as teachers there. Very many lady pandits have taken their degrees and certificates in the vernacular and Sanskrit. Most of the lady teachers of the various girl's schools in Mysore have received a training in the Ladies' Normal School attached to the Maharani's College. The number of girl students is increasing year by year. It should be borne in mind that all these graduates, teachers and students belong to orthodox families.

"Even girls of mature age attend this College." There are scholarships and prizes to enable students to prosecute their studies. A widows' home has been opened in connection with this college. Many widows are getting through the local Government examinations. Every year some of them receive higher education in the vernacular and Sanskrit.

The literary side has not monopolised the attention of the College authorities. They have equipped the institution for the teaching of drawing, painting, needle-work, singing (vocal and instrumental), cooking and embroidery.

The Government of Mysore spends a considerable sum of money for the education of girls. Girls' Schools have been opened in the *sudder* towns of almost all districts and taluks and even in some big villages, to prepare girls for the secondary examination at least.

There are many trained midwives now. An institution for teaching midwifery has been opened in Mysore and Bangalore.

Education at the Madras Provincial Conference.

Education was one of the matters referred to in the Presidential Address of the Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer. He pointed out that the number of students in colleges has fallen from 4687 in 1906-07 to 3741 in 1910-11. As regards secondary education the same tendency towards decrease is noticeable. The policy which has led to these results is undoubtedly "a striking compliment to the progress and intelligence" of the Madras.

Mr. Seshagiri Iyer also called upon the Conference to express its acceptance of the cardinal principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

Indian laborers for German South Africa.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak writes at length to the Press on the subject of the proposed importation of indentured Indian labourers into German South Africa. He says:—

In 1907 the Portuguese gave a contract for railway construction in their East African possessions behind Lobit's Bay. The contractor imported a large body of Indians from Natal on two years' agreements terminable in Natal. Allegations of grave abuse began to circulate and the contractors had in consequence to ship the people back to Natal. The Immigration Department at Durban refused to let them land although many had their families in the country and great hardship followed. Now South African Indians do not want this kind of thing to happen again. They do not intend a second time to play into the hands of unscrupulous immigration officials backed up by a Government hostile to Indian sentiment and contemptuous of the opinion of the courts. It is possible that in Damaraland Indians may be better off than in Benguela. Luederitz Bay may offer opportunities that Lobit's Bay does not possess, but that is nothing to the point. If Britain has no effective control over a British self-governing dominion, she has, with all apologies to Lord Morley, still less over an independent state, and it is intolerable that Germany, who threatens to oust the long established Indian traders from her possessions in East Africa, which they have done more than any other people to exploit for Germany's advantage, should be privileged

obtain Indian labour whether from India or Natal or another of her African possessions in order to fill the pockets of speculators and financiers careless of the well-being of those who extract wealth for them from the bowels of the earth.

We endorse every word of Mr. Polak. If we have any self-respect as a nation we ought not only to try to bring united pressure on the Government of India to prevent the emigration of Indian laborers to German South Africa, but also to apply the only real and lasting remedies, *viz.*, the universal diffusion of education among our people and the improvement of their economic condition by developing and exploiting the resources of our country.

Mr. Gokhale on the Enlarged Imperial Council.

Interviewed by a *Times of India* representative, Mr. G. K. Gokhale expressed the following opinion on the working of the enlarged Imperial Legislative Council:—

"It has been a great success; we count for much more in the Council now than we used to do under the old order. But it will be some time before we are able to make the fullest use of the new privileges. And we cannot do so," he went on in a wistful tone, "unless we have a larger number of men of independent spirit and of capacity and leisure devoting themselves to the work. A non-official member cannot fully cope with the duties of his position in the new Council; he cannot make the most advantageous use of his privileges unless he is prepared to apply himself seriously to the study of public questions throughout the year." Mr. Gokhale laid considerable stress on this point. When he was asked if he thought that there was a considerable number of independent men of leisure and capacity available at present, he replied emphatically "Yes, if only people would be content with the fortunes they have already made in their profession." Mr. Gokhale seemed to think that the time was coming when men in the active pursuit of a professional career would find it almost impossible to reconcile the claims of their time with the claims of work in the Councils. "Remember," he said, "that the men we have to deal with are men at the very top of their departments, who have spent twenty-five or thirty years in mastering their business, and it is easy to see that it is idle to hope to make an impression on them by mere generalities and without a careful study of administrative problems."

Our views are in entire agreement with those of Mr. Gokhale on the urgent need of a larger number of men of independent spirit and of capacity and leisure devoting themselves to the work of the legislative councils. We also think that our successful lawyers and other professional men should, on being elected to the councils, devote all their time to political work, so long as they

remain members. They can very well afford to do so.

As regards the alleged success of the enlarged council, we are of a different opinion. We have heard that another eminent independent member of council holds that at present an elected member of council counts for much less than formerly. The Council Regulations for election have been so framed that now against the independent opinion of a real representative of the people can be pitted the "gramophone" opinion of a flunkey who also can be spoken of with literal truth as the elected representative of the people. This was not possible under the previous state of things. Of course, it is admitted that the enlarged councils have a greater potentiality than their predecessors; though the actual results have been so far nil.

Lord Minto has recently said that he really intended to exclude the professional agitators and politicians from the councils. We know the class he had in view. But it is false to say that they are professional politicians. There is not a single professional agitator or politician in India; that is to say, no one in India earns his living by political agitation. That class of people exist in Western countries. There are no doubt some professional journalists in India; but they can hardly be called professional politicians in the sense in which the term is understood in the West. Moreover, barring a very few exceptions who had earned greater distinction in other lines of work, journalists have seldom been returned to the legislative councils in India.

Though we do not want "professional" politicians in India in the Western sense, we do want whole-time politicians.

If the bulk of the people come in course of time to be moved by patriotic impulses, even the nominated members must to some extent cease to echo official views. But that time, if it come at all, will come only in the distant future.

"History of Bengali Language and Literature."

In his review of Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's "History of Bengali Language and Literature" published in our last number, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has written:—

"The second chapter of the book begins with an account of some aphorisms and wise sayings of Dak

and Khana. It is quite significant that the author has not got the critical eye to observe that Dak and Khana have been mere names under whose shadows the popular adages and clever utterances of many men of different times have been grouped together."

We are bound to observe that here the critic has been unfair to the author; for the latter has really got "the critical eye," and holds the same opinion of those aphorisms as the critic does. For the author writes (p. 26):—

"In spite of all these traditions, we are inclined to believe, that these sayings contain the accumulated wisdom of the Bengal peasantry,—they are the heritage of an agricultural race to which the unassuming rural folk of Bengal have unconsciously contributed through ages, and that no particular person or persons should be credited with their authorship."

The reviewer has also said :—

"The portion of the book dealing merely with the Bengali books from the time of Chandidasa is not without some information worth recording."

It is only fair to the author to mention here that out of the 1012 pages of the text of the book, the portion which the reviewer speaks of as containing some information worth recording consists of 898 pages. This means that in his opinion nine-tenths of the work contains some information worth recording,—which is no mean praise, considering that the critic has not been very liberal in bestowing praise.

The Chinese as the Japanese see them.

The Japanese are not likely to be very partial towards the Chinese, as a progressive China means one country the less for Japanese exploitation. The following observations of the "Taiya" of Japan must therefore be considered to have great value:—

Geographically and politically considered, Japan in Asia occupies the position of England in Europe, and China may well aspire to that of France since the Revolution. But after all we think the Chinese revolution is an event without parallel in history. The reigning Imperial Family and their retinue assenting to their own abolition and at once ordering the establishment of a republic, recognising it as the will of the people on the whole, is an event unheard of in the annals of the world. There will be no trial of the late Sovereign, there will be no execution of the deposed King, there will be no expulsion of the Royal Family out of the country. Indeed, it does credit to the whole of the Chinese people. It proves how peaceful and amiable are the nation and how utterly wrong and groundless is the so-called "Yellow Peril" as understood by some people in the West.

Indian leaders in and out of Office.

In contradicting the rumour that he would be offered the office of Finance Member in succession to Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson or a seat on the India Council, Mr. Gokhale delivered himself as follows on the opportunities of serving the Motherland which Indian leaders may have in office and out of office :—

I strongly feel that those of us who are engaged in some way or other in building up public opinion, are more useful outside the Government than in the Government. And as for influencing policy I have heard it said by responsible men that a non-official has really more opportunities of exercising such influence than a member of Council who, whatever his views, is bound to vote with his colleagues and whose initiation according to official etiquette is not expected to extend beyond his own department.

That is the exact truth.

Indians technically trained abroad.

Of the scholars sent abroad by the association for the advancement of scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, eighty, we learn from a statement published in the *Bengalee*, have up to date returned. Of these 55 are shown to be usefully employed. Not quite discouraging this.

Chinese Laborers for Assam Tea-Gardens.

The *Indian Daily News* says that Chinese laborers are already coming to the Margherita Coal Mines and walk long distances from Yunnan and Tonquin.

This will solve a problem of some incertitude and probably need a different style of tea planter because Chinamen insist on equality of treatment and have a cheery "take it or leave it" way about them that commands respect. They give on the other hand a rupee's worth of work for a rupee which is difficult to get from indentured labour.

But it is difficult also for the indentured coolies to get the exact price of his labour. If Assam tea-planters had from the first showed any inclination to pay their just wages to the coolies, considering all the circumstances,—the unhealthiness of the gardens, their inaccessibility and distance from the homes of the laborers, and the nature of the work,—there would never have been a demand for the system of indentured labor.

The Wood Pulp Industry.

We are glad to learn from the *Advocate*

Lucknow that a new industry is being promoted in the United Provinces.

Our paper manufacturers cannot compete with paper manufactured in foreign countries because we are not able to produce cheap wood pulp as Austria and Germany can do. It has been demonstrated that wood pulp can be prepared in the forests of these provinces at much cheaper rates and can be conveniently exported to the manufacturing centres. Rai Pragnarayan Bahadur, one of the principal directors of the Upper India Paper Mills Company, Ltd., was for some time past considering the advisability of starting a Company for making wood pulp. A syndicate with Rai Pragnarayan Bahadur at its head and Mr. B. N. Kapur as Secretary has been floated at Lucknow to carry out the scheme which has our hearty good wishes.

We hope the Company will succeed and send its paper to the Calcutta market, too. For Bengal, some years ago, proceeded only as far as proposing to start a new paper mill to utilise the raw materials which exist in Mayurbhanj and other places in abundant measure.

British Rule in India.

At a recent Royal Colonial Institute Banquet Earl Grey presiding, Sir Arthur Lawley responded to the toast of the Dominions. Reviewing British rule in India he said "We found India at war and riven with crime. We gave her peace and justice and the most upright Civil Service in the history of the world with the result that we were raising the standard of living throughout the land." The abrogation of English rule in India, Sir Arthur continued, would mean disaster, as the Empire depended on India.

When speaking of Anglo-Indian Civilians, it is the custom with their fellow countrymen to use superlatives. We do not share that opinion. But we may be mistaken. It may still be asked whether there are any data for asserting that no other Civil Service in the world is so upright as the Indian Civil Service.

The speaker, however, has been unusually honest in one respect. Whenever Britishers speak of British rule in India, they generally dwell on the disaster that it would be for India, if that rule were to cease here; few speak of the advantage to Great Britain itself that has resulted from the British administration and exploitation of India. Sir Arthur Lawley has done the exceptional thing by saying that the abrogation of British rule in India would

mean disaster to the British Empire, as it depended on India.

The Independence of Asiatic Countries.

The biggest of independent Asiatic countries do not enjoy complete independence. Denmark or Holland or Portugal, not to speak of the great European Countries, can borrow money where they like. But we find that China is not to be allowed to borrow where she may find it to her advantage to do so. The great European powers, for safeguarding their own interests, are going to settle where she must borrow.

Italian Piracy.

Europe boasts of being the most civilised continent in the world. And yet there the Italians are committing piracy without anybody interfering to put a stop to such barbarous conduct on her part;—we intentionally refrain from using the epithet "unchristian" in this connection, as Christianity does not govern the conduct of so-called Christian nations, particularly where non-Christian countries are concerned. For, there is no doubt that Italy would not have been allowed to treat even the weakest European "Christian" country in this fashion.

China and Tibet.

Conflicting reports appear in the papers regarding the fight that is going on between China and Tibet. It is probable that in the long run China would win. But it is very unseemly for a republic to coerce any country into submission. It would undoubtedly be better for Tibet to form a self-governing part of the Chinese Republic than to be conquered and annexed by any European power. But it would be best if this could be brought about without further bloodshed.

Our Frontispiece.

The beautiful picture of a wild duck printed in this number is reproduced from a reproduction of the original water-colour given in Mr. Vincent Smith's History of the Fine Arts in India and Ceylon. The name of the painter is unknown. Most probably he belonged to the Mughal Court.

Lascars as seamen.

White sailors want that there should not be any Indian lascars employed in European

ships, as that would enable them not only to monopolise all the jobs, but also to dictate terms to the ship-owners. So they every now and then set up an agitation against them. In the recent "Oceana" disaster, the lascars were said to have behaved improperly. But at the enquiry into that disaster Mr. Wilding, the Second Officer, testified that the lascars had behaved well. He did not see them use knives or display any violence. He did not think that the lascars were unreliable; indeed, he preferred them to Europeans. The Captain too gave evidence that he knew of no trouble with lascars. The first suggestion of improper behaviour on their part came to him through the newspapers.

Crimes against women in the Panjab.

The Panjab is becoming notorious for crimes against women. What is still more regrettable is that the majority of the offences go unpunished. The police report for 1910 shows that 102 persons were arrested for ravishing women, but only 39 were punished, 589 were arrested for kidnapping, abducting or prostituting or otherwise illtreating them, but only 215 were punished, and 636 were arrested for using criminal force on women or otherwise maltreating them, but only 342 were punished. It will be observed that in the graver offences, the number of convictions was less.

The Panjab contains more men than women. But that is no reason why women should be subjected to such brutal crimes. Social remedies like the remarriage of widows, should be applied to minimise the evils resulting from their disproportion in the numerical strength of the sexes.

The leading Panjab papers like the *Tribune* and the *Panjabee* would be doing a service to the public if they could prepare comparative tables of these crimes in the other provinces of India as well. It would also be worth knowing, if possible, to what communities or sects the majority of the offenders belonged, and whether the majority of policemen belong to those communities or sects. Another fact which deserves to be made public is to what communities or sects the wronged women belonged, and whether these communities or sects are different from those of the offenders. Unless all these facts are

ascertained, the real remedies cannot be devised.

The other provinces of India look upon the Panjab as the land of heroes. But unless the Panjabees can give full protection to their women, they must soon lose the reputation.

An Indian Musalman on his brethren.

We have often wondered why Musalmans in other countries should call themselves and be called Arabs, Turks, Afghan, Persians, Moors, &c., but Indian Musalman should prefer to call themselves and be called simply Musalmans. And yet they express resentment if one says that they are at best non-patriotic. There is no harm in being a pan-Islamist; on the contrary it is good to be one. But every one, whatever his creed, should remember that that man is the best cosmopolitan who loves his country best. As a patriot need not cease to love the members of his family, so a Pan-Islamist need not be wanting deep attachment to his country. There are thoughtful Indian Musalmans who feel all this. For instance, Mr. Abbas Tyabji who occupies one of the highest posts at Baroda, is reported to have said to a representative of the Paris *Le Temps* who visited Baroda:—

"We have got the blindest of politicians. Mussalmans live with their eyes turned towards Constantinople in regarding the Caliph not only as commander of the believers, a role purely religious but as a political leader of the worldwide revolutions which we all must work. The Utopia of this conception brings on our ruin, as it deprives us of the only necessary strength, which is the sense of nationality. English subjects, destined to submit to English rule, Indians by birth and tradition, forced to live and reside in India, members of a minority which cannot emancipate itself as the Hindu majority is very strong, we again accentuate our weakness by confounding the Ottoman cause with the Mussalman faith. We are no nation; but one cannot live in the dreams of the past. Although working to maintain the Mussalman traditions, (Mr. Tyabji had one of the mosques at Baroda built with a Koranic School attached to it at his own expense) I have tried my best to make my co-religionists understand that they must be Indian first, because one cannot exist without a mother country, and that they must acquire English culture."

China and Indian Cotton Yarn.

China has up to recent years furnished one of the best markets for Indian Cotton Yarn. But there are sure indications now

that this market would soon be closed to India, owing to Chinese and Japanese competition. The following paragraph from the *Indian Daily News* supports this view:—

We read that in 1907 the off-take of Indian yarn at the Shanghai mart was 1,130,644 piculs of 133½ lbs. each; in 1908 there was drop to 884,363 piculs; in 1909 an increase to 990,883; in 1910 a serious drop to 732,751 and in 1911 a more serious drop still to 479,726 piculs. An optimistic view of the state of affairs will perhaps seek to find an explanation for this decline in the Chinese Revolution but in spite of its sanguinary incidents tending to disturb trade, it will not be easy to go behind the fact that during the past five years the consumption of Indian yarn in the Chinese market has withered to the abnormal figure of 6,50,918 and that the process has not been sudden but gradual. To the student of the economic situation in the Far East, the reason should be apparent, for it is a well-known fact that some time ago China resolved to depend on her own resources as to her cotton supply rather than go all the way to Bombay. And accordingly began erecting spinning mills which placed in the Shanghai market 346,952 piculs while Japan supplemented the output and contributed 379,016 piculs. It is not the Indian yarn alone that shows a falling-off. The off-take of the English product during the past five years shows also a decline from 12,602 to 2,809 piculs.

Indian Mill-owners should pay greater attention to the home market than they have hitherto done. Foreign markets may also be sought; but the home market should be developed first.

The Bharat Stri Mahamandal.

It is pleasing and encouraging to note that the work of the Bharat Stri Mahamandal in trying to educate women is expanding. In Calcutta there are already some twenty lady teachers engaged in teaching hundred *pardanashin* ladies in their homes. A mass meeting of Indian ladies in connection with the Bharat Stri Mahamandal was held at Nehal Chand's temple, Lahore, last month. Mrs. Sarala Devi Dutt Chaudhuri, General Secretary, delivered an address on "Panjab Women, Past and Present." She quoted authority from ancient Sanskrit works, showing the exalted position, learning and knowledge of the Aryan women of the past. At the conclusion of the lecture Mrs. Dutt Chaudhuri was requested by many to open Stri Mahamandal Schools for married women.

Women's Medical Service for India.

A scheme for a Women's Medical Service for India is under consideration. A Simla telegram says—

It is understood that the revised proposal will only

include the superior class of lady doctors and the question affecting the assistant surgeons and subordinate grades will be left to the Local Governments and provincial committees of the Dufferin Fund.

This means that European women doctors are to get the best paid jobs, and Indian women doctors, so far as they may be available, are to occupy inferior posts. So long as Indian medical women are not available in sufficient numbers, European women may be appointed. But what ought to be done is to establish at least one Women's Medical College in India equipped to give as good education as is obtainable in Great Britain and to give its graduates the same official status and salary as British women doctors. In the mean time, we do not see why the lady graduates of our existing medical colleges should necessarily be treated as inferior to the women doctors coming from Europe. For every British medical degree or diploma is certainly not superior to Indian medical degrees.

A Brave Man.

Recently a man named Dwarkanath Jogi, an Oriya by birth, did a very brave act of self-sacrifice. It would appear that a horse yoked to a gharry was bolting at full speed along Kansaripara, Bhowanipore, and as there were shouts of warning the more nimble pedestrians got out of the way. Dwarka seeing a woman bent with age tottering along the road ran to her rescue. He had just time enough to push her out of the way of danger and was himself knocked down by the run-away animal. Dwarka's injuries are very severe and he was immediately removed by some Bengalee gentlemen, who witnessed the brave act, to the Bhowanipore Hospital. All honour to the brave fellow. We hope he has now completely recovered.

Foundation Day of Rammohun Library.

It is necessary to enable all men to read; consequently it is also necessary to provide facilities for obtaining good books for all literate persons. As we cannot buy all the books that we require or wish to read, libraries are a necessity of civilised existence. The Rammohun Library is doubly worthy of encouragement, in that it is a library where choice books are kept, and because it is a humble memorial to the greatest

Indian of modern times. We are glad that last month on its foundation day, the secretary was able to announce several donations from distinguished men. The donations of Seth Damodar Das Govardhan Das of Bombay (Rs. 5,000) and of the Raja of Pithapuram, Madras Presidency (Rs. 500), are noteworthy, as these gentlemen belong neither to Calcutta nor to Bengal.

A History of Indian Shipping.

Indians are said to be lacking in the historical sense. It would be natural therefore for us to eagerly watch how a historical work written by an Indian is received by the English press. There is at present not a single ship, built, owned and manned by Indians, voyaging in the high seas. If then a book tells of the maritime and colonizing activities of our ancestors, the book must be dear to us; but fearing that our patriotic bias might lead us to over-estimate its worth, we should be anxious to know what others think of it. Hence it is that we have felt a curiosity as to how Mr. Radha Kumud Mukerji's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* is reviewed in the British Press. We confess there is a further reason for our interest in the fate of the book. It is that many chapters of the work first saw the light of day in the pages of this Review. We are pleased to find that the work has been favorably reviewed in many well-known British journals. *The Spectator* of London writes:—

"Most people can scarcely believe that once ships manned by native Indians plied the deep seas and spread their commerce all over the known world. Even as late as the early part of the nineteenth century one of the most capable and original shipbuilders in the world was a Parsi at Bombay. If Indians (apart from their comparatively small coasting trade) had not abandoned navigation, as though it were something impious, they might hold a place in the development of the naval architecture comparable with that of the Dutch and the British." "Mr. Mukerji believes, no doubt correctly, that the history of the Indian maritime activity has never been treated systematically. The field is almost unexplored, and much of the evidence and the fascinating illustrations placed before us in this work will be absolutely new to most readers." "It may be that both Mr. Mukerji and Mr. Seal exaggerate in their enthusiasm, but a glance at India on the map is in itself a kind of evidence of former naval enterprise. For one feels that the ancient civilizations which found ingress and egress through the mighty chain of mountains across the north of India must also have come into contact freely with the rest

of the world by traversing the ocean. India is surrounded by mountains and seas but of the two the sea is always by far the more necessary to bridge. The colonies were gradually planted in Pegu, Camboja, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and even in Japan." "Of the illustrations the most interesting are the reproductions of the sculptures at the Indian colony of Borobudur in Java." "Judging from the illustration we should say that the Borobudur sculptures are extraordinarily beautiful." "Indian navigation no doubt developed *pari passu* with that of the Phœnicians, Greeks, Assyrians, and Egyptians." "Colon Stanhope wrote in 1827 'Never was there an instance of any ship of the Bombay marine (as it was called) having lowered her flag to an enemy of force.' The docks at Bombay were equal in efficacy of design to any in the world, and the Parsi builders were actually commissioned to build Royal Navy as well as for the Indian Navy. In 1840 no more large ships were built in India, and in 1863 about four years after the East India Company's rule had been replaced by that of the Crown, the Indian Navy was abolished. We have often expressed the opinion that this Navy could be and ought to be revived. We hold most strongly that it would be a valuable addition to the naval strength of the Empire; that it would make use of material which is now utterly wasted; and that it could be most easily and cheaply manned from a seaboard of more than four thousand miles."

The Times (London) is of opinion that

"Mr. Mukerji has selected a fascinating and almost untrodden field of historical research, and has pursued his inquiries with laborious diligence. Not only has he gathered materials from printed works, but he has also examined many Sanscrit and Bengali manuscripts, and has further collected much evidence from archaeology. It is equally to his credit that he has compressed masses of information into a compact and fluent narrative. He is evidently one of that small but growing band of Indians who are determined to wipe out the reproach that the historical faculty is dead within their race. We know far too little of the maritime history of the East..... Yet for many centuries before the Cape was rounded the Eastern seas had swarmed with shipping..... And just as India was never really isolated by her mountain ramparts, so Mr. Mukerji shows that her ships sailed far and wide before the coming of the Europeans. He tells a long and fairly connected story of maritime activity, beginning with the dim traditions of Hindu mythology, and ending with the splendid records of the Indian navy, established by the British and perhaps unwisely abolished in 1863. It is a story of intimate intercourse by sea with the other nations of the East, and of constant voyages which generally had trade for their object, sometimes war, and occasionally colonization. The influence which India exerted upon China, and still more upon Japan is now familiar knowledge; what is not so commonly appreciated is that it was exercised by sea-routes rather than by land... His long reference to the colonization of Java from India is undisputably correct. His reproductions of the representations of Indian ships in the wonderful sculptures of Borobudur, in Java, are most interesting. The porpoises in one of the sculptures can only have been wrought by thoroughly observant men familiar

the sea, as every voyager will recognize.....The has many excellent plates."

The Athenaeum thinks that

"From the scholar's point of view the author's use of his documentary material enforces admiration by its acuteness and industry.....So far as the accessories of every conscientiously written book go, the present work leaves nothing to be desired. There are many interesting plates, particularly the reproductions from the sculpture of Borobudur."

Devoted as it is to shipping, the opinion of the *Shipping World* ought to be valuable.

As an Indian, Professor Mookerji is better placed in this particular field of original research than any European can hope to be, while, of course, it is his understanding and also with sympathy. These are valuable attributes for the historian, and the author of "Indian Shipping" has used them well. This is quite a new region for historical investigation, and Professor Mookerji is to be congratulated on his discovery and choice of subject. On a superficial view—a distinctly insular and European view, perhaps there would appear little scope and few materials for a history of Indian Shipping apart from European shipping. Professor Mookerji convinces us that that is altogether a mistaken idea. India, although mountain-guarded and sea-girt, has been singularly susceptible to outside world-movements; her vast wealth, her teeming industrious population, her spell, her mystery, have been loadstones for many a conqueror. Yet her early shipping was distinctly national and indigenous, and, indeed, exerted an influence from Japan on the East to Africa on the West. Indian seamen constituted themselves, to borrow our own quaint phrase, the merchant adventurers of Asiatic seas, and colonising voyages of no small importance were undertaken from Indian shores to far-off islands of the main. At the height of her maritime power India represented the leading nation of Asia on the high seas. She planted colonies in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo, even in distant Japan. She had trading settlements in southern China, in the Malaya Peninsula, in Arabia, in all the chief cities of Persia, and all over the east coasts of Africa. Such a wide geographical range of trading ports demonstrates the possession of a mercantile fleet of no mean order."

It calls the book a "valuable treatise" and concludes its review by saying—

"Let us say in conclusion, that this is a book to read from cover to cover—not merely to dip into for picturesque details, such as we have been giving. It is a volume of real merit, and must have entailed upon its author much painstaking research, for which he should be, as its author, well rewarded by many appreciative readers."

In the opinion of the *Scotsman* it is a "learned and valuable treatise" and an "instructive and scientifically conceived history". The *Manchester Guardian* calls it "an interesting study of a branch of maritime industry now much neglected." It says that "it is possible that the eloquent

peroration to his book may rouse some of his countrymen to a sense of their dependence upon the energy of foreign shipowners," and considers the book "well turned out." We conclude with extracts from the *Glasgow Herald* notice.

"Mr. Mukerji (who is Professor of Indian History in the National Council of Education, Bengal) in this carefully compiled and finely produced volume shows that there have been periods of great shipping activity in the history of India, and that long before the days of the East India Company the natives were building vessels of many types and sizes, exploring Eastern water as far as China and Japan, and carrying on a large coasting and general trade. He gives a composite picture in which the story of the development of Indian ship-building can be traced all through Sanskrit and Pali literature,—Indian coins, sculpture, and painting, and by means of many direct and indirect references in books and manuscripts, and in which also there may be seen teeming harbours and enterprising people and a wealth of traffic passing from port to port. Professor Mookerji has searched wide and deep for his materials."

Mr. Lloyd George on Rich Aristocratic Families.

The following Reuter's telegram will be found instructive:—

In the course of the debate on the second reading of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, Mr. Lloyd George made a notable speech in reply to an attack of Lord Hugh Cecil. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that disestablishment without disendowment was ridiculous. Property bequeathed for the poor and the sick and education had been annexed mostly by great families, one of the most discreditable records in the history of the country. He said he was bound to notice one specially offensive case. The Duke of Devonshire, he went on, in a circular had applied for subscriptions to oppose this Bill, "charging us with the robbery of God, yet he knows that the foundations of his fortune are laid deep in sacrilege and built of desecrated shrines and pillaged altars." (Ministerial cheers and Unionist shouts of "Lime-house.")

Then followed a heated passage-at-arms between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Hugh Cecil.

Mr. Lloyd George resumed: "The charge of theft against the nation should not be brought by those whose ancestors robbed the Church, robbed the monasteries, the altars, the almshouses, the poor and the dead. Then they come here when we are trying to recover part of the pillaged property for the poor for whom it was originally given and venture with their hands dripping with the fat of sacrilege to accuse us of the robbery of God."

There is no doubt that the ancestors of many rich families in India too, as elsewhere, were robbers of some sort or swindlers; but it is seldom that their heirs have occasion to be treated to a feast of the

unvarnished truth as the Duke of Devonshire was.

Wanted a fortified Delhi.

In course of the Delhi debate Colonel Yate proposed the absolute necessity of the fortification of Delhi. He wants to make it "the strongest place of arms in all India defended by 'definite' fortifications and up-to-date fortifications just as Paris is protected." Mr. Lovat Fraser also would fortify Delhi. It is so easy for them to wish this wish, because it is the Indians who will have to pay. We find that so long ago as 1879, Major General J. E. Portlock and Colonel Sir Charles B. P. H. Nugent, R. E., wrote in the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica in the concluding paragraph of the article on "Fortification":—

"If one truth be taught more clearly than another by the Franco-German war, it is the advantage, nay, the absolute necessity, of fortifying, but of properly fortifying, the capital of a highly centralized country. When we consider France deploring the flower of her youth sacrificed, the destruction wrought in her capital, and the spoliation of two of her fairest provinces, and mulcted in a money payment of £200,000,000, with an addition of £170,000,000 more to her debt,—can we avoid the conclusion that no sum spent upon fortifications would have been too large if it had preserved her from such calamities? All that Paris is to France, London is, and more, to the British Empire. Paris is rich and populous; London is richer and far more populous. Paris was a tempting prize to an invader; London is more tempting and more accessible. The resources of France in her soil and in her climate are great, and her children are so thrifty that she is self-dependent; but it is far otherwise with Great Britain. She depends upon foreign countries for half the necessities of life and the commerce by which her supplies of food are gathered is mainly centred in her capital. France, as we see, has already recovered from the fall of her capital; but the fall of England's might be without a rise, for it might be attended with a collapse of commerce from which there should be no recovery. Yet notwithstanding the pressure of unheard of ills, and with the regeneration of her army straining her resources heavily, France finds means to spend £4,000,000 upon the fortifications of Paris. With this example before her eyes shall Great Britain in the full tide of prosperity do less for London?"

This was written thirty-three years ago. When London is defended by up-to-date fortifications, it will be time to think of Delhi.

Lord Carmichael and the Nawab of Dacca.

Colonel Yate is of opinion that the only

way to soothe the feelings of the East Bengal Mahomedans was that Lord Carmichael should live at Dacca during the rains. *The Indian Daily News* provisionally fixes His Excellency's programme there as follows:—

Presumably the following will be his programme. Monday, lend money to Nawab; Tuesday, dine with Nawab; Wednesday, ask the Nawab to dine; Thursday, lend money to the Nawab; Friday, lend money to the Nawab; Saturday, ask for repayment; and Sunday, secret Mahomedan conference.

"The Titanic" Disaster.

'The many notable men whose untimely death was caused by the sinking of the *Titanic*, have all received fitting tributes of praise. Lord Fisher describes Mr. Stead as



Captain Edward John Smith of the *Titanic*, who went down with his ship.

a human dreadnought. Mr. Stead unfolded the Naval plans to Mr. Fisher in 1885 and afterwards secured five millions sterling for the Navy. He also originated the "Two keels to one" ideal. Lord Milner writes that he cannot recall anyone possessing



W. T. STEAD.

equal vitality. Lord Esher says that no events of material importance to the country has happened since 1880 which Mr. Stead has not influenced. Captain Smith has had his due meed of praise. Millionaires like Astor and Isidore Straus, whose heart-affluence was at least as great as their material wealth, have not been without eulogists. It is gratifying to find that the men below decks have not been forgotten. Lord Charles Beresford's letter in the *Times* on "Heroism below decks" is a generous and richly deserved tribute to the unseen members of the crew in the engine and boiler departments. Says he:—

"It is certain that those working below must have known the awful danger the ship was in long before anybody else, but they remained at their posts, resolving to die sooner than come on deck and create a panic or attempt to save themselves. Those below must have heard the muffled sound of the ice tearing through the

ship's side. Within ten minutes or a little more they knew that the pumps would not check the rising water, yet for over two hours they remained at their posts, as was evinced by the lights burning and the few of them who were saved being picked up after the ship went down. That so many people were saved was due to the fact that those working below remained at their posts working the dynamos and kept the lights burning, and never came on deck to state what had really happened. Again and again the indomitable pluck and discipline of those who work below in the engine and boiler rooms is illustrated when some terrible disaster of the sea occurs, but on no occasion have these traits been more brilliantly shown."

Mr. Alfred Capus, the famous French Dramatist, moralises on the disaster in the Paris "*Figaro*" in a very striking manner.

Think of it: what a prodigious summary of our struggles, our pangs, and our passions, in the most modern of settings and at the hour when no man dissembles!

"The day of death is the master day," says Montaigne. "Oh that day I shall know if I have been sincere and if the words which I have spoken came from the heart."

Even so, the passengers in the "*Titanic*," stoical and distraught, heroes and catiffs alike, have thrown an absolutely true light upon the men and the society of to-day. Despite the dissipation of our life we shall learn here we stand as regards our sense of power and duty more clearly from the collision between a Transatlantic liner and an iceberg than from all the books of morals and philosophy. No observer, no poet, however penetrating his vision, will ever give us so true and striking a picture of our time at so pathetic a crisis.

What completes the lesson and expands it to the point of symbolism is the astonishing confusion of religions and races which we find in this unparalleled event. Presbyterians, Catholics, Jews, Anglo-Saxons, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Russians—every type of humanity was represented. In the same way every social condition—rich and poor; millionaires, workmen, and artists; power and servitude.

It is impossible to imagine circumstances more favourable to panic and disorder. Had the wildest optimist undertaken to foretell the result of such a tumult at such a moment he would have described atrocious scenes. Whereas, on the contrary, with five or six exceptions, hundreds of men, obeying a magnificent discipline, recognised the necessity of dying in orderly fashion, so mighty is the example of a few commanding personalities over a crowd!

Each at his post and in his corner, they created heroic conditions around them—a Phillips sending the last signals of distress, with half his body submerged in the water; an Astor smilingly accepting the fate which decrees that his young wife shall continue her life alone, while he perishes before her eyes; and an old married couple who have included among their common habits the habit of death.

